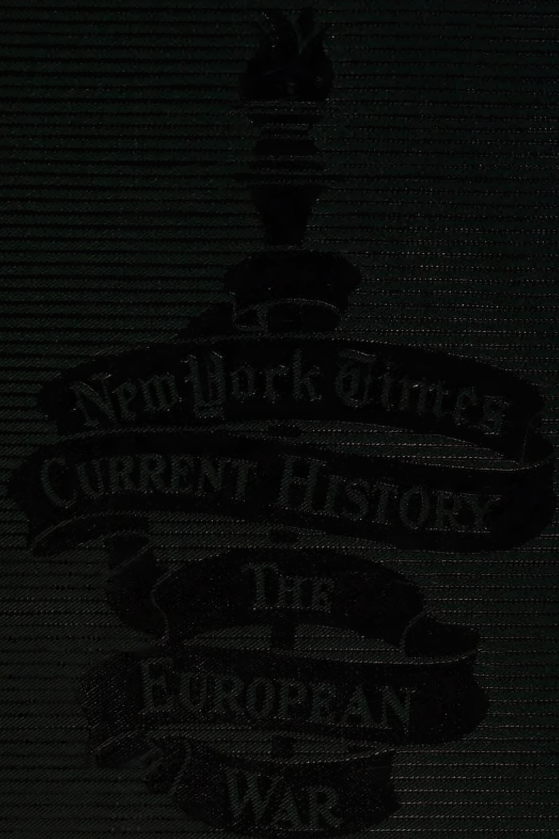
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JANUARY—MARCH, 1917

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Illustrations, Maps and Diagrams

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VICE ADMIRAL SIR DAVID BEATTY

Hero of the Jutland Battle, Now Commander in Chief of All the British Fleets, Succeeding Sir John Jellicoe.
(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

DIRECTING ARTILLERY FIRE FROM AN UNDERGROUND ROOM

A French Military Telephone Exchange, Deep Underground, Where the Messages From Observation Posts Are Relayed to Artillery Batteries.

(Pach Photo News, Inc.)

THE EUROPEAN WAR

Period January, 1917—March, 1917

INTRODUCTION

AS in a well-planned drama in which situations inevitably but unexpectedly arise, the terrible tragedy of world war unfolded itself in a series of climaxes which first made it appear that at the end of the year 1916 peace was within measurable distance, but which instead dashed all hopes to the ground and opened a new and more desperate phase of the conflict. During the three months of December, 1916, and January and February, 1917, the supreme interest lay in the efforts of the United States to bring the world back to peace, in Germany's initiation of a new submarine campaign of unprecedented ruthlessness, in the consequent severance of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, and finally in the first steps taken by America to participate in the war on the side of the Allies.

The battle of the Somme had practically come to an end in November, and was succeeded in December only by artillery duels and trench raids, which, though numerous and violent, were of merely local importance. The centre of interest in the western theatre of the war had already shifted to the Verdun region, and, after a preliminary bombardment, the French, on Dec. 15, began a new offensive to regain the Louvemont ridge on a front of over six miles between the east bank of the Meuse and the Woevre. It was entirely successful, for the French penetrated two miles into the enemy positions and pushed the Germans back to where they were earlier in the year. Ten thousands prisoners and a large number of guns were captured. But the real value of the victory was that the French were now in possession of all the important positions on the east bank of the Meuse, so as to make it difficult, if not impossible, for the Germans to storm the Verdun positions, and to leave the French at an advantage for operations in the coming Spring.

In January the scene of action shifted back to the Somme area, where the British took over the positions hitherto held by the French, and began advancing on both sides of the Ancre and in the direction of Bapaume, at which the French also were aiming. In the last four days of February the British occupied Serre, Miraumont, Petit Miraumont, Pys, Warlencourt-Eaucourt, the Butte de Warlencourt, Ligny, Le Bargue, Gommecourt, Thilloy, and Pulsieux-au-Mont. The Germans began to fall back to new defensive positions behind the Bapaume-Péronne highway in the "strategic retreat" that was to establish them on the "Hindenburg line." The abandonment of the Ancre salient followed, and gradually the retirement became definite, leading in March to the Germans giving up a large area of conquered territory.

In the eastern theatre of the war the chief concern of the Russians was to save Rumania from the invading Germans and Austrians. On Dec. 1 a great offensive was launched all along the Bukowina and Moldavia frontier. In an attempt to protect the Rumanian right flank the Russians endeavored to force their way into Transylvania through the Trotus Gap. But the positions captured on Dec. 13

were regained by the Teutonic forces on Jan. 6, and the Russians were forced to fall back. In February there was some sharp fighting along the southern Sereth, where the Russians had retreated across the river and taken up a position in front of the fortified post of Galatz. The Germans tried to force a position through the mountains at Oituz, then the most important point on the entire Transylvanian frontier, but they were checked, and the fighting ceased in a spell of extremely cold and snowy weather.

The Russians also sought to keep the Germans occupied by a new advance early in the year in the Riga district, with the great German base of Mitau on the Riga-Mitau-Libau railroad as the objective. The Russians attacked along the Dvina front as far as Lake Narotch, in the district of Dvinsk, and achieved some success, but on Jan. 23 the Germans began counterattacking with great vigor. Between Jan. 25 and Feb. 4 many fierce but indecisive battles were fought. Intense cold making operations difficult, the campaign died out, leaving the situation exactly as it was at the beginning.

The conquest of Rumania after the invaders had turned the line behind the Alt River became comparatively easy. The Rumanians retreated continuously until the line of the Arges was reached. This was the last possible position at which to make a stand before Bucharest. An attempt to break through the German right south of Bucharest was abortive, and the Rumanians, menaced also by the German advance from the north, made no effort to defend their capital, which was occupied by the enemy on Dec. 6. The Rumanians fell back on the Buzeu River, where they had good defensive positions. The Germans, now in occupation of Bucharest, spent some days in preparing for a new advance, and after some heavy fighting forced the Buzeu. Maintaining a strong pressure, they extended their movement into the Dobrudja so that their line stretched from the Transylvanian frontier to the Black Sea. This entire line then moved forward and the whole of the Dobrudja was occupied by the Germans, who continued their advance to the Sereth. On Jan. 21 the Russians retired across the Sereth, but from that time onward until the frost intervened and stopped fighting the Germans met with a more determined resistance. On the fall of Bucharest the Rumanian capital was removed to Jassy.

On the Austro-Italian front the Winter months passed for the most part without any important military operation. The Austrians, reinforced by troops released after the conclusion of the Rumanian campaign, sought to regain the initiative by attacking on the Carso Plateau and on the heights to the east and southeast of Gorizia. The Italians checked the projected move, and in the middle of February were able to re-establish their lines east of Gorizia and drive the Austrians out of the trenches they had captured.

Except for some fighting between the British and a mixed force of Bulgarians and Turks on the Struma River, the Macedonian campaign was also practically at a standstill during the period under review.

While in Europe the Winter was a hindrance to fighting, in the torrid regions of Mesopotamia it was the cool season when armies could return to their normal activity. After a long period of preparation the British began a new advance on Dec. 13 along the Tigris with the object of retrieving the disaster of Kut-el-Amara and pushing on to Bagdad. General Maude, with 120,000 men and assisted by a large flotilla of war craft specially adapted to river work, did not meet with any serious resistance until Jan. 9, when there was two days' sharp fighting with the Turks intrenched northeast of Kut. During the next seven weeks a series of engagements took place for the possession of the different positions on the two sides of the river and in the bends where the Turks had many excellent vantage points. But one by one the British succeeded in driving the Turks out, and on Feb. 26 they had the satisfaction of occupying Kut-el-Amara. The Turks then began to retreat further along the river, endeavoring to fight rearguard actions, but gradually becoming a less cohesive force and losing large quantities of war material. At this

stage the British had reached the most advanced point of their first Mesopotamian campaign. Soon they passed beyond it on their victorious march to Bagdad. The British success was the signal for the Russians to begin a new drive toward the same point, and in quite another direction a British force from Egypt began to move into Palestine.

In German East Africa the British, Belgian, and Portuguese columns, though virtually in occupation of the whole colony, were still engaged in pursuing the remnants of the German force which tried to carry on a now hopeless struggle. The warfare could hardly be said to consist of regular military operations, but was rather of the guerrilla type, for which the character of the country provided considerable scope.

The military airmen were busy in December, and engaged in some important raiding operations as distinct from scouting work. Allied aviators shelled blast furnaces at Dillingen and the railroad stations at Montmédy and Pierrepont, east of Longuyon. On Dec. 29 ten German machines were brought down and destroyed. Later, the French carried out several bomb-dropping expeditions in Germany, and the British did likewise in Belgium, doing damage to munitions works, barracks, and railway stations. The Germans retaliated by raiding Amiens and Dunkirk. In January and February air duels on the western front became frequent, and on some days as many as a dozen machines were shot down. Aerial operations of minor importance took place on all fronts.

Naval engagements on the two successive nights of Jan. 22 and 23 were fought in the North Sea. In one a British torpedo boat was reported sunk, and in the other a German destroyer. A Russian squadron on Jan. 13 sank forty Turkish food ships off the coast of Anatolia. German destroyers on Feb. 26 bombarded Broadstairs and Margate on the English coast. The most important warships lost during this period were the French battleship Suffren, 12,750 tons, with its entire personnel of over 700, which was sunk by a German submarine northwest of Lisbon on Dec. 8, and the French armored cruiser Gaulois, which was torpedoed in the Mediterranean. Despite the precautions exercised by the allied naval authorities German raiders continued to play havoc every now and then. One of them operating during January off the coast of South America sank or captured twenty-five allied ships, representing a loss of about $20,000,000. Among these ships was the Yarrowdale, which the crew of the raider armed and took into a German port with neutral sailors from the lost vessels on board. The detention of the American sailors among the neutral crews as prisoners of war was one of the subsidiary issues in the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany. Three German raiders were given battle off the coast of Brazil on Feb. 15 by a British cruiser. One raider was reported damaged, one probably beached, while the third escaped.

The subject of submarine warfare transcended all others in interest, for with the declaration by Germany at the end of January that henceforth the destruction of shipping was to be carried on without restriction and over a vastly wider area an international crisis arose greater and more far-reaching than any since that in which the war originated. In the two months preceding the 1st of February, the date set by the German Government for the new submarine campaign, the number of ships sunk was about 150, representing about 370,000 tons, but during the twenty-eight days of the one short month of February the number rose to 183 vessels with an aggregate tonnage of 456,817. The greatest sufferer was Great Britain, with 110 vessels. Other belligerents lost 20 and neutrals 53, of which only 2 were American. Terrible as was the result of the first month of unrestricted destruction, it fell far short of what had been planned by the German Government, namely, a million tons of merchant shipping a month, in the hope that Great Britain would in a few months be suffering in the same way as Germany through the stoppage of the importation of foodstuffs and raw materials.

During the two months of December

and January British casualties, including officers and men killed, died from wounds, wounded, and missing numbered 74,831, bringing the total for the five months beginning Sept. 1 up to 375,616. The German casualties for January and February were 138,005, which made the grand total since the beginning of the war 4,148,163.

The wastage of men forced the army authorities to make new efforts to secure reinforcements. In Great Britain, where the needs of maintaining a large enough labor force for agriculture and war industries were almost as urgent as the requirements of the Generals in the field, the House of Commons on Dec. 14 voted an appropriation for another million men, making a total of 5,000,000 for the war. Further demands were made upon women to replace men who could be sent to the front, and the influx of women into the farming districts began to reach the same proportions as had the utilization of female labor in munitions and other factories at an earlier period in the war.

The fourteenth British war credit for $2,000,000,000 was introduced in the House of Commons on Dec. 14. The Chancellor of the Erchequer, Bonar Law, in moving the vote admitted that the nation could not continue at the present rate indefinitely, for the total expenditure since the beginning of the war had now reached $19,260,000,000. Even then another billion dollars would be required to carry on to the end of March, when the fiscal year closed. The daily average war expenditure had reached $28,550,000. Part of the debt, however, represented loans to allied and colonial Governments. The third war loan closed on Feb. 18, and a week later the Chancellor of the Exchequer officially announced that nearly $5,000,000,000 of new money had been applied for by 5,289,000 subscribers. Bonar Law expressed gratification at the result, as the bankers had advised him to fix the interest rate at 6 instead of 5 per cent. to make certain that the loan would be successful, but the subscriptions on the 5 per cent. basis exceeded expectations by $2,000,000,000. A new German war credit was introduced in the Reichstag on Feb. 23. It was for $3,750,000,000, bringing the total war expenditure up to $16,750,000,000. It was announced that taxation would be increased by 20 per cent. In France it was calculated that by the end of June, 1917, the Government would have spent more than $16,000,000,000, including loans to her allies.

The whole tendency in the treatment of the economic and social problems of the war in the belligerent countries was seen in the continued growth of the powers of the Governments. Private enterprise was steadily brought into subordination under the new régime of what was called "war socialism." The significance of the startling innovations in the economic structure of such great nations as Great Britain, France, and Germany was not lost upon statesmen and students, who saw in these war measures a stupendous advance toward a new social organization based upon the principle that the needs of the State came before those of the individual and that the welfare of a nation is fundamentally a question of the proper direction and distribution of labor power. This, indeed, was one of the greatest lessons of the war and is of historical importance as a stage in the evolution from the nineteenth century system of unco-ordinated private enterprise to the modern conception of a purposive social economy. Lord Curzon, one of the new British War Cabinet of five, and one of the most powerful and most distinguished leaders of English conservatism, speaking in the House of Lords on Dec. 19, very clearly showed how the new order had been and was still developing, and that he was fully aware of the great change. "I wonder," he said, "if the country at all fully realizes the extent to which the British people, the most liberty-loving, the most individualistic, and in some respects the most independent in the world, have already parted with their traditional rights and privileges and handed them over to the State. * * * Many years ago I remember Sir William Harcourt saying: 'We are all Socialists now.' What he would say now I can scarcely conceive."

The Ministry headed by Lloyd George, which came into power early in Decem-

ber, adopted many measures to cope with the increasing shortage of food supplies and to make the best possible use of all national resources, including labor power. Lord Devonport was appointed Food Controller with far-reaching and even dictatorial powers, while the new Minister of Agriculture initiated measures for a very much larger home production of foodstuffs, to which end he was empowered to order farmers to cultivate their land as he thought fit. A farmer who did not obey might be evicted and his land used by some one else. In another direction there was a radical change in the appointment of a Shipping Controller, who had almost unlimited authority over shipowners and shipbuilders.

France similarly continued to extend its Government-controlled national economy. Early in December the newly created Department of Civil and Military Food Supplies was centralized under an Under Secretary of State, attached to the Presidency of the Council. Among the measures which aimed at restricting and economizing food and other supplies were the rationing of motor spirit, the prohibition of fresh pastry, fancy bread, and refined sugar, and the closing of butcher shops and slaughter houses one or two days a week. As in Great Britain, the early closing of stores and other retail establishments was prescribed by Government order.

In Germany it was nevertheless discovered that Government control is useless unless there is something to control. This was strikingly exemplified in connection with food and the troubles of the food dictator, Herr von Batocki. Practically all outside supplies had been cut off by the British blockade. When it became evident that the new crop would produce a smaller yield, the food question reached a stage of desperate urgency and incidentally disclosed the breakdown of the distribution system. Herr von Batocki had been unable to resist the powerful influence of the agrarian interests and was consequently faced with an increasingly discontented and restive working class. On Dec. 12 a trade union congress, representing 4,000,000 workers, was held in Berlin. It declared that it would support the Government's policy, but at the same time it emphatically demanded that drastic measures be taken to release the supplies of food which were being held up by the agrarian interests and speculators and to provide that the workers obtain enough nourishment to enable them to perform their duties. Six weeks later (in January) a committee representing the whole organized labor movement of Germany addressed a letter to the Imperial Chancellor demanding that the system of food distribution be overhauled. On Jan. 23 Herr von Batocki himself complained that the situation was aggravated by the wealthier classes buying underhand at fancy prices what they wanted, thus thwarting the work of the Food Regulation Board. He also admitted that there was a shortage in the potato crop, "enhanced by transportation troubles," and that, although the grain crop was better, the total nutritive value of the combined grain and potato supplies for 1917 was less than for 1916, and further that the utmost economy in feeding was necessary to carry the population through to the next harvest. By the end of February the situation in Germany was extremely serious. It was estimated that 20,000,000 persons directly connected with the army and Government services, 20,000,000 in the rural districts, and about 8,000,000 of the wealthy and well-to-do classes were well fed, but that the remainder, numbering 20,000,000 and belonging to the working class, were in a condition bordering upon famine.

The most thoroughgoing step ever taken by any Government to mobilize all the man power of the nation was the compulsory civilian service law adopted by the German Reichstag on Dec. 2. The patriotic auxiliary service law, as it was officially entitled, placed every male German from the completion of his seventeenth year to the completion of his sixtieth year at the disposal of the Government through the agency of the newly created Kriegsamt, (War Office,) of which General von Groener was made chief. The regulations appended to the law placed its administration fully in the hands of the military authorities and made it impossible for the Reichstag to

interfere. "The new War Office," General von Groener explained, "represents Germany as a colossal firm which includes all production of every kind, and is indifferent to the kind of coat, civil or military, which its employes wear. The whole war is becoming more and more a question of labor, and in order to give the army a firm basis for its operations the domestic army must also be mobilized."

The prevalence of unemployment in Belgium was one of the grounds of justification adduced by the German Government in its reply of Dec. 11 to the American protest against the forcible deportation of large numbers of the inhabitants to work in Germany. The condition of unemployment in its turn, Germany argued, was caused by the British blockade, which had stopped the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactured goods. Hundreds of thousands of persons had been made dependent upon public relief, and for this reason the German Government felt itself obliged to make as many of them as possible support themselves by work, which could be provided in Germany. That the workers of Belgium did not view the efforts of the German Government as those of a beneficent employer was evidenced in the appeal made by half a million Belgian workers to their fellow-laborers in America "in the name of the international solidarity of the workers." The appeal declared that the Belgian working class was "threatened with slavery, deportation, and forced labor for the enemy's benefit." The day after the German authorities discovered that this appeal had been sent across the frontier they increased the tribute levied on the Belgian people from 40,000,000 to 50,000,000 francs a month. On Jan. 24 the State Department at Washington announced that it had instructed Ambassador Gerard to accept the German Government's offer to investigate the deportations and allegations of enslavement, but, owing to the break between the United States and Germany, the investigation was never made. At that time the Belgians deported numbered 125,000, and was being added to daily. The German Government, it was understood, intended to obtain between 400,000 and 500,000 workers from Belgium voluntarily or by force.

Belgium was destined to suffer through the break between the United States and Germany by reason of the interruption which threatened the work of the Belgian Relief Commission, which had been organized by Herbert C. Hoover and other Americans and which had saved large numbers of Belgians from death by starvation. The announcement by President Wilson of the break with Germany for the moment paralyzed the work of the commission, but it was almost immediately after resumed and was not definitely handed over to other neutrals until the United States had become a belligerent.

Labor difficulties caused Germany to pursue in Poland a policy of deportation and enslavement similar to that in Belgium. In the Reichstag itself the Polish Deputy Tronpczynski described the hardships and cruelties inflicted upon the Polish population by the invaders. Workers to the number of 300,000 had been forced into servitude, and many in addition perished under the bullets of frontier sentries when trying to escape. The German reply was that Poland was being freed from Russian despotism and that the Poles were volunteering to fight for the national freedom conferred on them by the Central Powers. On Dec. 8 a joint decree was published by the German and Austrian Governors General at Warsaw and Lublin regarding the establishment of a provisional National Council of twenty-five members, which was to undertake the industrial and financial reorganization of Poland, and also the creation of a Polish national army in conjunction with the Teutonic military chiefs.

Economic as well as military measures were among the subjects discussed at an important war council held in Rome on Jan. 6 and 7, which was attended by Prime Minister Lloyd George and Viscount Milner, representing Great Britain; Prime Minister Briand and Gen-

eral Lyautey, War Minister, representing France; General Palitzin, representing Russia, and Prime Minister Paolo Boselli, representing Italy. One result was the winning over of Italy to a more vigorous participation in the Balkan campaign and a more determined attitude against the intrigues of King Constantine. Italy's economic resources being slender, Great Britain and France, it was understood, were to render her further assistance.

Some of the most momentous changes since the beginning of the war came to pass during this period in the political affairs of the belligerent countries. On Dec. 5 the British Prime Minister, Herbert Henry Asquith, resigned, and with him automatically the whole Ministry of which he was head. The King thereupon summoned Andrew Bonar Law, the leader of the Unionist and Conservative Party. But Bonar Law, being either unable or unwilling to form a Ministry, David Lloyd George was chosen for the task. On Dec. 9 he announced the names of the new Ministers and took up the high office to which he had long aspired.

The new Government presented several departures from British tradition. In the first place, the old system under which a score of Ministers formed the Cabinet and exercised the supreme direction of the nation's affairs was replaced by a small War Cabinet of only five members, who were to have practically dictatorial powers and to be for the most part free from actual administrative duties. Each of the great departments was still to have its political chief, but these Ministers were now excluded from the Cabinet proper. The five members of the War Cabinet were Lloyd George, Prime Minister; Earl Curzon, with the nominal office of Lord President of the Council, who was to lead for the Government in the House of Lords; Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Government leader in the Commons; Viscount Milner and Arthur Henderson, the two last-named being Ministers without portfolio.

Lloyd George made a startling innovation in deciding not to lead in the House of Commons. His reason for the change was that he could not divide his attention between directing the war and attending to Parliamentary affairs. British Liberals were perturbed by the composition of the War Cabinet. Of the five, three—Curzon, Milner, and Bonar Law—were members of the Unionist and Conservative Party; Henderson, a trade union leader, represented the Labor Party, and only one, Lloyd George, came from the ranks of the Liberals. In the Ministry, as well as in the War Cabinet, the imperialist school of politics of the British ruling class was dominant. Thus, Arthur James Balfour became Foreign Secretary; Lord Robert Cecil, a kinsman, was retained as Minister of Blockade and Mr. Balfour's deputy at the Foreign Office, while Lord Derby was War Secretary; Sir Edward Carson, First Lord of the Admiralty; Austen Chamberlain, Indian Secretary; Walter H. Long, Colonial Secretary; Henry E. Duke, Irish Secretary, and Sir George Cave, Home Secretary. Although twelve out of the thirty-three Ministers were Liberals, the real Liberal and Radical Party was practically excluded in favor of representatives of great industrial and financial interests, such as Lord Rhonnda, Lord Devonport, Sir Alfred Mond, Sir Frederick Cawley, Albert Illingworth, and Sir Joseph Maclay, a shipowner. In addition to Henderson's inclusion in the War Cabinet, two Labor members of Parliament were appointed Minister of Labor and Minister of Pensions, respectively.

In France, also, the supreme direction of the war was placed in the hands of a smaller Cabinet. A semi-official note issued on Dec. 10 stated that there would be "a diminution in the number of the members of the Cabinet and the constitution of a restricted National Defense Committee, as in England," and on Dec. 12 it was announced that this committee would consist of Aristide Briand, Premier and Foreign Minister; Alexandre Ribot, Finance Minister; General Hubert Lyautey, War Minister; Rear Admiral Lacaze, Minister of Marine, and Albert Thomas, Minister of "Fabrication Nationale," (national manufacturers, i. e., munitions and the supply of army requirements of all kinds.) The number of

Ministers was reduced from twenty-two to eleven, and technical experts were appointed as Under Secretaries. Except the five Ministers constituting the War Cabinet, or National Defense Committee, members of the new administration were only to direct the departments intrusted to them, and, as in England, to have no part in framing national policy. On Dec. 13 the Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution of confidence in the new Government, but with a somewhat smaller majority, the vote being 184 against 149. Since the outbreak of the war, Parliamentary responsibility in France had suffered less from encroachment by the Government than in any of the belligerent countries, and it was therefore not surprising that on Dec. 14 the Chamber of Deputies adopted a motion abolishing the censorship in so far as it touched political criticism.

It was, also, as a result of the vigilance and independence of the Chamber, that the Government made the important changes in the high command of the French armies which took General Joffre from the field to the War Office in Paris, where he was designated "technical counsel to the Government regarding the direction of the war." General Nivelle, commander of the French troops at Verdun, was appointed to lead the armies of the north and northeast, thus superseding Joffre as commander on the western front. Another decree declared that the commanders of the armies of the north and northeast and of the Orient (General Sarrail) were now to be directly responsible to the Minister of War, thus abolishing the position of Commander in Chief of the French Army as a whole and placing the supreme control in the hands of the War Cabinet, through its War Minister, General Lyautey. In this way the military chiefs were made subordinate to the civil authority of the republic. A couple of weeks after these changes Joffre was retired with the rank of Marshal of France, which was revived for the purpose of recognizing his great services.

After the stormy session of the Russian Duma in November, which ended in the downfall of Premier Stürmer, the forces working for revolution continued quietly making their preparations. Outwardly there was hardly a sign of the coming upheaval. Alexander Feodorovitch Trepoff, who as Minister of Communications had for a year been steadily building new railroads and showing a broader statesmanship in his general attitude, was appointed Premier. He displayed his liberal tendencies in at once permitting greater freedom of the press and his adherence to Russia's national aspirations by making it quite clear that he would not tolerate pro-German intrigues and that he meant to continue the war to a victorious conclusion. His most important declaration disclosed a fact which everybody had believed since the beginning of the war, but which no one could prove, namely, that the Allies had promised that Russia should have Constantinople and the Dardanelles. Speaking before the Duma on Dec. 3, Trepoff said that Russia had concluded an agreement with her allies "which established in the most definite manner the right of Russia to the strait and Constantinople. Russians should know for what they are shedding their blood, and, in accord with our allies, announcement is made today of this agreement from this tribune." The Czar signified his approval of the renewed demand for a fight to the finish by appointing as Foreign Minister a strong supporter of the Entente in the person of Nicolas Pokrovsky and by issuing on Dec. 25 a proclamation to the troops declaring that Galicia and Posen must be united to Russian Poland and Constantinople be conquered before Russia could make peace.

Trepoff's career as Premier was not destined to last long, for on Jan. 9, with dramatic unexpectedness, he and Count Ignatieff, Minister of Public Instruction, tendered their resignations to the Czar, who, it was reported, received them with the greatest reluctance. The fall of Trepoff was brought about by the reactionary forces who viewed his liberal tendencies with much misgiving. Prince Golitzine, a Senator and member of the Council of the Empire, was appointed Premier. There had now been three

changes in the Premiership in a year and eight changes at the Ministry of the Interior in fourteen months. Golitzine, who was born in Germany, was destined to be the last Prime Minister of Russia under the old autocratic régime.

An episode which formed part of the prelude to the approaching drama of revolution was the murder in December of Rasputin, the monk who was credited with possessing an uncanny influence over the Czar and Czarina, and who was suspected of aiding the German elements at the Russian Court. The murder was alleged to have been instigated by high officials.

The Austrian Premier, Dr. Ernest von Koerber, resigned on Dec. 13, after holding office only six weeks. His retirement was said to have been due to the influence of the Hungarian Premier, Count Tisza, who found in von Koerber an opponent to the control of Austrian affairs by Germany and to the dominance of Magyar interests at the Austrian Court.

Turkey was brought more thoroughly under German control by the treaties signed on Jan. 15, which were ostensibly "based on the idea of reciprocity and the mutual acknowledgment of equal rights" by the two countries. These treaties took the place of the capitulations which Turkey had abrogated in the first months of the war, and were the sequel to the declaration of independence which the Turkish Government had made in its note of Oct. 1, 1916, to the German and Austro-Hungarian Governments. By this declaration Turkey denounced the Treaty of Paris of 1856 and the Treaty of Berlin of 1878, and thereby ended the collective suzerainty of Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary, and, further, abolished the special status of the Liva of Lebanon, which had been created by the Turkish laws of 1861 and 1864 as a semi-autonomous province under a Christian Governor.

The Greek Government, which had been given until Dec. 1 to comply with the demands made in an ultimatum from the Allies for the surrender of arms, communicated a definite refusal to the allied naval commander, Admiral du Fournet, who thereupon landed French marines at the Piraeus with the object of advancing on Athens. Fighting between the marines and Greek troops began, but ceased after a few hours on the arrangement of an armistice in accordance with which Admiral du Fournet withdrew all except 300 marines upon the surrender by the Greek Government of six batteries of artillery.

A blockade of the Greek coast and the islands under the control of King Constantine's Government was proclaimed by the Allies on Dec. 8 and an explanation demanded of the movements of Greek troops. Toward the end of December the demobilization of the Greek Army and the transfer to the south of the troops in Thessaly began. But the Allies were far from satisfied with the conduct of the Greek Government, and in a new ultimatum presented on Dec. 31 demanded the control of the telegraphs, posts, railways, and police, the prohibition of meetings of reservists north of the Isthmus of Corinth and of the bearing of arms by civilians, the immediate release of Venizelist prisoners, and apologies to the Entente Ministers. The Greek Government, unwilling to concede all these demands, and yet afraid to declare war against the Entente, decided to submit passively to all coercion and pursue a temporizing policy. Ten days later (Jan. 9) the Allies sent a fourth ultimatum, which was drafted by the War Council then sitting in Rome, giving King Constantine forty-eight hours to comply with the demands made on Dec. 31. After more hesitation the Greek Government decided to yield completely to the Allies. The same day an Italian military mission arrived at Athens to participate in the Entente control of Greece. The imprisoned Venizelists were released, and the Greek Government, while protesting against the violation of its neutrality, became more amenable to the wishes of the Allies. In the meanwhile, on Jan. 1, the British Government had appointed a diplomatic agent to the Provisional Government of Venizelos.

Peace with its almost unthinkable relief from all the orgy of bloodshed and destruction which had made life in Europe a nightmare suddenly appeared

as a far less remote possibility than it had been at any time for more than two and a half years. In October, 1916, there seems to have been behind the scenes the first tentative move toward ending the war. These secret negotiations, or preliminaries to negotiations, were in some way connected with the initiation of the movement which ripened in President Wilson's historic declaration offering to help the warring nations to extricate themselves from the sanguinary deadlock in which they were still held fast. It seems also that the German peace proposal, which anticipated President Wilson's note, was made with the knowledge of these same secret negotiations, in which Colonel E. M. House, the President's unofficial adviser and special envoy, had taken part. The President had more than once declared that he would try to act as mediator whenever there was some prospect of his efforts succeeding, so that when he did at last act it is certain that he was not initiating a peace movement without having thoroughly felt the way, without definite assurances of some kind. But until light is thrown upon the inner workings of diplomacy by the publication of the necessary documents the historian will be unable to trace these events to their origins. Similarly, the real history of the failure of the peace movement is still obscure. All that we know at present is that great forces were at work for peace, and then that a hitch occurred somewhere and the hopes of the war-weary peoples of Europe were shattered by the change in events which ranged the United States with the Allies. It is important, therefore, to bear in mind in the narrative that follows that we have nothing more than external happenings to go by.

The first step was that taken by Germany. It would seem, as we have said, that it was intended to anticipate President Wilson's peace move and perhaps obtain for Germany the credit for having taken the initiative in ending the war. On Dec. 12 Herr von Bethmann Hollweg, the Imperial Chancellor of Germany, convened the Reichstag in special session to announce that Germany and her allies had that day made a formal proposal to enter into peace negotiations. After painting a glowing picture of the triumphant position of the Teutonic forces, he went on to say, "our strength has not made our ears deaf to our responsibility before God, before our own nation, and before humanity," and therefore the Emperor now desired that peace be restored "to safeguard Germany after the struggle in which she has fought victoriously."

The news of the offer to begin peace negotiations was received with profound interest throughout the world. In Germany and Austria-Hungary there was rejoicing, for the people believed that the offer could have no other result than peace. But in the Entente countries the impression on public opinion as reflected in the press was distinctly unfavorable. The first responsible expression of opinion came from Premier Briand of France. Speaking in the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 12, he warned France to beware of her enemies. "I have the duty," he said, "to place my country on guard against possible poisoning." The following day Bonar Law, in the absence of Lloyd George, made a passing reference in the House of Commons to the German proposal by recalling Mr. Asquith's statement that the Allies required that there should be adequate reparation for the past and adequate security for the future. "That," added Bonar Law, "is still the policy, still the determination of his Majesty's Government." Russia was the first of the Allies to act officially. After hearing a statement by the Foreign Minister, Pokrovsky, the Duma unanimously adopted a resolution refusing to enter, under present conditions, into any peace negotiations whatever. The German proposal was, the resolution read, a "fresh proof of the weakness of the enemy and a hypocritical act from which the enemy expects no real success." On Dec. 19 the Italian Chamber of Deputies adopted a resolution rejecting the proposal by 276 votes against 40.

The full exposition of the allied Government's attitude was left to Lloyd George, who on Dec. 19 delivered in the House of Commons one of the most important speeches in his whole career. It

happened to be also the first in his new position of Prime Minister. The British Government, he said, clearly and definitely supported the statements made by France and Russia. He then went on to quote the well-known words of Lincoln under similar conditions: "We accepted the war for an object, a worthy object. The war will end when that object is attained.. Under God I hope it will never end until that time." Germany, Lloyd George continued, had made no proposals, and to enter into a conference without any knowledge of the proposals she intended to make would be to put "our heads into a noose with the rope end in the hands of the Germans." The terms originally stated by Mr. Asquith were the only ones that could be accepted. They were complete restitution, full reparation, and effectual guarantees against repetition.

The formal reply of the allied Governments to the Central Powers was handed to the American Ambassador in Paris on Dec. 30 and forwarded through the United States and other official channels. The note protested against the assertions of the German Government putting the blame for the war on the Allies and claiming victory for the Central Powers, assertions rendering all tentative negotiations sterile, and declared that a mere suggestion without a statement of terms to open negotiations was not an offer of peace. The proposal was a sham lacking all substance and precision and "would appear to be less an offer of peace than a war manoeuvre." Its object was to create dissension in the allied countries, to stiffen public opinion in Germany and the countries allied to her, and to deceive and intimidate neutrals.

The German rejoinder was contained in a general order issued by the Kaiser on Jan. 6 to the army and navy. The Allies' hunger for power, he said, desired Germany's destruction. "Our enemies did not want the understanding offered by me. With God's help our arms will enforce it." German newspaper opinion assumed a similar tone of defiance. But Germany was still as anxious as ever to end the war, and in a characteristic letter to the Imperial Chancellor the Kaiser on Jan. 15 issued instructions that notes again proposing peace be drafted. The allied countries possessed "no men who are able or who have the moral courage to speak the word which will bring relief —to propose peace." Germany, however, had a ruler with a conscience. "I have the courage," the Kaiser declared. "Trusting in God, I shall dare to take this step." If the Imperial Chancellor, as the Kaiser had instructed him, did in fact draft the new peace proposals, they were never issued.

The discussion of the German offer to open peace negotiations was submerged in the controversy roused by the historic note which President Wilson dispatched to all the belligerents on Dec. 18, calling upon them in firm but diplomatic language to state explicitly the precise terms of peace which might serve as a basis for the restoration of peace. The President was careful to point out that he had intended taking this step before the Central Powers made their offer and had delayed doing so only because he wished to act at what he considered the most opportune moment. As has already been pointed out, there had been for some time previously a movement behind the scenes to initiate peace negotiations, although the British Embassy at Washington let it be known immediately the President's note was issued that it had come as a complete surprise and that no interchange had taken place through the embassy, which meant that other channels, official and unofficial, had been used. In some quarters the change in the British Government and the ascendency of the Lloyd George faction was believed to be not unconnected with the strivings for peace. But whatever were the influences at work, the President's note itself was distinctly his own work, expressing the attitude of a neutral Government and people with thoroughgoing impartiality and stripping aside the rhetoric with which the two groups of belligerents had been continuously clothing their motives and purposes. "The objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war," he said, "are virtually the same as stated in gen-

eral terms to their own people." Further on in the note he pointed out that the concrete objects for which the war was being waged had never been definitely stated, adding: "The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen on either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definite results, what actual guarantees, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success, even, would bring the war to an end." If answers to these questions could be obtained the way would be cleared for a peace conference. Almost equally interesting was the expression of the President's hope that a league of nations might be formed. That the request for a statement of concrete terms on which peace might be negotiated did not represent merely the President's personal view was shown in the resolution adopted by the Senate approving and strongly indorsing the request.

A curious episode connected with the President's note was the issue of two statements by Secretary of State Lansing on Dec. 20. In the first he said that the reason the note had been sent was that American rights were becoming more and more involved by the belligerents on both sides, so that the situation was becoming increasingly critical. "I mean by that," he added, "that we are drawing nearer the verge of war ourselves, and therefore we are entitled to know exactly what each of the belligerents seeks, in order that we may regulate our conduct in the future. * * * The sending of this note will indicate the possibility of our being forced into the war. * * * Neither the President nor myself regards this note as a peace note; it is merely an effort to get the belligerents to define the end for which they are fighting." This statement caused a profound sensation. It was the first official intimation that the United States might be drawn into the war. The alarm caused by Lansing's words led him later on the same day to issue another statement in which he tried to modify the bellicose tone of his first remarks.

The President's note was received with enthusiastic approval by the peoples of the Central Empires and by lovers of peace everywhere. But in the allied countries there was a good deal of criticism. The first official reply was that of the Central Powers on Dec. 26. While not declining the President's request, they did not set forth their terms, but suggested that these would be forthcoming at an "immediate exchange of views" by the belligerents. The Entente reply, which was handed to the American Ambassador in Paris on Jan. 11, specified among the principal objects of the war the restoration of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro, with indemnities; the evacuation of the invaded territories of France, Russia, and Rumania, with just reparation; the reorganization of Europe on the principle of nationalities, on the right of all peoples to full security and free economic development, and on agreements to guarantee land and sea frontiers against attack; the restitution of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the will of their population; the liberation of Italians, Slavs, Rumanians, and Tcheco-Slovaks from foreign domination; the enfranchisement of populations subject to Turkish tyranny, the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, and the carrying out of the Czar's recently expressed intentions with regard to Poland, which involved taking Posen from Prussia and Galicia from Austria and reunting them with Russian Poland. Among the territories "wrested in the past from the Allies" Alsace-Lorraine was included. This was indicated by Paul Deschanel when he addressed the French Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 11 after his re-election as President of that body. Such were the Allies' maximum demands as far as Europe was concerned. Elsewhere in the world there were many outstanding questions, but on these the Allies' reply was silent.

The British Foreign Minister, Balfour, in a note dated Jan. 13 amplified the

reply. After stating the reasons for the reversal of the traditional policy of maintaining the Turkish Empire, he said that the British people believed that no peace could be lasting unless it resulted from the success of the allied cause. In regard to a league of peace, he considered that "behind all international law and behind all treaty arrangements for preventing or limiting hostilities some form of international sanction should be devised which would give pause to the hardiest aggressor."

The German rejoinder to the allied Governments' reply was made in a note issued on Jan. 11. It recited the various forms of oppression practiced by the Entente Allies and declared anew that Germany and her allies had made an honorable attempt to end the war, and the fact that the Entente Allies declined the proposal to open negotiations threw on them the full responsibility for the continuation of the bloodshed.

Nearly all the neutral nations of Europe sent formal replies to President Wilson's note, and all of them except Spain indicated their willingness to cooperate with the United States in a peace movement of the kind suggested.

To give any idea of the torrent of discussion and controversy which the German proposal and President Wilson's note, with the various replies and rejoinders, let loose is impossible within the space at our disposal. It was extraordinary in intensity and scope, and, sharp as were the differences, it had a very great value in helping to define issues and indicate lines of agreement. For six weeks the discussion went on. Although the first bids for peace were rejected, the state of mind of the civilized world was such that it only required another and bolder move to bring about the preliminary agreement which would commence negotiations. It was at this psychological moment that President Wilson again acted. Unexpectedly appearing before the Senate on Jan. 22, he delivered his famous speech on permanent peace. It was so full of memorable phrases crystallizing humane and rational principles of freedom and progress that no single quotation can do it justice. Its main purpose was apparently to state the conditions upon which the United States would feel justified in abandoning the Monroe Doctrine and joining a league to enforce peace, but a careful study of the address and the circumstances in which it was delivered shows that the President had a more immediate object in view, namely, to help to end with the least possible delay the war actually in progress. More than once he suggested that peace was close at hand. The replies of the belligerents to his identic note of Dec. 18 had brought the world "that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the war," and again there was the reference to "the peace presently to be made." In face of the public declarations of the belligerents rejecting the idea of negotiating peace, the President did not use these words in a carefully prepared address nor did he act with so much apparent precipitation except in the light of knowledge his position enabled him to obtain. The real significance of the speech of Jan. 22 was that at that time it was possible to bring about peace, and this was borne out by the terms and conditions which the President suggested. In this connection the phrase which stuck in all minds and created most controversy was "peace without victory," since such a peace was inevitable if the war was to end almost immediately instead of being fought out till one side or the other was crushed.

In the Entente countries the phrase, "peace without victory," was bitterly resented. The Central Powers, while approving this, did not like the President's democratic sentiments nor the statement of the rights of nationalities. In the United States the idea of abandoning the traditional policy of isolation and entering a world league for peace was disapproved in many quarters. But while every section of opinion and every interest in Europe and America had its particular criticism to offer, the address had the effect of stimulating the movement toward peace by bringing into view the obstacles which had to be sur-

mounted. It was no doubt the President's object to keep on working for peace by forcing discussion, by making people think about it, and finally discovering grounds on which an agreement could be based.

But at this hopeful juncture in the history of the war an act of inexplicable and monstrous folly ruined every chance of an early peace by forcing the greatest of the neutral nations, the one power which could lead the world back to peace, the United States itself, into the horrible and devastating business of war. On Jan. 31, only nine days after the President's Senate address, the German Government issued its notice to the neutral nations that, beginning next day, merchant ships bound to and from allied ports would be sunk without warning and that the danger zone had been extended over a much larger area. The United States was apprised of the new submarine campaign in the note presented by the German Ambassador at Washington, which contained the observations of the German Government on the President's address. The same day the Imperial Chancellor told the Main Committee of the Reichstag of the German Government's intentions. If the most ruthless methods were best calculated to lead to a swift victory, then, he said, they must be employed. It is clear from the German official declarations that the peace movement had broken down, or at least that Germany regarded it as having failed merely because the allied Governments had naturally begun by stating their maximum demands, and that therefore a desperate policy of ruthlessness had in consequence been decided upon. With this tragic decision the war entered upon a wholly new phase, for President Wilson took up the challenge, showing that, whole-hearted as he was in his efforts for peace, he was no less prepared to go to war when, as he declared, the dignity and honor of the United States were at stake.

The President was deeply moved when the announcement of the new submarine campaign was handed to him. For nearly three days he was in doubt as to what to do, but on the morning of Feb. 3 he determined to break off relations with Germany. Arrangements were made for the assembling of Congress in joint session the same afternoon and for the dismissal of the German Ambassador and the recall of Ambassador Gerard from Berlin.

In his address to Congress the President recalled the warning he had given Germany on April 18, 1916, after the sinking of the Sussex, that if relentless and indiscriminate submarine warfare were persisted in, the United States could have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations. The German Government had given a "solemn assurance," but now that this pledge had been deliberately withdrawn, the United States Government had no alternative consistent with American honor and dignity but to act upon the warning of April 18, 1916. Diplomatic relations had therefore been broken off. Nevertheless, the President refused to believe that the German Government intended "to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do," or that they would disregard the ancient friendship between the German and American peoples and destroy American ships and take American lives. "Only actual overt acts on their part," the President added, "can make me believe it now." But if such overt acts were committed he would ask Congress for authority to use any means that might be necessary for the protection of Americans on the high seas. The United States did not desire war and would not believe Germany was hostile unless and until obliged to believe it. All that America wanted was the right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. "God grant," the President concluded, "that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!"

Count von Bernstorff, accompanied by his staff, German Consuls from leading cities in the United States, and their families, departed from American shores on Feb. 14. Ambassador Gerard, with his staff and a large party of Americans, had meanwhile left Berlin on Feb. 10. The accusation was made that the Ger-

man Government attempted to prevent or delay his departure with the object of securing reaffirmation of the Prussian-American treaties of 1799 and 1828. It was even said that the Ambassador was to be held as a hostage. There were also complaints on the part of American citizens that they had been subjected to inconvenience and indignity by officials when leaving Germany.

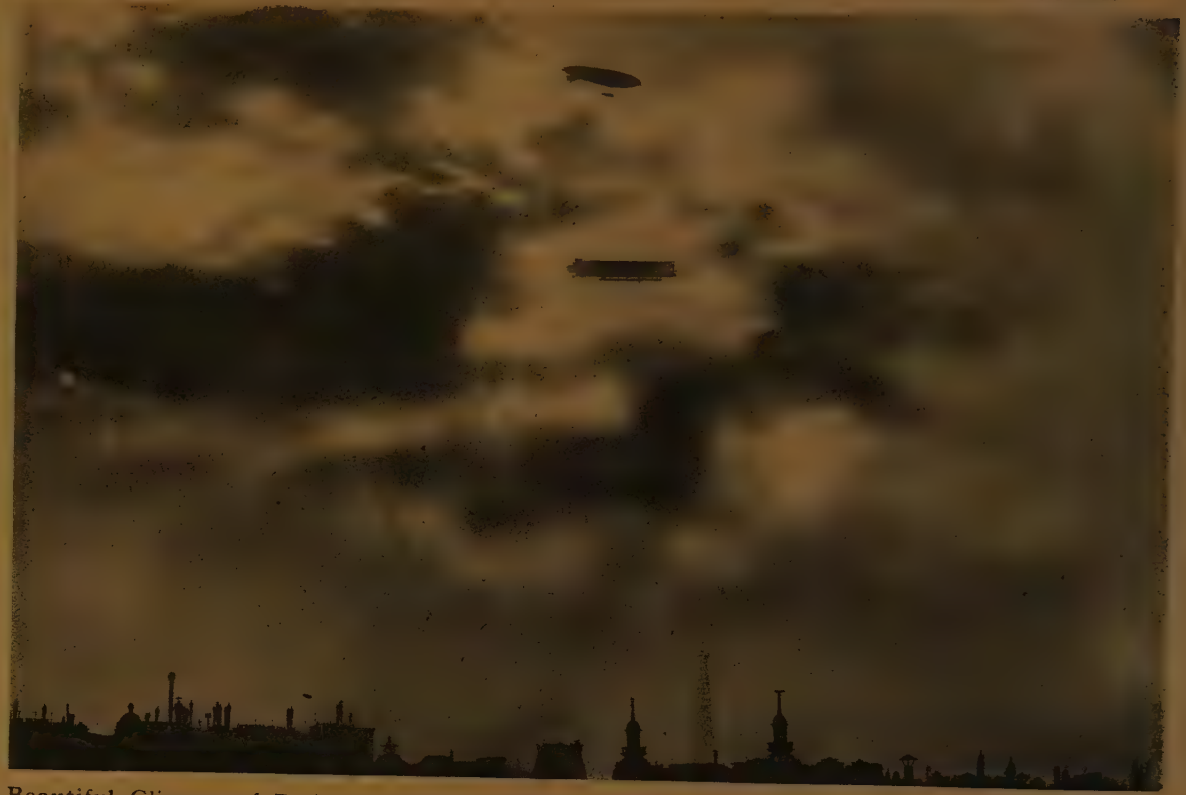
The protection of German interests in the United States was intrusted to the Swiss Minister, Dr. Paul Ritter, who on Feb. 11 forwarded a memorandum to the State Department stating that the German Government was willing to open negotiations with the United States on the basis that the commercial blockade against England should not be broken thereby. The Secretary of State was immediately instructed by the President to reply that the United States Government would gladly discuss the matter, provided the proclamation of Jan. 31 were withdrawn and the assurances given after the sinking of the Sussex were renewed. The German Government being unable to agree to these conditions, the diplomatic deadlock remained.

The first effect of the severance of relations was to paralyze American shipping. Vessels were hastily recalled by wireless messages, and the ports became congested with ships whose owners refused to risk sending them to sea. The German vessels which had taken refuge in American ports at the outbreak of the war in 1914 were nearly all disabled, and one or two cases of scuttling were reported.

The President's action was approved in all parts of the country. The press was almost unanimous in its support. In the Senate a resolution of indorsement was adopted by 78 votes against 5. Abroad, the Allies were naturally enthusiastic, but more important was the fact that many neutral nations followed the lead of the United States and protested against Germany's submarine order, without, however, breaking off relations. There were some who thought that the diplomatic break would not necessarily lead to war and that the United States Government would merely pursue a policy of "armed neutrality." But the Government was under no illusion as to where its action might lead it, and no time was lost in making such preparations as would be necessary if the nation should be forced into war. On Feb. 12 the House of Representatives passed the Naval Appropriation bill, the largest in the history of the United States, the amount being $368,553,388, about $55,000,000 in excess of the previous session's appropriation. The President was empowered to commandeer shipyards and munition factories in time of war or national emergency.

On Feb. 26 the President again appeared before Congress and asked for authority to arm merchant ships and to take other measures needed for the protection of American citizens and property on the high seas when attacked by submarines. The situation at this time, he explained, was that no overt act had been committed and that American trade was suffering because of the unwillingness of shipowners to risk sending their vessels to sea. For this reason the policy of an armed neutrality was necessary. The President emphasized the fact that he was not proposing or contemplating war or any steps that need lead to it. And thus, at the end of the period under review, though the situation was serious and the eventuality of war was being prepared for, there was still as much likelihood of peace being maintained, especially if Germany would show herself genuinely desirous of respecting American interests. It was only when new factors influenced the course of events, as will be seen in a later chapter, that the United States finally flung aside the sheath of neutrality and took up the sword.

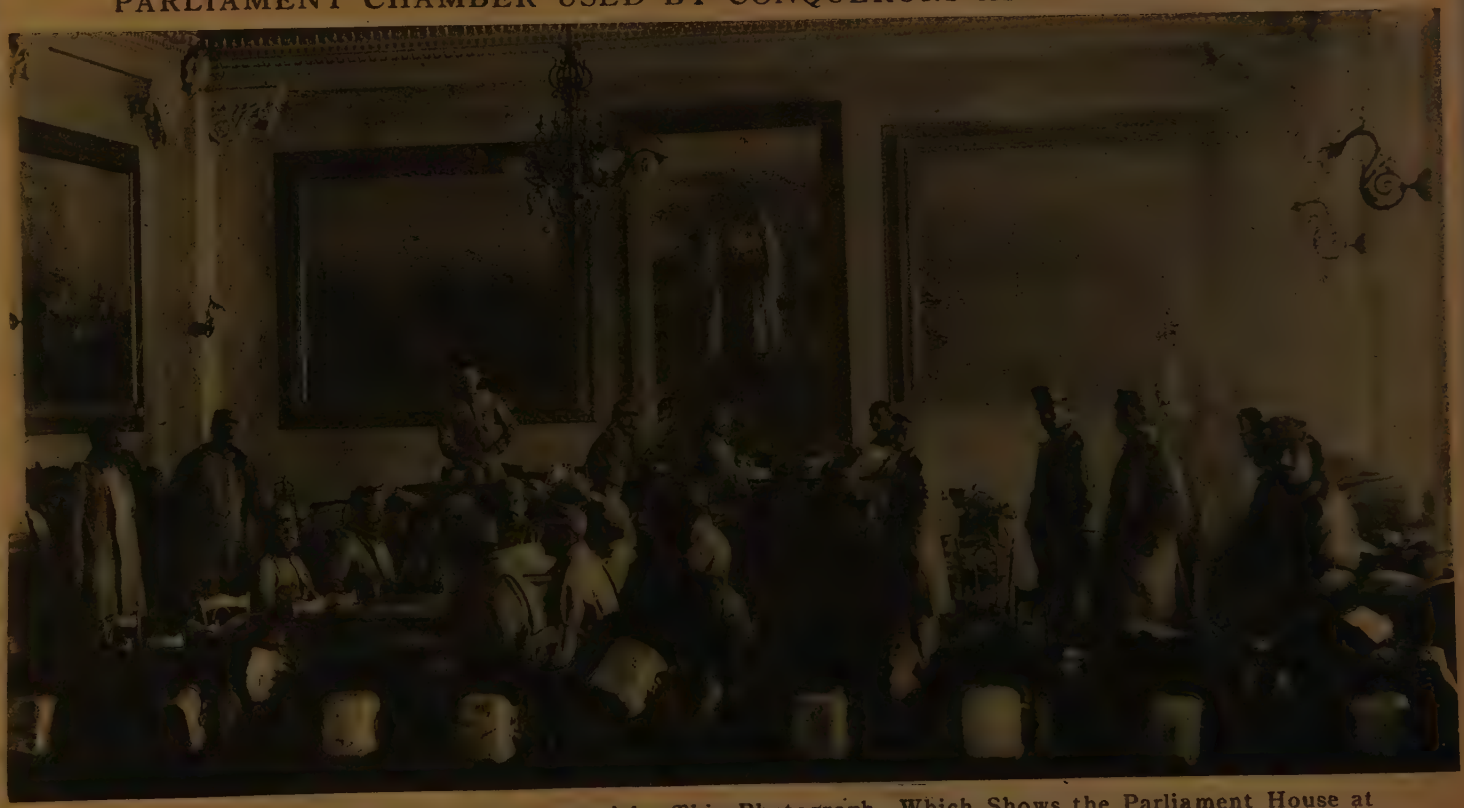
SENTINELS OF THE SKY, GUARDING PARIS IN WAR TIME



This Beautiful Glimpse of Paris at Sunset, With the City Outlined Beneath, Shows Two War Balloons Watching Amid the Clouds for Hostile German Aircraft.

(Root Newspaper Association.)

PARLIAMENT CHAMBER USED BY CONQUERORS AS A DINING ROOM



Montenegro's Fate Is Strikingly Illustrated by This Photograph, Which Shows the Parliament House at Cettinje in Use by Hungarian Soldiers As Barracks.

(Universal Press Syndicate.)

PERIOD XXVIII.

Germany's Peace Proposals—The Conquest of Rumania and Its Effects—Greece and the Entente Ultimatum—Germany's Eastern Drive—Austria's Change of Emperors—France and the New Commandments—Belgium's Agony—Germany Under Civil Conscription—The Story of the Moewe's Exploits—Sazonoff and Russian Imperial Intrigues—Who Began the War?

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

Germany's Move for Peace

DECEMBER witnessed events fraught with momentous consequences affecting the war. Superseding all others in pregnant possibilities was the initiative taken by the Central Powers proposing peace. The details are given elsewhere. The proposal was made in circumstances to give full dramatic effect to the importance of the proposition and in arrogant terms such as a conqueror employs toward the vanquished. The news came with startling effect upon the entire world and made a deeper impression among all the nations than any event since the declarations of war in the historic days of midsummer, 1914.

The proposal was received with mingled feelings, varying from contemptuous disdain of what was regarded as insulting by the Hotspurs among the allied statesmen, press, and people, to a tolerant acceptance of the suggestion as meriting serious consideration by the pacifists. The dominant opinion in the most influential circles of England, France, and America construed the action as intended chiefly for influence in Germany and Austria rather than with any expectation that it might result in definite peace pourparlers. It was felt in the highest circles among the Allies that it was a shrewd diplomatic move to hearten the people of Germany and Austria with the conviction that if the war continues it is because the Allies refuse to entertain proposals of peace, hence the Central Powers are compelled to fight to save their Fatherland. The sincerity of the proposal is questioned because of its vagueness, there being no indication of what terms would be proposed.

All the Entente Allies indorse the declaration of Premier Lloyd George that they will demand an explicit statement of terms and a guarantee of good faith. In formulating their answer to the Central Powers the English Premier declared that their terms will require "full restitution, full reparation, and effectual guarantees against repetition."

In forwarding Germany's notes to the Allied Powers the United States, the Vatican, and the other neutrals agreed that the situation did not require any comment on the part of neutral powers, and this course was pursued by all. There were some intimations that Germany hoped the neutrals might seize the occasion to urge intervention or mediation.

German opinion following the Premier's speech indicated optimism—a feeling that the door had not been flung shut in the face of the Central Powers, and that a way might yet be found for another exchange of notes. Opinion in the United States and among the chief neutrals tended to the view that Germany would not at this juncture meet the requirements of the Allies and that peace would be postponed until some more decisive result had been attained in the field. Pro-ally opinion asserts that Germany staged her proposals at the moment when it was at the full crest of victory in Rumania and in possession of a maximum area of hostile territory; but that she was keenly feeling the economic pressure and the weakening of her man power, realizing that victory was now or

never. The pro-Germans declare that she is sincere; that she is tired of slaughter and bloodshed; that she has convinced her enemies that she cannot be crushed, and in the hour of her victory really can afford to be magnanimous, but that, if her tender is refused, she is prepared to fight on more vigorously and will bring the Allies to their knees.

* * *

Outstanding Military Events

THE most important military event of the month was the triumphant march of the German legions under Mackensen and Falkenhayn through Rumania. The resistance of the Rumanians swiftly crumbled before the German guns. Bucharest fell, and the Germans were in possession of fully one-half the entire country on Dec. 20; they were continuing to advance and were daily making new captures. It is reported that the total number of prisoners taken exceeds 120,000, but the Rumanians assert that their army is still intact. The capital has been removed to Jassy, near the Russian border.

The only other important military event in December—at least up to this writing, Dec. 20—was the further advance of the French at Verdun. On Dec. 15 they delivered a heavy stroke, advancing two miles along six and a half miles of front, and taking more than 11,300 prisoners, 280 being officers, besides a considerable amount of military booty. This was the last blow struck by General Nivelle before taking over his new duties as Commander in Chief in place of General Joffre. The French now occupy at Verdun practically the same positions as before the German offensive last February.

There was no important engagement on the British, Italian, or Russian front. The army sent out from Saloniki by the Allies captured the strategic City of Monastir, but has made no important advance since.

* * *

Death of Francis Joseph

THE death of the aged Austrian Emperor late in November and the accession of his grandnephew to the throne caused no change in the situation, though it is understood that the new Emperor is not disposed to accept German hegemony as complacently as did his granduncle. There is political unrest in Austria; the Cabinet formed under Dr. von Koerber a few weeks ago resigned in December, but no facts are known as to the causes. It is generally believed that the economic and financial situation in Austria-Hungary is growing desperate. The fact that Austria insisted on a separate peace address to the neutrals is believed to indicate that the new Emperor is not so completely yoked to Germany as was Francis Joseph.

* * *

Important Cabinet Changes

DECEMBER will stand out in the war's annals as having brought complete changes of Government in France, Great Britain, Russia, and Austria, with important alterations in Germany. The meaning of these changes is treated elsewhere in this magazine. The new Cabinets foreshadow a firmer and more vigorous war policy in the three chief allied countries, and in themselves prove a singularly quick reply to the German peace movement, though the two things doubtless were determined upon independent of each other. In some quarters, however, the impression prevails that the strengthening of the allied Cabinets signifies a joint resolution to strike their heaviest blow in the Spring, and that it was the fear of this gigantic effort which moved the Central Powers to propose peace.

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The Crisis in Greece

EARLY in December it seemed as though war between Greece and the Allies were inevitable, and the dethronement of Constantine seemed a certainty. Definite proof was discovered to show that Germany and the Greek royalists were in active communication. The Allies in self-protection delivered an ultimatum to Greece calling for the delivery of its arms and the cessation of movements of troops; a blockade of Athens was also declared. King Constantine was at first inclined to defy the Entente, but thought better of it and agreed to demobilize or intern his army and to re-

FIGHTING IN THE RUINS OF A VILLAGE CHURCH IN PICARDY

French Soldiers Bringing a Machine Gun to Bear on the Enemy's Trenches, From Which a Counterattack Is Expected.

(Photo © Underwood & Underwood.)

WORLD WAR MAP SHOWING AT A GLANCE THE COUNTRIES INVOLVED

The Neutral Territory—in White—Is Vastly Overshadowed by the Portions of the Earth Engaged in the Great Conflict.

(Drawn for The New York Times Mid-Week Pictorial; © 1916.)

store the postal and telegraph lines to the Allies. If the King keeps his promises General Sarrail and the allied army at Saloniki may proceed to prosecute their Balkan plans without fear of a rear attack.

* * *

Germany's Staggering Taxes

IF the war ends by April, 1917, Germany, at the present rate of expenditure, will require an annual revenue of $3,250,000,000. The total taxable income of Germany is estimated at $9,750,000,000, distributed as follows:

Incomes up to $750	$6,500,000,000
Incomes of $750 to $2,500	1,425,000,000
Incomes of $2,500 to $7,500	750,000,000
Incomes of $7,500 to $25,000	550,000,000
Incomes above $25,000	575,000,000

If the whole revenue were raised by direct taxation this would equal one-third of the total national income, so that a family earning $750 a year ($15 a week) would have to reserve $260 of it for taxation; this would be impossible. Even with a tax graduated according to the amount of the income, the drain would be too heavy to be borne. The only recourse would be indirect taxation of extraordinary proportions, especially on all luxuries, and monumental taxes on imports other than articles of popular consumption, such as food, tobacco, and clothing.

* * *

British and German Losses

DURING November Great Britain lost in killed or died of wounds, missing and missing believed killed, 834 officers, 21,100 men; wounded, 1,473 officers, 50,343 men; prisoners, 6 officers, 212 men; total casualties, 2,312 officers, 72,479 men.

The figures for July, August, September, and October, respectively, were:

Officers.....7,071	Men..... 52,001
Officers.....4,693	Men.....123,097
Officers.....5,408	Men.....113,780
Officers.....4,366	Men.....102,340

The British total for five months of the Somme offensive and on all other fronts was 23,850 officers, 463,697 men.

The German official lists for November, issued Dec. 12, show total German casualties for the month (excluding naval and Colonial services) to have been 166,176 officers and men, making the total German losses in killed, wounded and missing since August, 1914, 3,921,689.

* * *

France's War Ministers

SINCE August, 1914, when the German Army crossed the frontier of Belgium, France has had five War Ministers —two civilians and three soldiers. When the war broke out, M. Messimy was in office, a politician whose chief claim to fame is that he selected General Joffre to head the General Staff of France three years before the war, thus giving the victor of the Marne the opportunity to build up a strong defensive army for France. A few weeks later his place was taken by M. Alexandre Millerand, a much stronger man, who had worked with Joffre in strengthening and reorganizing the French Army. The late General Gallieni, organizer of Madagascar, who had displayed both genius and high valor in preparing the defense of Paris, succeeded Millerand, and a few days before his death was succeeded by General Roques, who now makes way for General Lyautey. These three soldiers all had their training in France's colonial empire; Gallieni and Roques in Tonkin as well as Africa, while General Lyautey proudly boasts that he is "one of Gallieni's pupils." Their colonial training made these men strong administrators as well as skillful soldiers.

* * *

Russia at Constantinople

THE new Russian Premier, M. Trepoff, has announced to the Duma that the Entente Powers, when fully victorious, will hand Constantinople over to Russia. Russia wants Constantinople for two reasons, one religious and the other economic and political. From Constantinople the Eastern Orthodox faith came to Russia, and the Church of St. Sophia (now a mosque) is the most venerated building in the history of the Orthodox Church, since it was built by Justinian in the sixth century. Therefore Russia wishes St. Sophia to become once more the first church of the Eastern rite, and seeks possession of Constantinople in

order to realize that wish. But Russia wants an open door for the vast wheat fields of her southern provinces, one of the granaries of the world; a door, also, by which she can import merchandise throughout the Winter, when the Baltic ports are obstructed and the White Sea ports are frozen. England has, for more than a century, steadily opposed Russia's wish, through fears concerning Egypt and India. England, as Russia's ally, has now cordially assented to Russia's wish.

* * *

The Taurus Tunnel on the Bagdad Railroad

FROM Amsterdam comes the report that the great tunnel piercing the Taurus Mountains on the Constantinople-Bagdad railroad has been completed; but, as the Taurus section requires several tunnels, eleven miles in all, it is not certain whether the report refers to one or all of them; probably the former. The tunnel is close to the Cilician Gates, a pass through the Taurus, famous since the campaign of Alexander the Great, who, like Julius Caesar, spent some time at Taurus, the capital of Cilicia. The new tunnels, if all are completed, make it possible to go by train from Tarsus to Haidar Pasha, and thence by ferry to Constantinople, a distance of about 650 miles; from Tarsus the railroad goes southeast to Aleppo, thence eastward to Nisibin, close to the Tigris; there is a further section down the Tigris Valley, immediately north of Bagdad. From Aleppo the Turkish Hejaz railroad runs down, somewhat eastward of the River Jordan, to Arabia and the recently revolted holy cities of Islam. It would be possible, therefore, if the report from Amsterdam refers to the whole system of tunnels under the Taurus, for the Sultan of Turkey to make the pilgrimage to Medina from Constantinople by train.

* * *

The Motto of the Hapsburgs

THE accession of the Emperor Charles I., by evoking historical notices of the House of Hapsburg, has brought to light a curious device invented by the Emperor Friedrich III. in the fourteenth century. This device consisted of the five vowels, A, E, I, O, U, which were, by his command, engraved on all the royal plate and carved on every article of palace furniture. The sovereign never explained their significance, which was an unsolved riddle until after his death, when the key was found on one of the leaves of his diary. It was an anagram, having essentially the same meaning in both Latin and German. The Latin version read: Austria Est Imperare Orbi Universo; the German: Alles Erdreich ist Oesterreich Unterthan. The literal translation of the Latin is: "To Austria it is given to rule the universe"; of the German: "Everything in the world is subject to Austria." The family name is abbreviated from Habichts-burg, "Hawk's fortress," in Switzerland, from which the early robber barons of the family used to swoop down upon the surrounding country.

* * *

Nerve-Destroying Aeroplanes

WE are accustomed to think, with entire justice, of the superb moral poise and iron nerve of the airmen of the war. Nevertheless, they are subject to nervous breakdown and sudden collapse. Even while outwardly in full physical vigor, they are piling up an accumulation of physical and moral shocks. The variations of arterial pressure and heart palpitations finish by undermining the strongest. An airman full of fire, who has given numberless proofs of daring, begins to deteriorate. He ought to rest, but, through amour propre, he insists on flying. Then comes the day when his nerves go; he misses his balance, upsets, falls. There is the constant moral anxiety; the danger of falling within the enemy's lines; the seemingly infinite distance of the home trenches. The man's mind begins to row, to row like a galley slave, endlessly, with a kind of interior despair. He thinks he is not gaining ground. He struggles against the air, against his fear, against the invisible resistance to his wings. No one has yet adequately written of the airman's psychology. Gabriele d'Annunzio could, perhaps, undertake the task successfully, since he has experienced both the triumph and the sufferings of the airman.

Tank Hunting and Tank Sickness

HERE is an entry from the diary of a young Australian who was wounded while serving with one of the new "tanks," as the English landships on the Somme front are called: "Strange sensation. Worse than being in a submarine. At first unable to see anything, but imagined a lot. Bullets began to rain like hailstones on a galvanized roof at first, then like a series of hammer blows. Suddenly we gave a terrible lurch. I thought we were booked through. Lookout said we were astride an enemy trench. 'Give them hell!' was the order. We gave them it. Our guns raked and swept trenches right and left. Got a peep at frightened Huns. It was grimly humorous. They tried to bolt like scared rabbits, but were shot down in bunches before getting to their burrows. Machine guns brought forward. Started vicious rattle on our 'hide.' Not the least impression was made. Shells began to burst. We moved on and overtook some more frightened Huns. Cut their ranks to ribbons with our fire. They ran like men possessed. Officer tried to rally them. They awaited our coming for a while. As soon as our guns began to spit at them they were off once more. Experience was not altogether pleasant at first. Tank sickness is as bad as seasickness until you get used to them."

* * *

"Narpoo" and "Blighty"

THERE have quite recently been entertaining comments on the new "French slang" which is being adopted by the British Army in France; and two words thus commented on are "narpoo" and "Blighty," the latter an oddly unattractive name fof England. Now, while "narpoo" has some claim to a French origin, (as has, by the way, the better half of the English tongue,) being a corruption of the French phrase "Il n'y a plus," "there is no more of it," the second word is no more French than it is Choctaw. It is, indeed, a fairly good phonetic rendering of a Persian word, well known to all Anglo-Indians, and due, not to the presence of British armies in France, but to their presence in India, which is largely tinctured with Persian speech, the word Hindu, for example, being Persian. "Belait" is Persian for "a foreign land," and is used by Anglo-Indians for the distant land which they call home. It has a genitive or adjective form, "Belaiti," "of the foreign land," used in "Belaiti-pani," which means "soda water." Tommy Atkins, very incurious of Persian orthography, has turned Belaiti into Blighty, but it still means the land which he calls home.

* * *

Wonderful Treatment for Wounds

THE new treatment of sterilizing wounds as carried out in France by Dr. Carrel of the Rockefeller Institute is producing remarkable success. Dr. O'Neill Sherman reported to the Royal Society of Medicine at London that by this treatment the soldiers' stay in the hospitals was very appreciably shortened, many leaving in four or six weeks who would have required three to six months under former treatment; he stated that they were now doing one amputation where formerly twenty were necessary, and where there had been ten deaths there was now but one. The chief aim of the treatment was to prevent infection, as 75 per cent. of deaths after the first twenty-four hours were due to infection, and 80 per cent. of amputations were due to the same cause. The treatment consists in keeping the wound thoroughly filled, rather than irrigated, with a cleansing solution introduced every two hours, consisting of 0.45 to 0.50 per cent. hypochlorite and no boric acid, the former solution generally applied containing 0.5 to 0.6 per cent. sodium hypochlorite with boric acid. About 99 per cent. of wounds which had been sterilized by Dr. Carrel healed at once after being stitched.

* * *

No Peace Talk in Wales

THE profound determination of the masses of the United Kingdom to continue the war is revealed by the significant episode which recently occurred at Cardiff, the metropolis of Wales. A body called the National Council for Civil Liberties arranged to hold a conference for South Wales, under the Chairmanship of the President of the South Wales Miners' Association. The

delegates were appointed by trade unions in South Wales, principally the miners and railway workers.

Prior to the assembling of the conference a procession was formed on the outskirts of the town by the citizens at large, sailors, miners, laborers, clerks, small shopkeepers, &c., which soon assumed enormous proportions. There were violent scenes when the crowd collided with the conference, and the peace speakers were rushed out of the building, hooted out of the city, and pelted with mud by the crowd, being saved from bodily harm only by the interference of the police. The meeting hall was taken in charge by the crowd amid tumultuous cheering and shouts of "No Peace!" and "Down with the Traitors!" Belgian and British flags were waved, speeches were made, and resolutions of protest were telegraphed to the Home Secretary, the Prime Minister, and the Secretary of State for War, stating that, as "they did not see fit to prohibit the pacifist meeting, the people have taken the matter in their own hands and refuse to allow it to be held."

This incident provoked a sharp debate in Parliament, several members contending strongly that the authorities should have forbidden the meeting, others that the failure to protect the assemblage was a vital blow at liberty of speech. The Government explained that it took no steps so that there could be no just charge that it had connived at abridgment of personal rights.

* * *

IN the October CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, in referring to the prize money awarded the British crews for the sinking of the German warships in the engagement off Falkland Islands, for which £5 was given for 2,432 enemy sailors, the impression left in the headline that the prize money was awarded for "each enemy sailor drowned" was misleading. Under the Naval Prize act of 1864 of Great Britain, Section V., Paragraph 42, it is provided in Prize Bounty Grants that "such of the officers and crew of any of her Majesty's ships of war as are actually present at the taking or destroying of any armed ship of any of her Majesty's enemies shall be entitled to have distributed among them as prize bounty a sum calculated at the rate of £5 for each person on board the enemy's ship at the beginning of the engagement."

* * *

THE birth rate in England and Wales showed a slight rise in the three months ended Sept. 30, 1916, being 21.7 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 19.5 a year previous; of 198,293 births recorded in the three months, 9,675 were illegitimate. The number of births in the last half of 1915 at Berlin were 25.1 per cent. less than in the same period of 1914; 30 per cent. less in Dresden; 34 per cent. in Hamburg; 44 per cent. decrease in Prague, and a decrease of over 50 per cent. at Vienna.

* * *

THE total number of men of military age at present in Ireland is 514,606, of whom 245,875 are considered indispensable, 107,492 physically unfit, leaving 161,239 yet available for service. The Irish enlistments since the outbreak of the war total 130,241, of whom only 33,221 have enlisted since August, 1915; of the total, 66,674 enlisted from Ulster, 21,412 from the Dublin area, 21,079 from Munster, 15,636 from Leinster, 5,440 from Connaught; since August, 1915, 14,922 have enlisted from Ulster and 18,299 from all the rest of Ireland, including Dublin.

* * *

AN interesting statement was made by Mr. Montague, Minister of Munitions of Great Britain, to the effect that the present actual expenditure for munitions is greater than the total annual expenditure for all purposes by the United Kingdom before the war.

GERMANY'S PEACE PROPOSAL

A Historic Address by the Chancellor, With Text of Notes Transmitted Through Neutral Powers

CHANCELLOR VON BETHMANN HOLLWEG convened the German Reichstag in special session Tuesday, Dec. 12, to announce that Germany and her allies had that day made a formal proposal to enter into peace negotiations with the enemy. The Chancellor earlier in the day received one after another the representatives of the United States, Spain, and Switzerland, the States protecting German interests in hostile foreign countries, and to each transmitted a note which he asked them to bring to the knowledge of the Governments at war with Germany, the contents of which were divulged soon afterward in his address to the Reichstag. The Government of Austria at the same time transmitted a note of similar import to the same representatives, and identical notes were transmitted by Turkey and Bulgaria. Notes of like nature were also communicated to the Vatican.

The momentous occasion was made the more dramatic by the manner in which the session was assembled. All the members of the Reichstag, even those in the fighting line, were summoned to Berlin by telegraph, and it was given out that the meeting would be "the most remarkable since the outbreak of the war, and of worldwide historical importance." The Imperial Chancellor the day before received the Ministers of all the Federated States and communicated to them the announcement that would be made. It is understood that Parliamentary sittings were held simultaneously at Vienna, Sofia, and Constantinople. A few days earlier a conference had taken place, at which were present the Kaiser, the Imperial Chancellor, King Ludwig of Bavaria, and General Hindenburg. At that time the Grand Cross of the Iron Cross was conferred on the Field Marshal and a personal letter handed him by the Kaiser, thanking him with unusual fervor for the successful campaign in Rumania.

The meeting of the Reichstag was arranged to give fullest dramatic effect to the momentous occasion. All the foreign Ambassadors and Ministers were in the diplomatic boxes. The building was surrounded by a great crowd, and the adjoining streets were thronged.

The Chancellor on rising was warmly greeted, and delivered his address in a clear, loud, ringing voice. His utterances were interrupted by continuous applause, and at frequent intervals there was prolonged demonstration. At the conclusion there was enthusiastic cheering, and the Reichstag immediately adjourned subject to call.

The Chancellor's Address

The Chancellor spoke as follows:

"The Reichstag had been adjourned for a long period, but fortunately it was left to the discretion of the President as to the day of the next meeting. This discretion was caused by the hope that soon happy events in the field would be recorded, a hope fulfilled quicker, almost, than expected. I shall be brief, for actions speak for themselves."

The Chancellor said Rumania had entered the war in order to roll up the German positions in the east and those of Germany's allies. At the same time the grand offensive on the Somme had as its object to pierce the German western front, and the renewed Italian attacks were intended to paralyze Austria-Hungary.

"The situation was serious," said the Chancellor. "But with God's help our troops shaped conditions so as to give us security which not only is complete but still more so than ever before. The western front stands. Not only does it stand, but in spite of the Rumanian campaign it is fitted out with larger reserves of men and material than it had been

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formerly. The most effective precautions have been taken against all Italian diversions. And while on the Somme and on the Carso the drumfire resounded, while the Russians launched troops against the eastern frontier of Transylvania, Field Marshal von Hindenburg captured the whole of Western Wallachia and the hostile capital of Bucharest, leading with unparalleled genius the troops that in competition with all the allies made possible what hitherto was considered impossible.

"And Hindenburg does not rest. Military operations progress. By strokes of the sword at the same time firm foundations for our economic needs have been laid. Great stocks of grain, victuals, oil, and other goods fell into our hands in Rumania. Their transport has begun. In spite of scarcity, we could have lived on our own supplies, but now our safety is beyond question.

"To these great events on land, heroic deeds of equal importance are added by our submarines. The spectre of famine, which our enemies intended to appear before us, now pursues them without mercy. When, after the termination of the first year of the war, the Emperor addressed the nation in a public appeal, he said: 'Having witnessed such great events, my heart was filled with awe and determination.' Neither our Emperor nor our nation ever changed their minds in this respect. Neither have they now. The genius and heroic acts of our leaders have fashioned these facts as firm as iron. If the enemy counted upon the weariness of his enemy, then he was deceived.

"The Reichstag, by means of the national auxiliary war service law, helped to build a new offensive and defensive bulwark in the midst of the great struggle. Behind the fighting army stands the nation at work—the gigantic force of the nation, working for the common aim.

"The empire is not a besieged fortress, as our adversaries imagined, but one gigantic and firmly disciplined camp with inexhaustible resources. That is the German Empire, which is firmly and faithfully united with its brothers in arms, who have been tested in battle under the Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian flags.

"Our enemies now ascribed to us a plan to conquer the whole world, and then desperate cries of anguish for peace. But not confused by these asseverations, we progressed with firm decision, and we thus continue our progress, always ready to defend ourselves and fight for our nation's existence, for its free future, and always ready for this price to stretch out our hand for peace.

Moment Ripe for Peace

"Our strength has not made our ears deaf to our responsibility before God, before our own nation, and before humanity. The declarations formerly made by us concerning our readiness for peace were evaded by our adversaries. Now we have advanced one step further in this direction. On Aug. 1, 1914, the Emperor had personally to take the gravest decision which ever fell to the lot of a German—the order for mobilization—which he was compelled to give as a result of the Russian mobilization. During these long and earnest years of the war the Emperor has been moved by a single thought—how peace could be restored to safeguard Germany after the struggle in which she has fought victoriously.

"Nobody can testify better to this than I who bear the responsibility for all actions of the Government. In a deep moral and religious sense of duty toward his nation and, beyond it, toward humanity, the Emperor now considers that the moment has come for official action toward peace. His Majesty, therefore, in complete harmony and in common with our allies, decided to propose to the hostile powers to enter peace negotiations. This morning I transmitted a note to this effect to all the hostile powers through the representatives of those powers which are watching over our interests and rights in the hostile States. I asked the representatives of Spain, the United States, and Switzerland to forward that note.

"The same procedure has been adopted today in Vienna, Constantinople, and Sofia. Other neutral States and his Holiness the Pope have been similarly informed."

The Chancellor then read the note, and, continuing, said:

"Gentlemen, in August, 1914, our enemies challenged the superiority of power in the world war. Today we raise the question of peace, which is a question of humanity. We await the answer of our enemies with that sereneness of mind which is guaranteed to us by our exterior and interior strength, and by our clear conscience. If our enemies decline to end the war, if they wish to take upon themselves the world's heavy burden of all these terrors which hereafter will follow, then even in the least and smallest homes every German heart will burn in sacred wrath against our enemies, who are unwilling to stop human slaughter in order that their plans of conquest and annihilation may continue.

"In the fateful hour we took a fateful decision. It has been saturated with the blood of hundreds of thousands of our sons and brothers who gave their lives for the safety of their home. Human wits and human understanding are unable to reach to the extreme and last questions in this struggle of nations, which has unveiled all the terrors of earthly life, but also the grandeur of human courage and human will in ways never seen before. God will be the judge. We can proceed upon our way."

Kaiser Notifies the Army

While the announcements were being made in the Reichstag the Kaiser sent the following message to all the Commanding Generals:

Soldiers: In agreement with the sovereigns of my allies, and with the consciousness of victory, I have made an offer of peace to the enemy. Whether it will be accepted is still uncertain. Until that moment arrives you will fight on.

Emperor William's order was addressed also to "my navy, which in the common fight has loyally and effectively staked all its strength."

Presentation of the Notes

The official copies of the notes were received by cable at Washington on Dec. 14 and 15. [Full text of notes appears on following page.] Meanwhile the German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, had an interview with Secretary of State Lansing to confirm officially the receipt of the messages. There was much speculation for three or four days as to what course our Government would pursue in transmitting the notes. There was considerable discussion as to whether this move should not be made the occasion for a strong representation by the United States to the Entente, in which we should recommend favorable action upon Germany's proposal, with an urgent request that a conference be held. The Cabinet held a prolonged session, and after a day's delay it was decided that this Government would transmit the notes without any comment. Similar action was decided on by the Vatican, Switzerland, and Spain.

The presentation of the notes was accomplished at London and Paris on Monday, Dec. 18, by the American Ambassadors without formality. Ambassador Page went in an automobile from the Embassy, and was received in the Foreign Secretary's room by Lord Robert Cecil, who was acting for the Foreign Minister, Mr. Balfour having just started on a vacation. The note was inclosed in a large, white envelope; it was handed to Lord Robert without comment, and the recipient made no reference to peace, simply thanking Mr. Page for the transmission of the message from the Central Powers.

The proceedings at Paris were equally informal. The Swiss Minister at Rome presented the note to Italy, and through the same channel it was presented to Belgium and Portugal without comment. The Netherlands Minister presented the note to Serbia in behalf of Bulgaria.

Reception of the News

The news was received throughout the world with profound interest. Everywhere in the Central Empires, it was reported by the news dispatches, there was rejoicing and enthusiasm. The leading newspapers warmly supported the action and indorsed the utterances of the Chancellor. Among the Entente Allies the first effect seemed to be distinctly unfavorable, and such news as was permitted to pass uncensored indicated an al-

most universal attitude of distrust and derision.

In America the effects of Germany's proffer of peace were scarcely less marked than in the belligerent nations. One result was an immediate and violent decline on the Stock Exchanges. For two days a semi-panic ensued in the stock and commodity markets; wheat declined over 20 points, and stocks fell from 3 to 6 points the first day; there was a slight recovery on the 13th, but on the 14th and 15th there were over 2,000,000 shares sold on the New York Stock Exchange, registering declines from 4 to 8 points. The commodity markets also showed a heavy decrease in values. There was some recovery on the 16th, due to the repudiation of the move by the Russian Duma, but stocks were irregular on the 18th in expectant nervousness over the official British reply which was to be made on the 19th by Premier David Lloyd George.

The official text of the various notes which conveyed the peace proposal as transmitted through the neutrals and the Vatican follows:

Text of Peace Notes of the Central Powers

[Dispatched on Dec. 12, 1916]

To the Neutral Powers

Following is the text of the note addressed by Germany and her allies to the neutral powers for transmission to the Entente Allies:

THE most terrific war experienced in history has been raging for the last two years and a half over a large part of the world—a catastrophe which thousands of years of common civilization was unable to prevent and which injures the most precious achievements of humanity.

Our aims are not to shatter nor annihilate our adversaries. In spite of our consciousness of our military and economic strength and our readiness to continue the war (which has been forced upon us) to the bitter end, if necessary; at the same time, prompted by the desire to avoid further bloodshed and make an end to the atrocities of war, the four allied powers propose to enter forthwith into peace negotiations.

The propositions which they bring forward for such negotiations, and which have for their object a guarantee of the existence, of the honor and liberty of evolution for their nations, are, according to their firm belief, an appropriate basis for the establishment of a lasting peace.

The four allied powers have been obliged to take up arms to defend justice and the liberty of national evolution. The glorious deeds of our armies have in no way altered their purpose. We always maintained the firm belief that our own rights and justified claims in no way control the rights of these nations.

The spiritual and material progress which were the pride of Europe at the beginning of the twentieth century are threatened with ruin. Germany and her allies, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, gave proof of their unconquerable strength in this struggle. They gained gigantic advantages over adversaries superior in number and war material. Our lines stand unshaken against ever-repeated attempts made by armies.

The last attack in the Balkans has been rapidly and victoriously overcome. The most recent events have demonstrated that further continuance of the war will not result in breaking the resistance of our forces, and the whole situation with regard to our troops justifies our expectation of further successes.

If, in spite of this offer of peace and reconciliation, the struggle should go on, the four allied powers are resolved to continue to a victorious end, but they disclaim responsibility for this before humanity and history. The Imperial Government, through the good offices of your Excellency, asks the Government of [here is inserted the name of the neutral power addressed in each instance] to bring this communication to the knowledge of the Government of [here are inserted the names of the belligerents.]

To the Vatican

The note of the German Government, as presented by Dr. von Muhlberg, German Minister to the Vatican, to Cardinal Gasparri, Papal Secretary of State, reads as follows:

According to instructions received, I have the honor to send to your Eminence a copy of the declaration of the Imperial Government today, which, by the good offices of the powers intrusted with the protection of German interests in the countries with which the German Empire is in a state of war, transmits to these States, and in which the Imperial Government declares itself ready to enter into peace negotiations. The Austro-Hungarian, Turkish, and Bulgarian Governments also have sent similar notes.

The reasons which prompted Germany and her allies to take this step are manifest. For two years and a half a terrible war has been

devastating the European Continent. Unlimited treasures of civilization have been destroyed. Extensive areas have been soaked with blood. Millions of brave soldiers have fallen in battle and millions have returned home as invalids. Grief and sorrow fill almost every house.

Not only upon the belligerent nations, but also upon neutrals, the destructive consequences of the gigantic struggle weigh heavily. Trade and commerce, carefully built up in years of peace, have been depressed. The best forces of the nation have been withdrawn from the production of useful objects. Europe, which formerly was devoted to the propagation of religion and civilization, which was trying to find solutions for social problems, and was the home of science and art and all peaceful labor, now resembles an immense war camp, in which the achievements and works of many decades are doomed to annihilation.

Germany is carrying on a war of defense against her enemies, which aim at her destruction. She fights to assure the integrity of her frontiers and the liberty of the German Nation, for the right which she claims to develop freely her intellectual and economic energies in peaceful competition and on an equal footing with other nations. All the efforts of their enemies are unable to shatter the heroic armies of the (Teutonic) allies, which protect the frontiers of their countries, strengthened by the certainty that the enemy shall never pierce the iron wall.

Those fighting on the front know that they are supported by the whole nation, which is inspired by love for its country and is ready for the greatest sacrifices and determined to defend to the last extremity the inherited treasure of intellectual and economic work and the social organization and sacred soil of the country.

Certain of our own strength, but realizing Europe's sad future if the war continues; seized with pity in the face of the unspeakable misery of humanity, the German Empire, in accord with her allies, solemnly repeats what the Chancellor already has declared, a year ago, that Germany is ready to give peace to the world by setting before the whole world the question whether or not it is possible to find a basis for an understanding.

Since the first day of the Pontifical reign his Holiness the Pope has unswervingly demonstrated, in the most generous fashion, his solicitude for the innumerable victims of this war. He has alleviated the sufferings and ameliorated the fate of thousands of men injured by this catastrophe. Inspired by the exalted ideas of his ministry, his Holiness has seized every opportunity in the interests of humanity to end so sanguinary a war.

The Imperial Government is firmly confident that the initiative of the four powers will find friendly welcome on the part of his Holiness, and that the work of peace can count upon the precious support of the Holy See.

Austria's Separate Statement

An official Austrian statement, referring to the peace offer, says:

When in the Summer of 1914 the patience of Austria-Hungary was exhausted by a series of systematically continued and ever-increasing provocations and menaces, and the monarchy, after almost fifty years of unbroken peace, found itself compelled to draw the sword, this weighty decision was animated neither by aggressive purposes nor by designs of conquest, but solely by the bitter necessity of self-defense, to defend its existence and safeguard itself for the future against similar treacherous plots of hostile neighbors.

That was the task and aim of the monarchy in the present war. In combination with its allies, well tried in loyal comradeship in arms, the Austro-Hungarian Army and Fleet, fighting, bleeding, but also assailing and conquering, gained such successes that they frustrated the intentions of the enemy. The Quadruple Alliance not only has won an immense series of victories, but also holds in its power extensive hostile territories. Unbroken is its strength, as our latest treacherous enemy has just experienced.

Can our enemies hope to conquer or shatter this alliance of powers? They will never succeed in breaking it by blockade and starvation measures. Their war aims, to the attainment of which they have come no nearer in the third year of the war, will in the future be proved to have been completely unattainable. Useless and unavailing, therefore, is the prosecution of the fighting on the part of the enemy.

The powers of the Quadruple Alliance, on the other hand, have effectively pursued their aims, namely, defense against attacks on their existence and integrity, which were planned in concert long since, and the achievement of real guarantees, and they will never allow themselves to be deprived of the basis of their existence, which they have secured by advantages won.

The continuation of the murderous war, in which the enemy can destroy much, but cannot—as the Quadruple Alliance is firmly confident—alter fate, is ever more seen to be an aimless destruction of human lives and property, an act of inhumanity justified by no necessity and a crime against civilization.

This conviction, and the hope that similar views may also be begun to be entertained in the enemy camp, has caused the idea to ripen in the Vienna Cabinet—in full agreement with the Governments of the allied [Teutonic] powers—of making a candid and loyal endeavor to come to a discussion with their enemies for the purpose of paving a way for peace.

The Governments of Austria-Hungary, Germany, Turkey, and Bulgaria have addressed

today identical notes to the diplomatic representatives in the capitals concerned who are intrusted with the promotion of enemy nationals, expressing an inclination to enter into peace negotiations and requesting them to transmit this overture to enemy States. This step was simultaneously brought to the knowledge of the representatives of the Holy See in a special note, and the active interest of the Pope for this offer of peace was solicited. Likewise the accredited representatives of the remaining neutral States in the four capitals were acquainted with this proceeding for the purpose of informing their Governments.

Austria and her allies by this step have given new and decisive proof of their love of peace. It is now for their enemies to make known their views before the world.

Whatever the result of its proposal may be, no responsibility can fall on the Quadruple Alliance, even before the judgment seat of its own peoples, if it is eventually obliged to continue the war.

Official Comments of France, Russia, and Italy on Germany's Proposal

THE first official declaration on the subject by the Entente was made by Premier Briand at a session of the Chamber of Deputies on the 12th. He warned France to beware of her enemies, though intimating that France would not do less in the premises than the other members of the allied conference. Amid applause he said:

I have the duty to place my country on guard against possible poisoning. When a country arms itself to the teeth, when it seizes men everywhere in violation of the laws of nations and enforces labor upon them, I should be guilty if I did not cry out to my country, "Look out! Take care!"

I have the right, in the first place, to say to our enemies for the hundredth time, "The blood is on your hands, not upon ours." Not that I doubt the clearsightedness of my country, but, in the face of these attempts to spread dissension among the Allies, I exclaim, "The French Republic will not do less than the convention."

Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer and member of the new War Council of Great Britain, in asking the House of Commons for an additional war credit of $2,000,000,000, which was granted, made the following reference to the peace proposal on Dec. 13. He was speaking for the Prime Minister, who was absent on account of illness:

Something has happened of which I think it necessary that I should say a word—the peace proposals from Berlin. These proposals have not reached his Majesty's Government. It is obvious that under these circumstances no member of the Government can make any statement on the subject, and in my view it would be better that very little should be said in the House of Commons.

There is one thing which even at this stage I think it necessary to say. In moving the last vote of credit the late Premier in a peroration which moved the House and the nation used these words: "They [the Allies] require that there should be adequate reparation for the past and adequate security for the future." That is still the policy, still the determination of his Majesty's Government.

Russia First to Act.

Russia was first of the Entente Allies to act officially on the proposals. The Russian Duma passed the following resolutions, unanimously rejecting the offer:

The Duma, having heard the statement by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, unanimously favors a categorical refusal by the allied Governments to enter, under present conditions, into any peace negotiations whatever.

It considers that the German proposals are nothing more than fresh proof of the weakness of the enemy and a hypocritical act from which the enemy expects no real success, but by which it seeks to throw upon others the responsibility for the war and for what happened during it, and to exculpate itself before public opinion in Germany.

The Duma considers that a premature peace would not only be a brief period of calm, but would also involve the danger of another bloody war and a renewal of the deplorable sacrifices by the people. It considers that a lasting peace will be possible only after a decisive victory over the military power of the enemy and after definite renunciation by Germany of the aspirations which render her responsible for the world war and for the horrors by which it has been accompanied.

The passage of these resolutions was preceded by an address from the Foreign Minister Pokrovsky, who announced that he spoke with full authority of the Czar. Referring to the proposals of peace he said:

Words of peace, coming from the side which bears the whole burden of responsibility for

the world conflagration, which it started, and which is unparalleled in the annals of history, however far back one goes, were no surprise to the Allies.

In the course of the two and a half years of war Germany has more than once mentioned peace. She spoke of it to her armies and her people each time she entered upon a military operation which was to be decisive. After each military success she put out feelers for a separate peace on one side and another, and conducted a propaganda in the neutral press. All these efforts have met with calm and determined resistance by the allied Powers.

Seeing now that she is powerless to make a breach in our unshakable alliance, Germany makes an official proposal to open peace negotiations. In substance, the German proposal contains no tangible indications regarding the nature of the peace which is desired by the enemy armies which devastated and occupied Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro, and part of France, Russia, and Rumania.

The Austro-Germans have just proclaimed an illusory independence for part of Poland, and by this are trying to lay hands on the entire Polish Nation. The motives of the German step will be shown more clearly if one takes into consideration the domestic conditions of our enemies.

Without speaking of the unlawful attempts to force the population of Russian Poland to take arms against its own country, it will suffice to mention the introduction of general forced labor into Germany to understand how hard is the situation of our enemies.

To attempt at the last moment to profit by their fleeting territorial conquest before their domestic weakness was revealed—that was the real meaning of the German proposal. In the event of failure, they will exploit at home the refusal of the Allies to accept peace in order to rehabilitate the tottering morale of their populations.

But there is another senseless motive in that they fail to understand the true spirit which animates Russia. Our enemies deceive themselves with the vain hope that they will find among us men cowardly enough to allow themselves to be deceived, if only for a moment, by the lying proposals.

That will not be. No Russian heart will yield; all Russia will rally more closely around its august sovereign, who declared at the very beginning of the war that he would not make peace until the last enemy soldiers had left our country, and for the general collaboration which constitutes the only sure means of arriving at the end we all have at heart, namely, the crushing of the enemy.

The Russian Government repudiates with indignation the mere idea of suspending the struggle, thereby permitting Germany to take advantage of the last chance she will have of subjecting Europe to her hegemony. The innumerable sacrifices already made would be in vain if premature peace were concluded with an enemy whose forces have been shaken but not broken, and an enemy who is seeking a breathing space by making deceitful offers of a permanent peace.

In this inflexible decision Russia is in complete agreement with all her valiant allies. We are all equally convinced of the vital necessity of carrying on the war to a victorious end and no subterfuge by our enemies will prevent us from following this path to the end.

The impression became general throughout the United States that it was by agreement of the Entente that Russia took the first official action, in order to put an effectual quietus to the rumor that she was disposed to desert her allies and make a separate peace. The extraordinarily successful drive of the French troops at Verdun, where on the 14th they practically recovered all the ground lost since February, four divisions of French defeating five divisions of Germans, capturing over 11,000 prisoners, of whom 283 were officers, was regarded as France's answer to the claim of the Chancellor that the line in the west was "unbreakable."

Italy's Answer

Italy answered officially on Dec. 19. Several resolutions had previously been introduced in the Chamber of Deputies in regard to the proposals. At the sitting on the 19th Baron Sonnino, the Foreign Minister, addressed the Chamber on the subject, stating that there was no "sign of conditions or bases of negotiations in the enemy's note." He continued as follows:

I possess no information in regard to eventual conditions of peace beyond the note from the enemy which I read in the Chamber.

Should propositions be made subsequently we should consider what to do; but it would be neither practical nor proper to discuss that question today. Moreover, it should be understood clearly that no one of the Entente Allies could take into consideration any condition whatever which by hypothesis might be eventually offered to him under separate form. In the public interest and out of respect to the allied Governments, I cannot communicate to you anything whatever as to the substance of the answer we shall give to the note of the four enemy powers. The answer will be published as soon as it is drawn up.

We all wish peace, and lasting peace. But we consider a lasting peace to be a careful settlement whose duration depends not on the solidarity of the fetters with which one people is held subject to another, but on an exact

balance among the States, based on respect for the principal nationalities, rules laid down in the laws of nations, and reasons of humanity and civilization.

If we were in the presence of genuine proposals, with bases of a nature to satisfy the general postulates of civilization and justice, which I have just mentioned, none would reject them abruptly. But there is nothing to show even faintly that this is the case, and there are many reasons for believing the contrary.

I do not desire to use exaggerated language, but the accent of boastfulness and the lack of sincerity which characterize the preamble to the enemy's note certainly inspire no belief that these mysterious peace conditions which the Central Empires announce they have the intention of exposing later on, with the object of guaranteeing the existence, honor, and free development of their peoples, do constitute an answer to the postulates we have laid down.

Baron Sonnino appealed to the Deputies of all parties, in the words of Premier Briand of France, not to permit the move of the Central Powers to "poison the mind of the people," and urged them to refrain from "playing the enemy's game" by giving way to rash or untimely manifestations which might implant the germs of division and discouragement. He asked them not to vote any order of the day which might let it be supposed that the attitude of Italy differed from that of her allies.

Amid an outburst of cheering for Baron Sonnino, the Chamber voted the order of the day pure and simple, implying confidence in the Government, and further ordered that the Foreign Minister's speech be placarded throughout Italy. The vote on the order of the day was 276 to 40.

British Premier's Answer

It was tacitly understood that the full exposition of the views of the Allies respecting Germany's peace proposals would be left to David Lloyd George, England's new Prime Minister. He had fallen ill the day he had assumed office, and his first appearance in Parliament in his new rôle was postponed on that account to the 19th. This session of the House of Commons was regarded as one of the most important in its history. Not only would the new Premier, in accordance with usage, on his final appearance outline the general policy of the Government, but his utterance would be the decisive word in behalf of all the Allies regarding the peace proposal.

The Parliament house was thronged with England's greatest. The galleries were full of peers, publicists, soldiers, and sailors. All the leading Ministers of the late Administration, with one exception, were on the front bench of the Opposition. Mr. Asquith, the retired Premier, was greeted with a demonstration that moved him deeply.

Hall Caine, the novelist, in describing the scene in the House of Commons, wrote: "A great and memorable scene! Even if the heavy duty and solemn responsibility, before God and humanity, of replying to the blasphemous braggadocio of Germany's so-called offer of peace had not fallen on the new Prime Minister as the first official act of his Premiership, today's sitting of Parliament would have been almost without parallel in Parliamentary annals. I doubt if any of us yet know how far it will go. It may be the signal for the beginning of a new order which will completely alter the character of Parliament."

The Premier began his speech at 4:10 P. M., Dec. 19, and had the floor for nearly two hours. The full text of his address is given below.

Lloyd George's Historic Speech Regarding Peace

I SHALL have to claim the indulgence of the House in making the few observations that I have to make in moving the second reading of the bill.

I appear before the House of Commons today with the most terrible responsibility that can fall upon the shoulders of any living man. As the Chief Minister of the Crown, and in the midst of the most stupendous war in which this country ever has been engaged, a war upon which its destinies depend, the responsibilities which rest upon the Government have been accentuated by the declaration of the German Chancellor, and I propose to deal with that at once.

The statement made by him in the German Reichstag has been followed by a note presented to us by the United States Minister,

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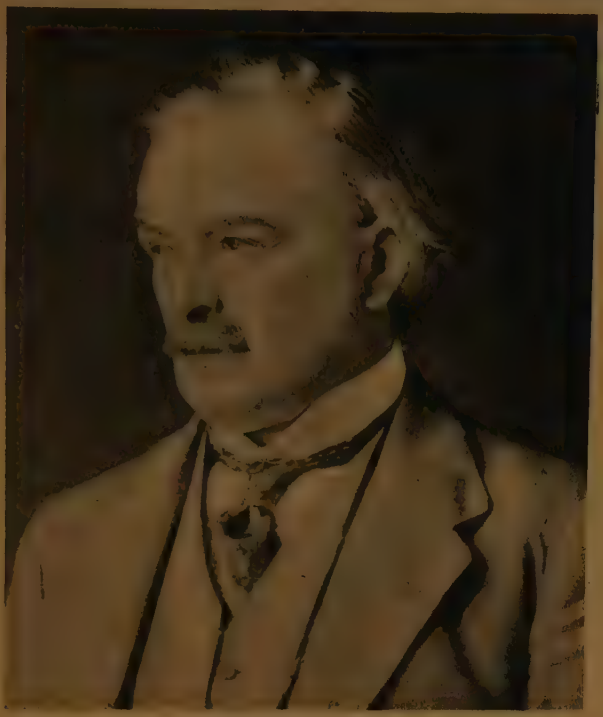

David Lloyd George
Prime Minister

Earl Curzon of Kedleston
Lord President of War Council

Andrew Bonar Law
Chancellor of the Exchequer

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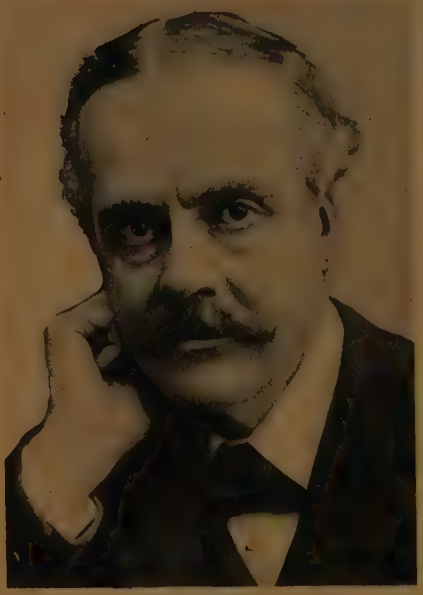
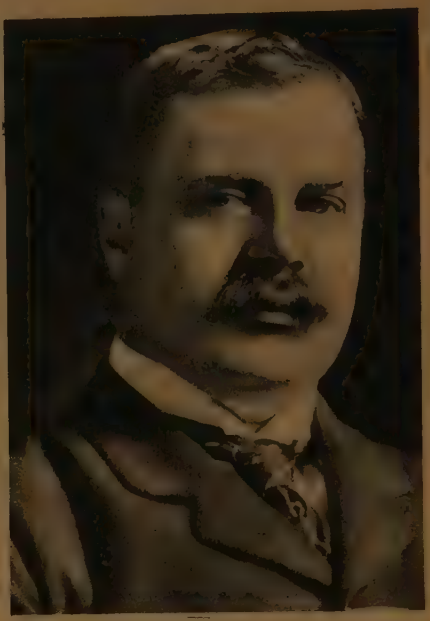


Arthur J. Balfour
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs



The Earl of Derby
Secretary of State for War

Lord Milner
Without Portfolio

Arthur Henderson
Without Portfolio

without any note or comment. The answer, which is given by the Government, will be given in full accord with all our various allies. Already there has been an interchange of views, not upon the note itself, because it has only recently arrived, but upon the spirit which impelled the note. The note is only a paraphrase of the speech, so that the subject matter of the note itself has been discussed informally with the Allies, and I am glad to be able to say that we arrived separately at identical conclusions.

I am very glad that the first answer was given to the German Chancellor by France and by Russia. They have unquestionably the right to give the first answer. The enemy is still on their soil and their sacrifices have been greater. The answer they have given has already appeared in all the papers, and I stand here today on behalf of the Government to give a clear and definite support to the statement they have already made. And here let me say that any man or set of men who wantonly and without sufficient cause prolongs a terrible conflict like this has on his soul a crime that oceans could not cleanse; on the other hand, a man or set of men who from a sense of war weariness abandoned the struggle without achieving the high purpose for which we entered upon it would be guilty of the most ghastly poltroonery ever perpetrated by any statesman.

Quotes Lincoln's Words

I should like to quote the well-known words of Abraham Lincoln under similar conditions:

"We accepted the war for an object, a worthy object. The war will end when that object is attained. Under God I hope it will never end until that time."

Are we to achieve that object by accepting the invitations of the German Chancellor? That is the only question we have to put to ourselves.

There has been some talk about the proposals of peace. What are those proposals? There are none. To enter on the invitation of Germany, proclaiming herself victorious, without any knowledge of the proposals she intends to make, into a conference, is putting our heads into a noose with the rope end in the hands of the Germans.

This country is not altogether without experience in these matters. It is not the first time we have fought a great military despotism which was overshadowing Europe, and it will not be the first time we shall help to overthrow it. We have an uncomfortable historical memory of these things. We can recall how one of the greatest of these despots, having a purpose to serve in the organization of his nefarious scheme, invariably appeared in the garb of the angel of peace. He usually appeared under two conditions—when he wished for time to assimilate conquest and reorganize for fresh advances, or, secondly, when his subjects showed symptoms of fatigue and war weariness. The appeal was always made in the name of humanity. He demanded an end of bloodshed, at which he professed himself to be horrified, but for which he himself was mainly responsible. Our ancestors were taken in once and bitterly did they and Europe rue it. The time was devoted to reorganizing his forces for a deadlier attack than ever upon the liberties of Europe.

Stands by Asquith's Terms

Examples of the kind cause us to regard this note with a considerable measure of reminiscent disquiet. We feel we ought to know before we give favorable consideration to such an invitation that Germany is prepared to accede to the only terms on which it is possible for peace to be obtained and maintained in Europe.

What are these terms? They have been repeatedly stated by all the leading statesmen of the Allies. All I can do is to quote what the leader of the House, Mr. Bonar Law, said last week when he made practically the same statement of terms as those put forward by Mr. Asquith—"restitution, reparation, guarantees against repetition."

So that there shall be no mistakes, (and it is important that there should be no mistake in a matter of the life and death of millions,) let me say complete restitution, full reparation, and effectual guarantees.

Did the German Chancellor use a single phrase that would indicate that he was prepared to accept such terms? Was there a hint of restitution? Was there any suggestion of reparation? Was there any indication of any security for the future, that this outrage on civilization would not again be perpetrated at the first profitable opportunity?

The very substance and style of the speech constituted a denial of peace on the only terms on which peace is possible. He is not even conscious now that Germany has committed an offense against the rights of free nations. Listen to this quotation: "Not for an instant had they (the Central Powers) swerved from the conviction that a respect for the rights of free nations is in any degree incompatible with their own rights and legitimate interests." When did they discover that? Where was the respect for the rights of other nations in Belgium?

That, it is said, was for self-defense. Menaced, I suppose, by the overwhelming army of Belgium, the Germans were intimidated into invading Belgium, burning Belgian cities and villages, massacring thousands of inhabitants, old and young, carrying survivors into bondage—yea, carrying them into slavery at the very moment when the note was being written about the "unswerving convicion of the respect for the rights of other nations."

What guarantee is there that these terrors will not be repeated in the future? That, if we enter into a treaty of peace, we shall put an end to Prussian militarism? If there is to be no reckoning for these atrocities by land and sea, are we to grasp the hand which per-

petrated them without any reparation being made?

We have to exact damages.

We have begun; already it has cost us much.

We must exact it now, so as not to leave such a grim inheritance for our children.

Criticises Speech and Note

Much as we all long for peace, deeply as we are horrified at the war, their note and speech give small encouragement to hope for an honorable and lasting peace. What hope is given in that speech? The whole root and cause of this bitterness, the arrogant spirit of the Prussian military caste—will it not be as dominant as ever if we patch up a peace now?

The very speech resounds with the boast of the Prussian military triumph; the very appeal for peace was delivered ostentatiously from the triumphal chariot of Prussian militarism.

We must keep a steadfast eye on the purpose for which we entered the war. Otherwise the great sacrifices we are making will be all in vain. The German note states that for the defense of their existence and for the freedom of national development the Central Powers were constrained to take up arms. Such phrases cannot but deceive those who listen to them. They are intended to deceive the German Nation into supporting the designs of the Prussian military caste.

Who ever wished to put an end to their national existence or to the freedom of their national development? We welcomed their development so long as it was on behalf of peace. The greater their development in that direction, the greater would humanity be enriched by that development.

That was not our design and it is not our purpose now. The Allies entered into this war to defend Europe against the aggression of Prussian military domination, and they must insist that the end is a most complete and effective guarantee against the possibility of that caste ever again disturbing the peace of Europe.

Prussia, since she got into the hands of that caste, has been a bad neighbor—arrogant, threatening, bullying, shifting boundaries at her will, taking one fair field after another from weaker neighbors and adding them to her own dominions, ostentatiously piling up weapons of offense, ready on a moment's notice to be used.

No More Swashbuckling

She has always been an unpleasant, disturbing neighbor to us. She got thoroughly on the nerves of Europe, and there was no peace near where she dwelt.

It is difficult for those who were fortunate enough to live thousands of miles away to understand what it has meant to those who lived near. Even here, with the protection of the broad seas between us, we know what a disturbing factor the Prussians were with their constant naval menace. But even we can hardly realize what it has meant to France and Russia. Several times there were threats. There were two of them within the lifetime of this generation which presented an alternative of war or humiliation.

There were many of us who had hoped that internal influences in Germany would have been strong enough to check and ultimately to eliminate this hectoring. All our hopes proved illusory, and now that this great war has been forced by the Prussian military leaders upon France, Russia, Italy, and ourselves, it would be a cruel folly not to see to it that this swashbuckling through the streets of Europe to the disturbance of all harmless and peaceful citizens shall be dealt with now as an offense against the law of nations.

The mere word that led Belgium to her own destruction will not satisfy Europe any more. We all believed it; we all trusted in it. It gave way at the first pressure of temptation, and Europe has been plunged into this vortex of blood. We will therefore wait until we hear what terms and guarantees the German Government offers other than those, better than those, surer than those, which she so lightly broke. Meanwhile we ought to put our trust in an unbroken army rather than in a broken faith.

For the moment I do not think that it would be advisable for me to add anything upon this particular invitation. A formal reply will be delivered by the Allies in the course of the next few days.

Paints Stern Picture of Situation

What is the urgent task in front of the Government? To complete and make even more effective the mobilization of all our national resources, a mobilization which has been going on since the commencement of the war, so as to enable the nation to bear the strain, however prolonged, and to march through to victory, however lengthy and however exhausting may be the task. It is a gigantic task, and let me give this word of warning—if there be any who have given their confidence to the new Administration in expectation of a speedy victory, they will be doomed to disappointment.

I am not going to paint a gloomy picture of the military situation, (if I did it would not be a true picture,) but I must paint a stern picture because that accurately represents the facts. I have always insisted on the nation being taught to realize the actual facts of this war. I have attached enormous importance to it at the risk of being characterized as a pessimist. I believe that a good many of our misunderstandings have arisen from exaggerated views which have been taken about successes and from a disposition to treat as trifling real setbacks.

To do so, to imagine that you can only get the support and the best help of a strong people by concealing difficulties is to show a fundamental misconception of our people. The British people are just as sweet-toothed

as anybody, and they like pleasant things being put on the table, but that is not the stuff they have been brought up on, and that is not what the British Empire has been nourished on.

Britain has never shown at its best except when it was confronted with a danger, real and understood.

Rumania and Greece

Let us look at the East for a moment. The Rumanian blunder was an unfortunate one, but at the worst it prolongs the war; it does not alter the fundamental facts of the war. I cannot help hoping that it may even have a salutary effect in calling the attention of the Allies to the obvious defects in their organization, not merely the organization of each, but the organization of the whole. If it does that and braces them to fresh efforts it may prove, bad as it is, a blessing. That is the worst. That has been a real setback. It is the darkest cloud, and it is a cloud that appeared on a clearing horizon.

We are doing our best to make it impossible that that disaster should lead to worse. That is why we have taken within the last few days very strong action in Greece. We mean to take no risks there. We decided to take definite and decisive action, and I think it has succeeded. We have decided also to recognize the agents of that great Greek statesman, M. Venizelos.

The Triumphs on the Somme

I should like to say one word about the lesson of the fighting on the western front—not about the military strategy, but about the significance of the whole of that great struggle—one of the greatest struggles in the history of the world. It is full of encouragement and of hope.

Just look at it—an absolutely new army! The old had done its duty and spent itself on the achievement of its great task. This is a new army. But a year ago it was ore in the earth of Britain, yea, and of Ireland. It became iron, it has passed through a fiery furnace and the enemy know that it is fine steel.

Yet this absolutely new army, new men, new officers, Generals new to this kind of work, have faced the greatest army the world has ever seen, the best equipped, the best trained, and they have beaten them, beaten them battle after battle, day after day, week after week, from the strongest intrenchments ever devised by human skill. They have driven them out by valor—by valor that is incredible.

When you read the story of it, there is something which is full of hope for the future, which fills you with pride in the nation to which they belong. It is a fact full of significance for us and for the foe. It is part of his reckoning. He sees that army grow under his very eyes. A great French General said to me: "Your army is a new army. It must learn—not merely its Generals, not merely its officers, but its men—what to do and how and when to do it."

Therefore, basing our confidence upon these facts, I am as convinced as I ever was of ultimate victory if the nation proves as steady, as valorous, as ready to sacrifice and ready to learn and to endure as that great army of our sons in France.

Government Organized for Action

I should like now to say a word or two about the Government itself. In doing so I am anxious to avoid all issues which excite irritation or controversy. There is no time for that. It must not be assumed, however, if I do so that I accept as complete the accounts which have been given of the way the Government was formed. My attitude toward the policy of the late Administration, of which I was a member and for all of whose deeds I am just as responsible as any one else, has been given in letters or memoranda, and my reasons for leaving it have also been given in a letter. If it were necessary I should on personal grounds welcome the publication of these, but I am convinced that controversies as to the past will not help us as to the future. Therefore, as far as I am concerned, I place them on one side and get on with what I regard as the business of the Government under these trying conditions.

I should like to say something first of all as to the unusual character and composition of the Government as an executive body. The House has realized that there has been a separation between the functions of the Prime Minister and the leader of the House. That was because we came to the conclusion that it was more than any one man, whatever his energy or physical strength, could do to undertake both functions in the middle of a great war.

The task of leader of the House is a very anxious and absorbing one. I have not been able to attend the House very much during the last two or three years, but I have been here often enough to realize that the task of leader of the House of Commons is no sinecure, even in a war.

There are three characteristics in the present Administration in which it may be said that it has departed, perhaps, from precedent. First of all these is the concentration of the executive authority in a very few hands. The second is the choosing of men of administrative and business capacity rather than men of parliamentary experience, where we were unable to obtain both for the headship of Government departments. The third is the franker and fuller recognition of the partnership of labor in the government of this country.

No Government has ever been formed which has had such a number of men who all their lives have been associated with labor and the labor organizations of this country. We realize that it is impossible

to conduct a war without getting the unqualified support of labor, and we are anxious to obtain their assistance and counsel for the conduct of the war.

A Structure for War

The fact that this is a different kind of organization from any that preceded it is not necessarily a criticism of its predecessors. They were peace structures; they were organized for a different purpose and for a different condition of things. The kind of craft which you have for river or canal traffic is not exactly the kind of vessel you would construct for the high seas. I have no doubt that the old Cabinets (I am not referring to the last Cabinet but to the old system of Cabinets where you had the heads of every department represented inside the Cabinet) were better adapted to navigate the parliamentary river with its shoals and shifting sands, and, perhaps, to cruise in home waters. A Cabinet of twenty-three, however, is rather topheavy for a gale.

I do not say that this particular craft is best adapted for parliamentary navigation, but I am convinced that it is the best for war. In war you want quick decisions about everything. Look at the last two and a half years. I am not referring to what has happened in this country. When I say these things, I would rather the House of Commons would look at the war as a whole. Take the concern of the Allies as a whole, (and here I am certain I will get the assent of my right honorable friend, Mr. Asquith;) the Allies have suffered disaster after disaster through tardiness in decision and action, very largely for reasons which I will give later on, and in which I know I am in complete agreement with my right honorable friend.

Value of the Small Cabinet

It is true that in a multitude of counselors there is wisdom, but that was written for Oriental countries in peace times. You cannot run a war with a Sanhedrin. That is the meaning of a Cabinet of five, with one of its members doing sentry duty outside, manning the walls and defending the council chamber against attack, while we are trying to do our work inside—and a very difficult task it is.

Some concern has been expressed as to the relations of the small executive with the other members. It has been suggested that there is danger of a lack of co-ordination and of common direction. It has been wondered how we could ever meet. One very respected newspaper suggested that there ought to be weekly dinners to discuss matters of common concern.

What is the difficulty? Whenever anything concerns a particular department, we follow the time-honored precedent, and the head of that department with his officers attend the executive period. They immediately get into contact with each other and discuss the problem which requires to be discussed.

There is another change—the amalgamation of the old War Committee and the Cabinet. The old War Committee had what the Cabinet had not; it had a Secretary who kept a complete record of all decisions, which no Cabinet ever had. With the Cabinet it was always a question of memory. Not even my right honorable friend or any of his predecessors ever took a note of the decisions.

Mr. Asquith—It is very desirable that this should be known; it is the inflexible unwritten rule of the Cabinet that no member of the Cabinet shall take any note or record of its decisions except the Prime Minister, and he does so for the purpose of sending his letter to the King.

The Prime Minister—I am very much obliged to my right honorable friend for reminding me. That is so. That indicates what a real difference there is between the War Committee and the Cabinet. In the War Committee a full record is taken of every decision. The minutes are sent around to each member for correction. The matters dealt with there are just as confidential (I might say even more confidential) as the vast majority of questions decided in the Cabinet.

I come to one point, which has caused some dismay—the new Ministries. But each Minister answers for his department exactly in the same way as under the old system, each Minister is accountable for his department, and the Government as a whole is accountable to parliamentary control. The control of Parliament always has been and must be supreme because it represents the nation, and there is not the slightest attempt to derogate from the complete control of Parliament, which is responsible to the nation.

Need of the Labor Minister

My right honorable friend, the Home Secretary, in introducing the bill, and the leader of the House subsequently gave a very detailed account of the public work of the new Ministries. The Ministry of Labor has been urged for thirty years by organized labor unions, and my experience in the Ministry of Munitions has taught me that it is desirable that there should be a department, which is not altogether in the position of an employer whenever there is a dispute about labor or wages. I hope that this department will not confine itself simply to disputes, which is but a small part of the industrial problem with which it has to deal. I hope it will become in a real sense a Ministry of Labor.

At the Ministry of Munitions I had the duty to set up something, which is known as the welfare department, to make labor conditions better and to make labor less repellent and more attractive and healthful. A number of very able volunteers are organizing that department. I am glad to say that they belong to the Society of Friends, who, though they have a rooted objection to war, have never declared during this war that they could not take part in national work. They are working hard in this department, and I am hoping this department

is assisting the mobilization of labor for the purpose of war.

Nationalizing Shipping

My right honorable friend has already indicated to the House what we propose to do with regard to shipping. It was never so vital to the life of the nation as now during this war. It is the jugular vein which, if severed, would destroy the life of the nation. We are taking over all the ships of this country on the same conditions as we have taken over the railways, so that during the war shipping will be nationalized in the real sense of the term. The prodigious profits which were made out of freights have contributed in no small measure to the high price of commodities.

One of the greatest shippers in the United Kingdom has undertaken to conduct this great enterprise for the welfare of the country. He is now in conference with the Admiralty, and I hope soon to inform the House of the plans he recommends to be taken, not merely the taking of ships already in the country, but for speedy construction of more, so as to make up the wastage which, I think, is inevitable during a great war, especially when you are dealing with those piratical methods which characterize the maritime policy of the German Empire.

In this case the Government say, as the late Government said, they are dealing with a national commodity which is essential to the life of the nation, and I think they are right. The position is being carefully considered, and we shall be able to place our plans before you before we separate.

The Grave Food Problem

Now I must say something about food. The food problem is a grave problem, and would become graver unless not only the Government but the nation is prepared to grapple with it without loss of time.

The main facts are that the available harvests of the world have failed. In times of peace we could always make up the deficiency of one particular country by resorting to another. If America failed there was Russia or the Argentine, but the Argentine promises badly as well as Australia, and Russia is not available.

Under the circumstances it was decided by the late Government to appoint a Food Controller, and we actually appointed him—an able and experienced administrator, a man of great determination and force of character. And he is assisted by one of the greatest agricultural experts in this House. At the head of the Board of Agriculture we have a man singularly gifted, who has as thorough a knowledge of principles and practices of this question as any man in this or any other country.

I have felt it important that we should secure the best brains in the country to bear on this very difficult and dangerous problem. The problem is a double one. It is one of distribution and of protection. In respect of both we must call on the people of this country to make real sacrifices, but it is essential if we do so that the sacrifice should be equal. Overconsumption by the fortunate must not be allowed to create a shortage for the less well to do.

I am sure that we can depend on the men and women of all conditions, to use the ordinary phrase, to play the game. Any sort of concealment hurts the nation when it is fighting for its life. Therefore, we must appeal to the nation as a whole (without the help of the nation we can accomplish nothing) to assist us in so distributing our resources that there shall be no man, woman, or child who suffers from hunger because some one has been getting too much.

When it comes to production, every available square yard of land must be made to produce food and the labor available for tillage should not be turned to mere ornamental purpose until the food necessities of the country have been adequately safeguarded. The best use must be made of the land and of all available labor to increase the food supplies of the country. All those who have the opportunity must feel that it is their duty to the State to assist in producing and contributing to the common stock from which every one draws. If we do this, we get rid of any privation, every one having plenty of the best and healthiest food.

Calls for National Sacrifice

By that means alone will the nation be able to carry on the war to the triumphant issue to which we are all looking forward. It means sacrifice, but what sacrifice! Talk to the man who has returned from the horrors of the Somme, or one who has been through the haunting wretchedness of a Winter campaign, and you will know something of what those gallant men are enduring for their country. They are enduring much; they are hazarding much, while we are living in comfort and security at home.

You cannot have absolute equality of sacrifice in war, it is impossible, but you can have equal readiness of sacrifice from all. There are hundreds of thousands who have given their lives; there are millions who have given up comfortable homes and exchanged them for daily communion with death. Multitudes have given up those they love best.

Let the nation as a whole place its comforts, indulgences, and elegances on a national altar, consecrated by such sacrifices as these men have made. Let us proclaim during the war a national Lent. The nation will be better for it—stronger mentally, morally, and physically. It would strengthen its fibre and would ennoble its spirit.

Without it we shall not get the full benefit of this struggle. Our armies might drive the enemy out of the battered villages of France, across the devastated plains of Belgium. They might hurl them across the

Rhine in utter disarray, but unless the nation as a whole shoulders part of the burdens of victory they will not profit by the triumph.

Further Curb on War Profits

It is not what a nation gains, but what a nation gives, that makes it great. While a nation is making such enormous sacrifices, as I have already pointed out, it is intolerable that any section should be permitted to make exceptional profits out of the sacrifices of others, and by that means actually increase the burdens borne by others.

A good deal has already been done by the late Administration to arrest unfair profit-taking out of the war, but the Government have come to the conclusion that they cannot ask the nation for more sacrifices without taking even more drastic steps than they have yet taken.

There are several ways of dealing with this problem. One is the annexation of war profits. The other is the cutting down of prices so as to make excessive profits impossible. The Munitions act adopted both of these expedients. Eighty per cent. of the excess profits in controlled firms were annexed, and in addition there has been more searching and minute revision of prices in controlled firms, and an enormous reduction already has been achieved in those firms.

The problem is now being carefully examined by the Chancellor of the Exchequer and others, and we hope to be able to make an announcement of the course the Government intend to adopt shortly. It is quite clear that if the nation is to be asked to make further sacrifices to win the war, the way should be cleared by action of this kind.

To Mobilize Labor Resources

I now come to a very difficult subject, and one which is equally vital to the success of this country in this great war. I have hitherto talked largely of the mobilization of the material resources of the nation. I now come to the mobilization of the labor resources of the country, which are even more vital to our success than the former. Let there be no mistake about it. Without this we shall not be able to pull through. The mere haphazard supply and demand will not accomplish what is necessary to save the nation within the time that it is essential it should be accomplished.

It is not a question of years, it is a question of months, perhaps of weeks, and unless not only more of the material resources of the country but the labor of the country is used to the best advantage, and every man is called upon to render such services to the State as he can best give, victory may be beyond our reach.

The problem with which we are confronted is a simple one. Nearly a year ago we decided that in order to maintain our armies in the field the nation must have complete control over all its military resources in men. But it is impossible to take men into the army without taking them from civil employment, and it is our object to establish such a system of recruiting as will insure that no man is taken into the army who is capable of rendering more useful service in industry.

To complete our plans and to have the organization of our national resources perfect we ought to have power to see that every man who is not taken into the army, whatever his position or rank, is really employed on one of national importance.

For instance, I was constantly appealed to, when Secretary for War, to relieve men for agricultural work. We were quite prepared to do so, but there was absolutely no guarantee, if they were released, that they would be used for agricultural purposes. The moment they were released from the army they were free to go to the munition works or to any other work where they thought they could sell their labor to the best advantage. We could not be sure that these men would be used for agricultural purposes; we must have assurance.

There are a considerable number of people skilled in tillage, but, although they are not producing food, we cannot employ them. I believe there are scores, if not hundreds of thousands, of cases of the kind which, if you could utilize them to the best advantage, would produce great quantities of food in this country.

The difficulty in agriculture is skilled men. You may have two or three skilled men on a particular farm, but you may have other farms where there are no skilled men at all. Would it not be possible for the skilled men to look after not one but several farms, which could be worked with the aid of unskilled men and women or—

Mr. Lambert—Will the right honorable gentleman let us know what the Government is going to do about it?

Mr. Lloyd George—I thought I had made it perfectly clear. Of course, I could not give the whole of the details; but I assure the right honorable gentleman that schemes of very great magnitude have been promulgated and are being put into operation.

The matter was considered by the War Committee of the late Government, and it was unanimously decided by them that the time had come for the adoption of the principle of universal national service. It was one of the first matters taken up by the present Government.

The War Cabinet has adopted the conclusion come to by the War Council, and plans for carrying it into effect have already been prepared.

To Establish National Service

In order to do this we propose to appoint a directorate of national service to be in charge both of the military and civil side of the national service. The civil and military sides of the directorate will be entirely separate.

It is not proposed to make any change with regard to military service, but with regard to civil service it is proposed to set up a registration of munition volunteers with similar conditions as to rates of pay and separation allowances.

I have no doubt that we shall get an adequate supply of volunteers, but if it is found impossible to get the numbers we require, we shall not hesitate to come to Parliament and ask for powers to make our plan really effective. The nation is entitled to the best services of all its members.

We have been fortunate in inducing the Lord Mayor of Birmingham, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, to accept the position of Director General of National Service. It was with difficulty that he was induced to undertake this onerous duty. It is the recognition of its urgency that induced him to undertake the task. He would immediately proceed to organize a system of enrollment for industrial work in the hope that before long he would be able to report that he has secured a sufficiently large army of industrial workers mobilized for war purposes.

Hopes to End Irish Tangle

I wish it had been possible to say something about Ireland, but circumstances have made it impossible for me to devote my time to the problems which have arisen in that country. I have had one or two interviews with the Chief Secretary and others, but unfortunately I have had to leave the question in order to attend to so many other pressing matters.

All I have to say is this: I wish it were possible to remove the misunderstanding between Great Britain and Ireland which has for centuries been the cause of misery and embarrassment to one and weakness to the other. I should have considered it a war measure of the first importance, and I should have considered it a great victory for the allied cause.

I tried once to remove the misunderstanding between England and Ireland. I was drenched with suspicion of Irishmen by Englishmen and of Englishmen by Irishmen, and, worse and most fatal of all, suspicion by Irishmen of Irishmen. It was a quagmire of distrust which clogged my footsteps and made progress impossible. That is the real enemy of Ireland. If that could be slain I believe it would accomplish an act of reconciliation that would make Ireland greater and Britain greater and make the United Kingdom and the empire greater than they ever were before.

That is why I have always thought and said that the real solution of the Irish problem is largely one of better atmosphere, and in that I speak not merely for myself, but for my colleagues.

We shall strive by every means and at many hazards to produce the atmosphere, but we ask the men of all races, of all creeds, to help us, not to solve a political question but to help us to do something that would be a real contribution to the winning of the war.

I must say one word about the Dominions—

An Honorable Member—What about the navy?

Mr. Lloyd George—The achievements of the navy speak for themselves. I don't know that anything I could say would be in the least adequate to recognize the enormous and the incalculable services that the great navy of Britain has rendered, not merely to the empire but to the whole of the Allies. Not merely would victory have been impossible, but the war could not have been kept going, even for two years and a half, had it not been for the services of the navy.

To Call Imperial Conference

Now, coming to the dominions—the Ministers have repeatedly acknowledged the splendid assistance which the dominions have given of their own free will to the old country in its championship of the cause of humanity. They have recognized throughout that our fight is not a selfish one, that it is not merely a European quarrel, and that there were great world issues which their children were as concerned in as ours.

The new Administration is just as full of gratitude as the old for the superb valor which our kinsmen have shown in so many striking fields, but I want to say that we feel that the time has come when the dominions ought to be more formally consulted as to the progress and course of the war, as to the steps that ought to be taken to secure victory, and as to the best methods of garnering its fruits.

We propose, therefore, at an early date to summon an imperial conference to place the whole position before the dominions, to take counsel with them as to what further action we can take together in order to achieve an early and complete triumph for the ideals which they share with us.

As to our relations with the Allies, I said earlier in the year that there were two things we ought to seek as allies. One is unity of aim and the other unity of action. The first we have achieved. Never have allies worked in greater harmony and more perfect accord than the Allies in this great struggle. There has been no friction, no misunderstanding.

Tardiness in War Action

But when I come to unity of action, I still think there is a good deal left to be desired. I have only to refer to the incidents in Rumania, and each man can spell out for himself what I mean. The enemy has got the two supreme advantages of internal lines and one great dominant power that practically dominates the course of the war. We have neither of these advantages and we must, therefore, achieve the same end by other means.

Our advantages are advantages which time will improve. No one can say that we have made the best of the time. There has been a tardiness of decision and action. Be-

fore we can take full advantage of the enormous resources at the command of the Allies there must be some means of arriving at quicker and readier decisions and of carrying them out.

There must be more consultation between men; in the matter of the direction of affairs there must be less feeling that each country has got only its own front to look after. There must be a just policy of a common front as there is on the other side. Austrian guns are helping the German infantry and German infantry is stiffening the Austrian Army. The Turks are helping the Germans; Austrians and Bulgarians mix with all. There is an essential feeling that there is but one front, and we have got to get that more and more, instead of having overwhelming guns on one side and bare breasts and gallant hearts on the other.

Regrets Break with Asquith

I end with one personal note, I may say, and I say it with all sincerity, that it was one of the deepest regrets of my life that I parted with the right honorable gentleman opposite, (Mr. Asquith.) Some of his friends know how I strove to avert it. For years I served under the right honorable gentleman, and I never had a kinder or more indulgent chief. If there were any faults of temper they were entirely mine, and I have no doubt that I must have been very difficult at times. No Member of Parliament has greater admiration for his brilliant intellectual gifts, and no man was happier to serve under him than I for eight years. We differed as men of such different temperaments must necessarily differ, but we never had a personal quarrel.

Issues That Are Above Party

In spite of serious differences, it was with deep, genuine grief that I felt it to be necessary to tender my resignation to my right honorable friend, but there are moments when personal and party considerations must sink into actual insignificance, and if in this war I have given scant heed to the call of party, (and so I have,) it has been because I realized from the moment when Prussian cannon hurled death at a peaceable and inoffensive little country that a challenge had been sent to civilization to decide an issue higher than party, deeper than party, wider than all parties—an issue upon the settlement of which will depend the fate of men in this world for generations after the existing parties will be fallen like dead leaves on the highway. These are the issues that I want to keep in front of the nation so that we should not falter in our faith in our cause.

There is a time in every prolonged war, in the passionate rage of the conflict, when men forget the high purpose with which they entered into it.

This is the struggle for international right, international honor, international good faith —the channel along which peace on earth and good-will among men must follow. The embattlements, laboriously built up by generations of men against barbarism, were broken, and had not the might of Britain passed into the breach, Europe would have been inundated with a flood of savagery and unbridled lust of power.

The trained sense of fair play among the nations, the growth of an international consciousness for the protection of the weak against the strong, of a stronger consciousness that justice has a more powerful backing in the world than greed, the knowledge that any outrage upon fair dealing between nations, great or small, will meet with prompt and inevitable chastisement—these constitute the causeway along which humanity was progressing slowly to higher fields.

The triumph of Prussia would sweep it all away and leave mankind to struggle, helpless, in the morass of horror. That is why, since this war began, I have known but one political aim. For that I have fought with a single aim. That was to rescue mankind from the most overwhelming catastrophe that has ever yet menaced its well-being.

An Official German Comment

The day after the delivery of Lloyd George's address the German Ambassador to the United States declared that he did not feel that the speech or the forthcoming official reply of the Allies to the German note shattered the hope of early peace. He indicated that if the reply was on the lines of the declarations of the various allied Governments, the Central Empires would transmit a second note in which it would be stated that they are willing to present their detailed proposals at a conference of representatives of all the belligerents; he stated that Germany would be willing to discuss reparation, but would probably insist on some mutual adjustment in this regard, meaning that if Germany compensated for damages in Belgium, Russia would have to make reparation for damages in East Prussia.

Lord Curzon and ex-Premier Asquith On the Peace Overtures

LORD CURZON, President of the War Council and Government leader, in discussing the German overture in the House of Lords Dec. 19, said:

The policy of the new Government is that the war must be conducted with the utmost prosecution; that there must be an ample return for all sacrifices; that full reparation must be made by the enemy for his countless crimes, and security given that those crimes will not be repeated, and that the sacrifices made shall not have been in vain.

The Government's aim is that the peace of Europe shall be re-established on the basis of the free and independent existence of nations great and small, and that, as regards this country, it shall be free from the menace which the triumph of Germany and the German spirit would entail.

Our answer to Germany's latest move must be swift and sure. It is not too much to ask the people to take upon themselves for a few months the obligations which Germany has imposed upon herself. The nation is fighting for its life and is entitled to the best and fullest service of its sons.

Alluding to the position of Rumania, Lord Curzon said that Germany's success was by no means so great as she was trying to make it appear:

Evidence is forthcoming daily of the desperate straits of Germany at home and in the field. The position of the Central Powers is not so good as they would have the world believe. Our attitude should not be one of despondency or alarm.

Lord Curzon spoke for an hour and twenty minutes, and was followed by the Marquis of Crewe, Lord President of the Council in the late Government, who approved in general terms the policy outlined by his successor, Lord Curzon, touching peace. He said:

We have not much hope that Germany's peace offer will lead to anything. The offer, however, seems an indication of the strength of the pressure of our blockade. If peace were made on German terms, while the present age may not see war again, nobody can say that our children will not witness another war with greater horrors. We must carry it on to the last man and the last shilling.

Ex-Premier Asquith followed Premier Lloyd George in his address to Parliament on the 19th, saying:

I agree with Mr. Lloyd George that Rumania has been bad business, although it is not possible at this moment, even if it were desirable, to go into the matter precisely to apportion the different degrees of responsibility, and I have no desire to enter into that question. Yet I am heartily in agreement with him. We have often discussed the matter together and I do say that it is a very good illustration of the desirability, nay, urgent necessity, of more intimate co-operation between the General Staff and politics of the allied countries.

You cannot get over, unfortunately, in this world the limitations of time and space and the difficulty of bringing together in constant and intimate communication not only soldiers, but still more the representatives, of four powers so widely separated geographically and otherwise. As those who constitute this alliance know, these difficulties are, I will not say insurmountable, but very great. If the right honorable gentleman, Lloyd George, and his colleagues can devise some method of bringing about more intimate communication they will render one of the greatest services it is possible to render to the Allies, I wish him all success in that direction.

In all the speeches made by members of the late Administration there breathed a spirit of hearty good-will for Lloyd George in his task. Lord Crewe said his Government "was not precisely a dictatorship, but it came not very far from being one." A dictatorship, in Crewe's opinion, demanded complete immunity from criticism of all kinds, whether in Parliament or press. He said:

There was some idea that when the decrepit figures and tottering intellects of the late Government had disappeared from the scene an era of perpetual new enterprises would begin and that lightning decisions would be taken every day, and, possibly, twice a day. Some felt, however, that the conduct of the war was not such a random and slapdash enterprise as certain gentlemen appeared to think. There had always been a number of wiseacres, writers and speakers, who had urged that we should proceed straight ahead, prepared to ignore our allies or to flout neutrals at any point, if it appeared advantageous to their program to do so.

He ventured to think that those people would not find the present Government such a set of charlatans as they anticipated. He believed the Government was

well aware that it would have been easy enough in the past to have lost the war finally in a month by some of the actions which were pressed upon the late Government from certain quarters, and, in a way, believed the same thing was true. He was confident the Government would display the necessary qualities of energy and determination, and he did not believe they would repudiate the quality of judgment.

French leaders warmly indorsed Premier Lloyd George's utterances. Baron d'Estournelles de Constant, the great French pacifist, said regarding the speech:

Lloyd George, in his admirable speech, is faithful to his past. All his life he has desired peace. Before the war he went several times to Germany, as I did, to exhort the Germans to peace. Today he is unable to accept the comedy of peace. Just like us and the Allies, he wants really to finish the war. He cannot put faith in the vague peace propositions of the German Government. All the world sees in it a perfidious war manoeuvre to deceive the German people and universal opinion. If the German Government is sincere, let it prove it as regards the past by making known the reparations it owes its victims; as regards the future by giving the guarantees it owes the world.

Jean Finot, editor of La Revue, in referring to it, said:

There is a collective conscience of the Allies. Lloyd George, after having contributed to forming it, now embodies it with energy and precision. Having grasped it, he will, if necessary, be one of its chiefs, if not the chief. The Allies needed a single man; we salute Lloyd George.

President Wilson's Note Requesting Peace Terms of All Belligerents

PRESIDENT WILSON dispatched a note to all the belligerents on Dec. 18, 1916, calling upon them in diplomatic but firm language to state explicitly the precise terms of each which might serve as a basis for the restoration of peace. The decision of the President was carefully kept from the public, even the leaders of Congress being left in entire ignorance of it until Wednesday evening, Dec. 20. The note was released to the press at midnight, Dec. 20, and its publication produced a sensation second only in importance to that created by Germany's original peace overtures. The President, it is stated—and he affirms it in the note—had decided to take the step long before the Central Empires had initiated the move for peace, but deferred action until the moment had arrived which he deemed propitious for transmitting the communications. The decision to forward the Teutonic peace note without comment is said to have had no bearing on the President's action.

The action by the United States was received with pronounced approval by the German Embassy and German supporters throughout the country; leading Democratic Senators and Congressmen also expressed hearty support, but there was a distinct note of dissent among those who held that the action was ill-advised at this juncture and might do more harm than good, by irritating the Allies with the belief that it was part of the German program. The British Embassy at Washington let it be known at once that they were taken completely by surprise by the action of the President and that no interchange had passed through the embassy prior to its publication.

Text of President's Note

The Secretary of State to the American Ambassadors at the Capitals of the Belligerent Powers:

Department of State,
Washington, D. C., Dec. 18, 1916.

The President directs me to send you the following communication to be presented immediately to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government to which you are accredited:

The President of the United States has instructed me to suggest to the [here is inserted a designation of the Government addressed] a course of action with regard to the present war,

which he hopes that the Government will take under consideration as suggested in the most friendly spirit, and as coming not only from a friend but also as coming from the representative of a neutral nation whose interests have been most seriously affected by the war and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the war is to continue.

[*The third paragraph of the note as sent to the four Central Powers—Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria—is as follows:*]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by a desire to play a part in connection with the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It has, in fact, been in no way suggested by them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been independently answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[*The third paragraph of the note as sent to the ten Entente Allies—Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, Russia, Belgium, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, and Serbia—is as follows:*]

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It is, in fact, in no way associated with them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been answered but for the fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connection with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

[*Thenceforward the note proceeds identically to all the powers, as follows:*]

The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guaranty against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as another, if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects, which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this war, are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amid multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a league of nations to insure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present war upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and

commercial freedom of the nations involved.

In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to co-operate in the accomplishment of these ends, when the war is over, with every influence and resource at their command. But the war must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest; but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned for or repaired.

The President therefore feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world, which all desire and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part. If the contest must continue to proceed toward undefined ends by slow attrition until the one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted; if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer; if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

The life of the entire world has been profoundly affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitively stated.

The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the war had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guaranties, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success, even, would bring the war to an end.

It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerent, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world. LANSING.

[*Copies of the above will be delivered to all neutral Governments for their information.*]

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

Conquest of Rumania and Its Effects

By H. H. von Mellenthin
Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

[See also "Germany's Drive in Rumania" on Page 642]

THE Central Powers have once more wrested the initiative from the hands of their opponents. This is, from the purely military standpoint, the outstanding war event of the month ending about the middle of December. The Central Powers have regained the initiative on all principal theatres of war and on all fronts save the Macedonian. They had lost it in the west, on the Somme and Ancre Rivers, as well as in the east, through the massive Russian offensive against Lemberg and the "break-through" attempt against the Carpathians, with the Hungarian plain as the coveted goal. In the west and east the Central Powers' armies had been thrown upon the defensive by the initiative of the attackers.

The concerted, simultaneous offensive of the Entente Powers had been aimed at crushing the Central Empires. It was in that mood of aggression that David Lloyd George, then War Minister of Great Britain and now head of the War Council of Five, that is, virtually dictator, made the assertion that England would deal a "knock-out blow" to Germany.

It was in the same spirit that the intervention of Rumania was interpreted as a decisive event in favor of the Entente. The concerted offensive of the Allies, however, found the Central Powers armed for resistance and prepared for counterblows. Defensive became initiative.

Meanwhile an entirely new front has been established in the east. A new task has been dictated to the war, a task quite different from that which was to be fulfilled by the unity and simultaneousness of the great offensives of the Allies. This new front is the result of the development of the Rumanian campaign. It is, in length, about equal to that in Belgium and France. It stretches from the Jablonitza Pass to the Bukowinian wooded Carpathians, across the basin of Kedsi-Varsarhely in southeastern Transylvania down to the Danube. There the mobility of the warfare has closely linked up the Russian front with the Rumanian campaign.

The military initiative regained by the Central Powers has thrown the allied offensives on the two hitherto most important fronts back into position warfare, and has at the same time developed on a new front a mobile warfare such as has not been seen in this war, not even in the Galician "break-through" battle and in the Poland campaign.

Falkenhayn in Rumania

The statement which Hindenburg made at the time of Rumania's entry into the war is coming true. He said at that time: "The participation of Rumania in the war restores to us the freedom of military mobility." Mobile warfare up to the middle of December had taken the following course:

On Nov. 21 General von Falkenhayn's army occupied Craiova. This army had pushed through Vulkan Pass, defeated the Rumanians at Targu-Jiu in an extremely bloody battle, reached the railway at Filiasa, and advanced along that vital railroad.

With Craiova the new basis for the further advance against the extremely strong hostile line on the Alt River had been established. The immediate effect first made itself felt on the extreme western theatre of war. On Nov. 23 Austro-Hungarian and Bulgarian troops recaptured Orsova and pushed forward to Turnu-Severin, the most important

MAP OF RUMANIA, SHOWING REGION CONQUERED BY TEUTONIC FORCES. THE BLACK LINE AT UPPER RIGHT-HAND CORNER INDICATES THE BATTLE FRONT ON DEC. 15, 1916

Danube port in Little Wallachia. Thus the Teutons and their allies gained control of the 150-kilometer sector Orsova-Craiova of the great Rumanian railway, and therewith the rear communication for the bringing up of war material was secured.

From Craiova the victorious Ninth Army of von Falkenhayn continued its advance in an easterly direction against the Alt River. At the same time the armies of Field Marshal von Mackensen moved on from the south. Under the Field Marshal's personal direction they crossed the Danube at Somovit and Svistova and took the villages of Simnitza, west of the Vedea River, as well as Islacz and Rakevitza, on the Alt. The Bulgarians occupied several Danube islands at Gigen, Rahova, Lom-Palanka, and Vidin.

The advance on Rumanian soil developed in the area between the Alt and Vedea Rivers, until, on Nov. 25, Alexandria was reached, eighty kilometers southwest of Bucharest. There the junction of the Ninth Army of General von Falkenhayn and the Danube army of Field Marshal von Mackensen was effected.

The Ninth Army, advancing from Craiova, had crossed the Alt. Rumanian cavalry which, through an attack, attempted to bring to a standstill the flightlike retreat of the Rumanian forces east of the Alt, was beaten back by German horsemen under the command of General Count von Schmettow. The Rumanians were forced to defend their long line along the Alt after the Teuton forces had pushed forward from the north, through Rothenthurm Pass, along the Alt Valley, into Rumania.

On Nov. 28 the entire Alt line was in the hands of the invaders. In the northern area of fighting the Rumanians had been driven across the Topolog. In the Vedea area (on the southern end of the new front) the Central Powers' armies occupied Alexandria—the Ninth Army under Falkenhayn, from the west, and Mackensen's Danube army from the south. In addition, they took the positions in the area between Valeni and Rosiori-de-Vede, also situated on the Vedea. Rosiori lies forty kilometers northwest of the railway lines, Craiova-Bucharest, (west to east,) and Petesci-Simnitza, (north and south.)

On Dec. 4 the victors, after the occupation of Gradistea, had advanced within thirteen kilometers of Bucharest. In the northwestern area the defenders had been thrown back across the Arges River and beyond the railway intersection of Titu, forty-five kilometers northwest of Bucharest. To the east of this point Targovistea, not far from Ploesci, had been

captured. From the Transylvanian Alps as far down as the Danube the victorious allied armies had joined hands.

Closing in on Bucharest

On the line of attack south of the capital, from Calugareni via Comana eastward to Chimpati, Mackensen's Danube army, which had started out from Giurgiu, inflicted a severe defeat upon the Rumanians. The latter had attempted to attack the invaders by a flanking movement in the rear. They were themselves attacked in the flank and their lines were "rolled up." Teuton flying detachments cut the Comana-Bucharest railway sector in the rear of the beaten Russo-Rumanian army.

On the left wing, which stretched from the Transylvanian Alps down to the Danube, the invaders took Targovistea, on the railway to Bucharest by way of Titu. This brought them within reach of Ploesci and its rich petroleum districts. It also brought them within forty-five kilometers of the capital itself. After the Rumanian Army had been thrown back beyond the railhead at Titu, the Arges line, the last defense line of the Rumanians before Bucharest, had completely collapsed.

With the collapse of this last line of defense Bucharest itself became untenable. After the Rumanian Danube army had succeeded in making good its retreat, Field Marshal von Mackensen, Commander in Chief of all invading armies in Rumania, on Dec. 6 entered the Rumanian capital.

Bucharest is much more than a fortress fallen into enemy hands. Bucharest constitutes the answer to the assertion that the Central Powers and their allies had been forced into need of peace by the realization of their "weakness." Bucharest forms a new strong pillar of the bridge which victorious arms have established between the Central Powers and the Near East. Before the Rumanian capital the security of Constantinople, too, was fought for.

The fall of Bucharest will make its effect felt in all the State Chancelleries. It will open the eyes of the world as to the realities of the world war. Its effects at once began to make themselves felt in the Russian Duma, in the secret sessions of the French Chamber of Deputies, and in the British Governmental crisis.

Dec. 8 was Mackensen's birthday. Bucharest fell to him as a birthday present.

The Peace Proposal

Bismarck said in his "Gedanken und Erinnerungen":

> If the theory which the General Staff pursued during my incumbency, and which is a principle that forms part of the teaching of military science, may be expressed thus: "The Minister of Foreign Affairs does not resume the floor until the military high command deems the moment ripe for closing the Temple of Janus"—then there lies in this very dual face of Janus the warning that the Government of a belligerent State has to look in other directions besides the theatre of war.
>
> The task of the high command is the destruction of the enemy's military forces; the object of war is fighting for a peace under conditions which correspond to the policy pursued by the State. The chief difficulty lies in judging just when the proper moment has come for initiating the transition from war to peace.

The moment for initiating the transition from war to peace has arrived at the moment when the methods of war have achieved that which diplomacy failed to accomplish. It is from this point of view that the peace offer of the Central Powers must be considered and discussed.

The peace terms must correspond to the military situation. If we take the fall of Bucharest as the "burning point" at which centres today all importance of the events on the various theatres of war, and whence emanate all the consequences for the further development of the military situation, we obtain the following basis for peace conditions corresponding with military facts:

1. *RUMANIA:* Bucharest formed the connecting link between Falkenhayn's northern army and Mackensen's southern army. The fall of the capital forced the Russo-Rumanian armies into a concerted retreat on the whole front, from the Transylvanian Alps down to the Danube.

Meanwhile, strong forces of the allied Dobrudja army crossed the Danube between Cernavoda and Silistria. They advanced along the Cernavoda-Petesci railway against the left sector of the Buzeu line, so as to be in a position to attack

the enemy in the flank should he actually rally for a stand. The Central Allies subsequently captured the City of Buzeu. With this vital point in their possession, they had gained control of the Buzeu line as well as of the lines leading eastward to Braila and Galatz, the two last Rumanian sources of supply from Bessarabia, and of the line leading southeastward to Cernavoda, the marching base of the allied Dobrudja forces. At the same time, they had gained control of a new line of communication, beyond Patarlagele, with the pass roads of the Transylvanian Alps.

With the piercing of the Buzeu line at two points, by the Falkenhayn army, the second possibility of a stand on the part of the retreating Russo-Rumanian forces was removed.

The Russo-Rumanian Dobrudja army also was carried along by the general whirl of retreat; it evacuated its positions. The retreat of this army, however, can head only in one direction: Bessarabia, since an attempt to cross the wide and swampy Danube area, with the pursuers hot on their heels, would inevitably result in a catastrophe. The pursuit of this army must, therefore, ultimately open to the invaders the gates from the Dobrudja to Bessarabia.

After the piercing of the Buzeu line, the two Danube ports, Braila and Galatz, must fall automatically to the Central Powers' troops. Thus, the Russo-Rumanian front inevitably will be turned to such an extent that it will run due west to east, from Kronstadt through the eastern slopes of the Transylvanian Alps as far as the Bessarabian border. At the time of Bucharest's fall, it will be remembered, the Rumanian front stood due north to south.

The new front for which the invaders are thus heading must threaten the flank of the entire Russian line in the wooded Carpathians. The Russians would be compelled not only to give up the Bukowina, but also to retire from Eastern Galicia.

2. *RUSSIA:* In the wooded Carpathians the Russians, in order to relieve the pressure exerted by the Teutons and their allies upon the Rumanians, undertook an offensive, supported on the southern end of their front by Rumanian troops.

Already the question has been raised in Entente quarters whether Rumania's entrance into the war was advantageous to the Allies' cause or whether it merely brought the Entente new embarrassment. The efforts which Russia is making at this moment in the wooded Carpathians are also dictated by embarrassment, born of the inability of helping the Rumanians on the theatre of war where the decision falls. The Russians have been unable to carry out their own offensive in East Galicia and in the wooded Carpathians. This new offensive in behalf of the Rumanians could be successful only if it were carried out with the aid of large reinforcements both of men and munitions.

It is known, however, that the Russian grand offensive broke down owing to the lack of men and munitions, after the abundant original resources had been squandered at a veritably insane rate.

Campaign in Macedonia

3. *MACEDONIA:* The occupation of Monastir by the Entente forces on Nov. 18 signified the first actual military accomplishment of the Saloniki expedition in eleven months. After the French had reached the city from the south, advancing on the plain, and the Serbs in the battles in the Cerna bend had advanced to a position whence they could bombard the town from the east, Monastir, situated as it is entirely in the valley, became forthwith untenable. The military significance of this success remains to be seen in the future development of the West Macedonian campaign. The next objective of the advance is said to be Prilep, forty kilometers to the northeast as the crow flies.

Beyond Prilep the way leads to Nish. The ultimate "goal" of the operations from Monastir is the Orient Railway. What the Entente failed to accomplish by a thrust through Bulgaria, they propose to achieve by an advance through Serbia: the cutting of the communication between the Central Powers and Turkey. The distance from Monastir to Nish is 260 kilometers. The Entente advance has come to a standstill at Monastir.

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments

From November 15 to December 15, 1916

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE month's military interest has centred in three fields—Rumania, Macedonia, and France. Last month's review of events in Rumania was written as the opposing armies were practically at a deadlock. In Dobrudja, Mackensen had been halted; in the various passes which afford means of ingress from Transylvania into Rumania von Falkenhayn had been making futile attacks, first here, then there, seeking to find a point at which he could penetrate the Rumanian defense and open to invasion the plains of Central Rumania. Up to Nov. 15 the great effort had been made for the passes south of Kronstadt and Hermannstadt, for if these could be forced Rumania would be split fairly in half. The Rumanian defense at these points held, and the Germans were turned back.

Shifting his attack further west, von Falkenhayn then struck Vulkan Pass. Here he was more successful, and after a series of battles finally broke through the mountains, debouched on the southern side, and advanced along the railroad to Craiova. As the only railroad running from Bucharest into Little Wallachia passes through Craiova, the capture of this town cut off the Rumanian forces at Orsova and in addition such troops as were operating west of the Craiova line. This force proved to be about a division, and was subsequently cornered and captured. There was simply no means of escape.

Before following the victorious German Army in its advance through Rumania, there is one point in connection with this advance to Craiova that it is well to note. In advancing through the mountains down to the plain, von Falkenhayn had behind him the slim thread of a good dirt road as his main line of communications. His advance looked like an exceedingly dangerous operation, threatening him constantly with serious consequences if his opponent had the power to strike at this line. It seems, however, that the opponent did not have this power, and it is further certain that von Falkenhayn knew it. The reason for this lack of power can be no other than the lack of munitions. The Rumanians had sufficient shell to begin their operations, but once they became involved, for some reason or other, the flow could not be or was not kept up. Had this not been the case, von Falkenhayn's life line would have been cut before he had proceeded twenty miles into Rumanian territory.

Sweeping Through Rumania

The Rumanians, after the fall of Craiova, fell back behind the Alt River, a good defensive line, with a railroad directly in its rear. This line, however, was turned in two ways. In the first place, the Germans broke through in the north to the east of this line and exposed the Rumanian right flank. Almost simultaneously the Bulgarians under Mackensen, who had personally assumed command of the forces along the Danube, forced a crossing of this river some miles to the rear of the Rumanian left flank. The line of the Alt was therefore turned on both flanks, and it became immediately necessary to vacate it and fall further back.

From this point on the Rumanians practically offered no resistance. They fell back from stream to stream until the line of the Arges was reached, the last possible line before Bucharest. From this line they made a spasmodic effort to break through the German right south of Bucharest. They had a temporary success, but the resistance was soon overcome, and they were again driven to the east bank of the river.

In the north the Germans advanced

with equal rapidity, and, as in the case of the Alt, forced the crossing of the upper Arges and so turned the entire line. Without making any effort to take advantage of the defenses of Bucharest, which, by the way, are quite elaborate, the Rumanians abandoned the city and continued their retreat.

It was evident, then, that the Rumanians had a definite object in view, and this was to fall back successfully, fighting only rearguard actions, to a line which was already in preparation, and which the higher command knew could be munitioned. There are two such lines which offer considerable advantages. The first is that of the Buzeu River. The only railroad which parallels this line is in front of it, not in its rear. Its usefulness is therefore destroyed when this railroad is cut, even though the line itself may remain intact.

The Germans, after the fall of Bucharest, quickly established themselves on a line running through Sinaia, Ploesci, and Bucharest, and began preparations for a further advance. After several days' delay, during which they were accumulating a fresh supply of ammunition, they again struck eastward. Their progress was much slower than before, but they nevertheless succeeded in reaching the Buzeu, taking the town of that name, and threatening the entire defensive position afforded by the river. Buzeu is on the railroad running from Braila to Bucharest.

This is the situation in the north as it exists as this review is being written. In the south, the left wing of the Rumanian Army, having several times the distance to travel which the right wing has, is still far behind the Buzeu line. It has crossed the Jablonitza, and is somewhere between the latter stream and the Buzeu, but its location, due to the absence of definite detailed reports, is not exactly known.

The problem with which the Rumanians are faced, then, is to retard the advance of the Germans in the north until the southern wing of the Rumanian Army has had time to swing northward as far as the defensive position selected. The line of the Buzeu has been practically eliminated by the cutting of the railroad, which was to have served as a distributing line for supplies. It becomes necessary, then, for the Rumanians to fall back to the second line. This may be described as the line of the Sereth River. It runs from the town of Galatz along the eastern bank of the Sereth to the point where the Sereth is joined by one of the main tributaries. This tributary is a matter of choice, as there are several which would answer the purpose equally well. It will probably be, however, the Trotus. This is one of the largest tributaries and has the additional advantage of being followed on the northern bank by a railroad. The same is true of the Sereth, and for this reason the Sereth is a much more favorable position than the Buzeu.

During the latter days of the Rumanian retreat the Russians have been conducting a heavy offensive in the Trotus Valley. If the Russians are successful in penetrating to any depth into Transylvania through the Trotus gap they will make absolutely secure the Rumanian right flank. The Teutons themselves will then be thrown on the defensive, and will hardly be able to hold their own positions.

In summing up the Rumanian defeat, it does not appear that the Germans have accomplished any positive result in so far as Rumania's relation to the war as a whole is concerned. Rumania was a threat against Turkey primarily, and in defeating the Rumanians the Germans have acted defensively, and have succeeded only in warding off a dangerous thrust. The action may take a positive phase later if the Sereth line can be broken and the Germans thus thrown in rear of the Russians in Bukowina. Then the Russians will have to fall back to protect their lines of communication, and the German threat will be transferred to them. This is the great danger of the collapse of Rumania.

As far as the matter has gone, however, it is purely negative. The Germans are certainly no better off than before the Rumanians entered the field. In fact, they have to meet a decided lengthening of their line, and they have suffered not inconsiderable losses at a time

when they could ill afford to bear this additional burden. This can be compensated for only by a defeat of the Russians.

VERDUN POSITIONS RECAPTURED BY FRENCH. DOTTED LINES SHOW LATEST ADVANCES. UPPER BLACK LINE INDICATES GERMAN POSITION BEFORE VERDUN DRIVE LAST FEBRUARY

The Serbs at Monastir

In Macedonia the Serbs have maintained a continuous advance, which finally resulted in the capture of their immediate objective, Monastir. The operation leading up to this was a flanking move which directly threatened the main line of Bulgarian communications. The Serbs paid little attention to the plain of Monastir. This plain is a relatively easy matter to defend, and the line could not be forced without a very heavy expenditure of men. The mountains in the bend of the Cerna River, however, completely dominate the plain, and are much more susceptible to attack, as no continuous defensive line can be constructed and held. The Serbs took advantage of this fact, and, by advancing steadily in the mountains, finally worked their way north of Monastir, though to the east of it, and thus threatened the road from Monastir to Prilep.

The Serbs in this action had one great advantage. While the Bulgarians were dependent upon a good dirt road for their supplies, the Serbs had behind them the railroad from Saloniki, which terminates at Monastir. Their supplies, therefore, came up more quickly and in greater bulk. This enabled them to move quickly against Monastir the moment they were in a position commanding the heights overlooking the plain. There was nothing for the Bulgarians to do but to fall back and guard their supply line. Almost without a struggle, then, the Bulgarians were forced to give up the Macedonian capital and abandon their trenches and defensive works in the plains.

The value of Monastir is, however, of greater value politically than it is from a military viewpoint. Consequently it does not give the Serbs any great advantage that can be followed up. It is an excellent advance base from which to work. More than this cannot be said of it.

A Lull on the Somme

On the western front the battle of the Somme has died out, with but little prospect of renewal. This is caused, not by the exhaustion of the Allies, as the German critics prefer to believe, but by the condition of the ground, due to the heavy rains and the advent of Winter. It is a veritable quagmire over which infantry cannot advance and artillery cannot be moved. This condition precludes any present continuance of the offensive. As demonstrating that the western allies are still capable of delivering sledge-hammer blows at the German line, and that they are in no sense exhausted, we have the great and successful effort of the French at Verdun. The scene of this achievement was generally the same as that of the last blow the French struck in this region. The result, accomplished quickly and with small loss, was greater than anything they have attempted since Summer. The German line in the section between Pepper Hill and Douaumont has been pushed back to where it was on the third day of the German Verdun offensive, and at a loss in prisoners alone of nearly 10,000 men. If any doubt still existed as to the possibility of the Germans ever taking the French fortress, it has now been dispelled. Every position of vantage on the east bank of the Meuse is once more in the hands of the French.

BATTLE LINE IN MACEDONIA, DEC. 15, 1916, SHOWING PROGRESS OF ANGLO-FRENCH-SERBIAN ADVANCE FROM SALONIKI

The ridge of Louvemont, the main defensive position on this side of the river, is intact, and it is almost certain that we shall never again see a German effort to retake it. The folly of the German offensive at Verdun is becoming more apparent with every French blow.

On the other fronts there has been general inactivity. There is not indeed a single action on which to comment. Apparently they have all settled down into a Winter condition with no intention of doing anything until Spring.

Some Maxims From Bismarck's Speeches

A question of right can be settled only with the bayonet in our European quarrels.—Jan. 22, 1864.

Parties and tastes are mutable. They perish, and new ones arise.—Jan. 22, 1864.

The Kings of Prussia have never been pre-eminently the Kings of the rich.—Feb. 15, 1865.

Whoever makes the most promises is apt to carry the election.—June 1, 1865.

All classes do a little smuggling, especially the women.—June 1, 1865.

Put Germany into the saddle and you will find that she knows how to ride.—March 11, 1867.

Governments are like women—the youngest please the most.—Dec. 9, 1868.

It is not possible to hasten the ripening of the fruit by holding a lamp underneath.—April 16, 1869.

Centralization is tyranny, more or less.—April 16, 1869.

Whoever carries the money bag is the people's master.—April 26, 1869.

Every country knows that peace and security rest in the sword.—May 22, 1869.

Liberty is a luxury which not every one can afford.—May 22, 1869.

General Robert Nivelle

GENERAL ROBERT NIVELLE, who now succeeds Joffre as Commander in Chief of the western battle line of the Allies, while Joffre devotes himself to the larger work of co-ordinating the armies on all fronts, has been commander of the Army of Verdun since May, when he succeeded General Pétain. At the outbreak of the war General Nivelle was Colonel of a regiment of artillery. His rapid promotion is due at once to his own inherent force and to the clairvoyance of Joffre, who has shown himself a superlative judge of military genius. Robert Nivelle was, like Joffre, a graduate of the Ecole Polytechnique at Paris, but he had earlier studied at Saint-Cyr; so that both artillery and infantry can claim him. He had also, curiously enough, a thorough cavalry training in the Saumur school, and is still remembered there for the mingled courage and skill with which he tamed and trained unruly horses.

GENERAL NIVELLE

Nivelle saw service in the staff of the army in China and in Northern Africa. In the East he showed that he possessed the gift of tongues in a remarkable degree, and, after the Peking expedition, which he made under General Voyron, he was sent, in recognition of this gift, on a special mission to the Emperor of Korea. He had then reached the rank of Major, and in the Revue de Paris he wrote an account of his mission, in which his lucid grace of style, the keenness of his insight, his philosophy touched with humor, united in revealing a rare combination of gifts. Without question, the young Major did not foresee that soon he would live through "the hard and splendid hours" (the expression is his own) whose sharp and violent savor his thirst for action craved.

From the day on which, as commander of the Fifth Regiment of Artillery, he left Besançon for Alsace, the mentions in the Orders of the Day are Nivelle's best history. First is recorded the capture of a group of German artillery, against which he directed his fire with such precision that the whole group was soon after found abandoned on the battlefield. The twenty-four guns thus captured were the earliest trophies of the war. A few days later Colonel Nivelle was on the Marne, where his regiment, which constituted the artillery of the Seventh Army Corps, (whose home is on the Swiss frontier, under the Jura Mountains,) and was then a part of General Maunoury's army, covered itself with glory.

Then, on Sept. 16, on the Aisne, a vigorous German counterthrust imperiled the Seventh Army Corps, and compelled it to retreat for a short period across the river. But the Fifth Regiment of Artillery was on the spot, its commander vigilantly watching. Without hesitating, Colonel Nivelle, riding at the head of his guns, led them across in front of the retreating infantry, followed by the Germans already sure of victory. Allowing the enemy to approach in close formation, he turned his batteries upon them, and mowed them down in a veritable slaughter. The two German regiments making the attack, trying to escape from the murderous gusts of shrapnel, rushed forward to the wood which fringes the River Aisne, but there they found French bayonets waiting for them; the inspiration of Nivelle's artillery was contagious, and the Germans, turning, tried to run

back again. But on the bare plateau, Nivelle's gunners again caught them with an accurate fire, following them step by step, advancing or withdrawing with them. Few indeed of the 6,000 Germans who made the attack ever returned to their trenches.

Gazetted General in October, 1914, Nivelle commanded a brigade which fought brilliantly along the Aisne, and stopped, in January, 1915, the unforeseen German drive against Soissons. On the same day he was proposed for the command of a division, which was intrusted to him on Feb. 19, and which, shortly after, retook the Quennevières salient.

At the beginning of April, 1916, he came to the rescue of Verdun in command of the Third Army Corps, and his prowess and skill were such that General Joffre soon chose him to command the entire Army of Verdun. What he accomplished has passed into history as one of the most splendid pages of the war. As the climax of a superb defense, which cost the Kaiser half a million men, General Nivelle recaptured, within the space of an Autumn afternoon, practically all the ground the Crown Prince had painfully gained in six months; and, as against the half million, Nivelle lost only 4,000 men, many of whom were only wounded. He crowned his record at Verdun by the brilliant dash of Dec. 15, which practically established the French lines at the positions they held before the German offensive in February.

General Nivelle, in taking leave of his staff Dec. 17, 1916, said:

"The test is conclusive; our method has proved sound. Once more the Second Army has just asserted in the highest degree its morale and material ascendency over the enemy. Victory is certain; I give you assurance. Germany will learn it to her cost."

Maeterlinck's Tribute to the Dead

The following extract is from Maurice Maeterlinck's beautiful tribute entitled "The Day of the Dead," which appeared in Le Paris Figaro on All Souls' Day:

Our memories are peopled by a multitude of heroes, stricken in the flower of youth, and far different from that procession of yore, pale and worn out, which counted almost solely the aged and sickly, who were already scarcely alive when they left this earth. Today in all our houses, in town, in country, in palace, and in cottage, a young man dead lives and rules in all the beauty of his strength. He fills the poorest, darkest dwelling with glory, such as it had never dreamed of. It is terrible that we should have this experience, the most pitiless mankind has known, but, now that the ordeal is nearly over, we can think of the perhaps unexpected fruits which we shall reap.

One will soon see the breach widening and destinies diverging between those nations which have acquired all these dead and all this glory, and those who have been deprived of them and it. And one will be astonished to find that those which have lost most are those which will have kept their wealth, and their men. There are losses which are priceless gain, and there are gains in which one's future is lost. There are dead whom the living cannot replace and whose thought does things which no living bodies can do, and we are almost all now mandatories of some one greater, nobler, braver, wiser, and more alive than ourselves. He will be, with all his comrades, our judge.

If it be true that the dead weigh the souls of the living and that our fate depends upon their verdict, he will be our guide and our champion. For this is the first time since history revealed to us her catastrophes that man has felt above his head and in his heart such a multitude of such dead.

[FIFTH INSTALLMENT]

The Battle of the Somme

An Authoritative French Account Based on Official Records

[Translated from L'Illustration, Paris, for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE Franco-British operations in Picardy during the first week of October consisted especially in the consolidation and broadening of the conquered positions. A certain number of counterattacks by the enemy were repulsed: By French troops, on Oct. 5, to the north of Fregicourt; on Oct. 8, to the west of Sailly-Saillisel; on Oct. 9, to the east of Rancourt and the northeast of Bouchavesnes; by British troops, on Oct. 5 and 8, to the north of Thiepval, and, on the night of Oct. 6-7, toward Eaucourt-l'Abbaye. Local advances were realized almost daily, but there were far-reaching conflicts only on Oct. 7 and Oct. 10. On these two days the Allies passed to the offensive; on Oct. 7, to the north of the Somme; on Oct. 10, on both banks, but especially on the south. Both of them fully obtained their objectives, though these were not of great importance.

The Fighting on Oct. 7.

After the taking of Combles, the French sector to the north of the Somme held by General Fayolle was extended as far north as Morval, in such a way as to make Sailly-Saillisel our objective. On Oct. 7, at 2 P. M., the French and British troops attacked simultaneously. Our British allies developed their action from the Albert-Bapaume road as far as Les Boeufs, that is to say, along about five and a half miles, and we, from Morval to Bouchavesnes, say four and a quarter miles.

On their left wing the British contingents had before them the village of Le Sars, at 500 yards from which they held the Destremont Farm. Within a few hours they carried Le Sars and even advanced beyond it to the west and the east. But in the latter direction they found themselves stopped by the Butte of Warlencourt, which the Germans had pierced with galleries like a molehill, and worked up into a formidable defense work. On the contrary, the successes gained to the west of Le Sars allowed the attack to progress beyond the Bapaume road and to make new gains of ground to the north and northeast of Courcelette. Between Gueudecourt and Les Boeufs the advance realized amounted to from 800 to 1,000 yards. More than 500 prisoners were taken.

The Actions of Oct. 10

Three days later other actions were developed. To the north of the Somme they were limited to a happy stroke to the south of Sailly-Saillisel, while the English, following up their work of "consolidation," captured 268 more of the enemy. But to the south of the river the Tenth Army—commanded by General Micheler—was more seriously engaged. The front had been stationary in this sector since the fighting of Sept. 15-18, which had given us possession of Vermandovillers, of Berny, and of the three groves of Vasset, Bovent, and Le Tremble. We took the offensive along a front of five kilometers, between Berny-en-Santerre and Chaulnes. A first assaulting detachment, issuing from Deniécourt and the Bovent Wood, seized the hamlet of Bovent and made its way as far as the northern outskirts of Ablaincourt; the western outskirts of this village were reached also by a second assaulting mass coming from the direction of Vermandovillers. Finally, on the south, we won a part of the woods which surround Chaulnes; 1,702 prisoners, two of whom were battalion commanders, and 25 officers, fell into our hands in the course of that operation. Our front, which from Berny to Chaulnes had followed the arc of a circle, now marked the chord of that arc.

Franco-British Offensives

Three allied attacks followed in rapid succession: On Oct. 12, by the British;

on Oct. 14, to the south of the Somme, by General Micheler's army; on Oct. 16, on the north bank of the river, by General Fayolle's army.

It was on the afternoon of Oct. 12 that the Fourth British Army took the offensive against the group of heights which separated it from the road running from Péronne to Bapaume, that is, along a front of four and a quarter miles between the north of Eaucourt-l'Abbaye and the east of Les Boeufs, on the further side of Gueudecourt. In order to prevent the extension of this action to the west the Germans immediately began a violent bombardment of the British positions situated to the northwest of Le Sars and to the north of Courcelette. It does not appear that, on the left of their sector of attack, on the outskirts of the Mound of Warlencourt, our allies made any great advance. But, on the right, during the evening of Oct. 12, they had already realized an advance varying between 500 and 1,000 meters in depth, particularly to the northwest of Gueudecourt and before Les Boeufs, in the direction of Transloy.

On Oct. 13 the enemy attempted a diversion by attacking in his turn, to the northeast of Thiepval, the Stuff redoubt. But the English reacted vigorously. On Oct. 15 they carried before this work two lines of connecting trenches to a distance of 200 yards. They likewise advanced their battle line to the north and west of the Schwaben redoubt. A very vigorous return offensive developed by the Germans on Oct. 17 resulted for them only in sanguinary failure.

The fighting of Oct. 10, to the south of the Somme, had carried the French as far as Ablaincourt, of which we held only the fringe. A recognizance by the One Hundred and Ninth Infantry, supported by several units of the Four Hundredth, had established itself, between 2:30 and 3 in the afternoon, in the northern street of the village. Certain elements even succeeded in gaining the cemetery, which is isolated to the east of the buildings. But, after several days of struggle among the houses in ruins, it became necessary to halt before the resistance of the enemy, who then occupied the southern part of the village.

Without spending our force on a conquest for which full preparation had not yet been made, our commanders decided to direct their efforts elsewhere. On Oct. 14 two simultaneous attacks were carried out: the one to the east of Belloy-en-Santerre, the other to the northeast of Ablaincourt.

To the east of Belloy our line followed approximately the road from Barleux to Berny, even going across it eastward at certain points. We took the offensive on a front of two kilometers, and captured the whole of the enemy first line. To the northeast of Ablaincourt we broadened our former gains, seizing the hamlet of Genermont, between Bovent and Fresnes-Mazancourt, and a sugar factory, for the possession of which there had already been violent fighting. These two operations brought us 1,100 more prisoners. The Germans counterattacked several times on Oct. 15, 16, and 17. We drove them back, in addition taking from them a little wood to the east of Berny-en-Santerre, as well as two 210-millimeter guns and one 77. During Oct. 18 we even extended our operations further to the north and carried by assault the whole of the enemy first line between Biaches and La Maisonnette, on a front of about a kilometer.

Entering Sailly-Saillisel

The third interesting action—that of Oct. 16, to the north of the Somme—allowed us to gain a footing in Sailly-Saillisel. It was preceded by several skirmishes; on Oct. 12 we had made some slight progress to the west of Sailly; on Oct. 13 there were engagements toward Morval, Bouchavesnes, and the Saint-Pierre-Vaast Wood, to the north of which we had lost certain trench elements; on Oct. 14 we gained ground on the Malassise ridge. During this time we were directing an intense artillery preparation against the village of Sailly-Saillisel, which we assaulted on the night of Oct. 15-16.

Sailly-Saillisel is situated on a ridge whose height varies between 150 and 160 yards above sea level. It is a culminating point, which gives wide views toward the north and northeast. Toward the west the village is flanked by a château,

an old church, and a little wood called the Tripot Wood, of which the Germans had made redoubts.

The attack on Sailly-Saillisel was carried out from three sides at once. A first column, following the Bapaume road, reached the château on the south and took it in the rear. A second fraction, debouching from the west, rapidly carried the defenses of the Tripot Wood, entirely leveled by the bombardment. It penetrated the park of the château on the northeast and began a furious fight with the Germans who had taken refuge in the ruins of the church. Finally other troops had approached the position from the north. The struggle was carried into the connecting trenches underground, which joined the château to the village. We succeeded, after several hours' fighting, in seizing all the houses to the west of the road, and in advancing as far as the central crossroads. The enemy reacted vigorously, by infantry counterattacks and gun fire. Twice he succeeded in penetrating certain elements of our first line, but we threw him back again, inflicting heavy losses on him. And on Oct. 18 we had fortunately completed the conquest of Sailly-Saillisel.

During the following week the fighting on the Somme was not very extensive. Nevertheless, it gained us certain advantages. On the other hand, the almost daily counterattacks of the enemy failed completely.

From Sailly-Saillisel the Germans had overlooked the whole basin of Combles and the valley between the Bouleaux Wood and Morval. To the northwest of the village our progress had been stopped by a ridge 123 meters high. On Oct. 21, toward the close of the day, we captured this ridge also. On Oct. 22 we had advanced to the northeast of Morval.

Fighting Toward Chaulnes

In the southern sector we also made some progress on Oct. 19, between La Maisonnette and Biaches, carrying out, on Oct. 21, an attack of limited scope toward Chaulnes. It was a question of capturing a part of a wood, called the Etoile Wood, which covers the village on the north. After three and a half hours of active artillery preparation the Zouaves and Algerian sharpshooters opened the assault and occupied the ground assigned to them.

As for the renewed German offensives, they were carried out on Oct. 19, in the afternoon, and on Oct. 21, during the forenoon, against Sailly-Saillisel; on Oct. 21, during the evening, an extremely violent attack, with large forces, was made between Biaches and La Maisonnette; on Oct. 22, both morning and evening, against the Etoile Wood, which we had just taken; on Oct. 23, to the south of Chaulnes, against our trenches close to the railroad. These different attempts cost the assailants heavy losses. They won for them only a few elements of trenches on the outskirts of the Blaise Wood, to the north of La Maisonnette.

The principal operation carried out by the English coincided with our offensive demonstrations of Oct. 21 to the north and south of the Somme. Our allies attacked on a front of three miles between the Schwaben redoubt to the north of Thiepval and the village of Le Sars. They took the Stuff and Regina trenches, advanced their lines from 300 to 500 yards in the direction of Grandcourt and Petit-Miraumont, and took more than 1,000 prisoners. On Oct. 23 a minor action to the east of Gueudecourt and Les Boeufs toward Transloy allowed them to advance on a front of a kilometer. Several times the Germans counterattacked. Their efforts were especially furious against the Schwaben redoubt, but they were vigorously repulsed.

The battle on the British front showed a tendency to extend to the north of the Ancre. The British reports several times recorded actions, whether in the Gommecourt sector, toward Arras, Neuve Chapelle, Loos, or Ypres. On Oct. 24 they also told of vigorous artillery duels to the south of Armentières.

Inner Meaning of the Cabinet Changes in Europe

THE political changes which have recently taken place in the belligerent countries, particularly the setting up of small War Councils with extraordinary powers in Great Britain and France, have primarily been due to popular dissatisfaction and the demand for a more energetic prosecution of the war. But, as it is never safe to say what are the causes of events till time has disclosed its secrets, we cannot tell at present what were all the hidden forces at work.

The British Cabinet crisis appears to have arisen from a struggle between Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George for the supreme control of the conduct of the war, the point at issue being the constitution of a new, smaller, and more authoritative War Council, from which Mr. Asquith, though Prime Minister, was to be excluded, or over which he was, at any rate, to have no right of veto. On Mr. Asquith's side were such Liberal colleagues as Viscount Grey, Lord Crewe, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Runciman, and Mr. Harcourt. Working with Lloyd George were Bonar Law, the Unionist leader in the Coalition, and other Unionist Ministers, as well as Sir Edward Carson, who played an important part in the crisis.

Lord Northcliffe's Attack

For some time previously a press campaign had been conducted by Lord Northcliffe and other Unionist newspaper owners against the Cabinet, and especially against "the elder statesmen," although, as Lord Derby pointed out in a speech in London on Dec. 6, most of the men of whom it was proposed to make a "clean sweep" were in the "vigorous prime of life." The two principal men no longer in the prime of life are Mr. Balfour, First Lord of the Admiralty, and Lord Lansdowne. The London Daily Mail, one of Lord Northcliffe's papers, which led the attack, described the Government as consisting of "twenty-three men who can never make up their minds." The gravamen of the charge is to be found in the following typical extract from an editorial in The Daily Mail, which was headed "The Limpets, a National Danger":

> With advancing age our Lansdownes and Balfours find it harder and ever harder to make up their minds and to face grave responsibility. The notorious characteristic of our "Government" of twenty-three is indecision. There are at this moment no fewer than seven questions urgently waiting to be decided. Most of them have been "under consideration" by the twenty-three for weeks or even months. Energy, promptitude, speed are indispensable for success in war. Time has today a surpassing value. But our "Government," though it has more than 100 committees endeavoring to make up its mind for it, can never decide. It just waits till the press and the Germans have done something which forces it to decide in a hurry—and too late.

Among the questions alluded to were the control of the Air Board, Germany's new submarine campaign, the distribution of man-power, the appointment of a food controller, the extension of the acreage under wheat, and the situation in Greece. The editorial concluded:

> The country, despite the fact that it knows very little of the truth, is exasperated by this record, which is by no means complete. In every direction it is the same. But exasperation is not enough. The waste of time, which means waste of life and all that is dearest to us, can only be ended if the nation ends this "Government." And it can only bring this dangerous "Government" down by showing its will very forcibly indeed.
>
> The nation has the gravest grounds for complaint against Mr. Bonar Law. As former leader of the Opposition, he is responsible, by bowing down to Mr. Asquith and accepting office in a Cabinet which contained a multitude of elderly men, some of whom opposed the war, and according to statements of their sympathizers still secretly oppose it, for depriving the nation of the one constitutional safeguard—an alternative Administration.
>
> Mr. Lloyd George alone shows foresight and courage. We, the nation, look to him to end this tragedy, for it is a tragedy that these appalling blunderers should be in control of our affairs at this time.

The criticism of the Government was

not confined to the Unionist press. Two such leading organs of Liberal opinion as The London Daily Chronicle and The Westminster Gazette also took the Government to task. Curiously enough they each selected seven subjects of complaint. Those instanced by The Chronicle were the delay in dealing with man-power distribution, the dispute between the Air Board and the Admiralty, the delay in appointing a food controller, the extension of wheat growing, the pensions bill, the Irish situation, and the question of using African blacks as laborers. With the exception of the two last these subjects were also mentioned in The Westminster Gazette's criticism. The Chronicle editorial pointed out that

> it was hoped at one time that the War Council, by its smaller number, would afford a remedy. But several of the very cases which we have specified seem to be the War Council's doing. It, in turn, has become a clumsy machine, without capacity for quick decision. Nor even if it covered its own field satisfactorily could it cover the whole field of Government. The Ministry's indecision does not merely affect time; it is lack of will power as well as of promptitude. The departments are not driven as a team by the Cabinet as a whole, nor by any single purposive direction; each aspires to plow its independent furrow, and resents falling in with a larger plan. The same irresolution at the centre, which is shown here, appears in the Government's attempts to guide the public. Petty pacifists or sedition-mongers of no consequence are bravely suppressed by the Home Office. But papers with large circulations, who use them to cause misunderstandings between the Allies or to magnify differences between this country and neutrals, seem allowed to do so without check or hindrance. We do not blame the Home Secretary; he cannot act without Cabinet support.
>
> What are the remedies? Let us say at once that we see none at present in mere changes of persons. * * * Let us then direct our attention rather to its improvement than its displacement; and not ignore those unsensational remedies whose cumulative effect often turns a scale.

The Northcliffe papers had for a long time been agitating in favor of Lloyd George, and when the crisis arose on Dec. 1 it was thought that they were responsible for forcing the issue. The first hint, however, of the impending changes was contained in an editorial published on Nov. 30 in The Daily Chronicle, in which the creation of a smaller War Council with larger powers was suggested. Again, on the morning of Dec. 2, the same journal seems to have been alone aware that Lloyd George had made his first move the previous day by proposing to Mr. Asquith the creation of a new War Council. The Daily Chronicle in an editorial, which in the light of subsequent events appears to have been inspired, stated that the suggested War Council was in contemplation and that the change was one to be warmly welcomed. So much for the part played by the London newspapers, which was considerable but not exactly what has generally been supposed, as can be seen from subsequent statements by Mr. Asquith and especially by Lord Derby, who was Lloyd George's right-hand man at the War Office.

The Course of Events

On Dec. 1 Mr. Lloyd George submitted his proposal for a new War Council to Mr. Asquith. The same day Mr. Asquith replied that he, as Prime Minister, must preside over such a body. The following day (Dec. 2) the two men had a friendly conference, and it appeared that an agreement satisfactory to both would be reached. Later, Mr. Asquith had an interview with the King, after which he left London for a week-end holiday. At this point there still does not seem to have been any break. On Sunday, (Dec. 3,) however, important developments took place as the result of a pact between Lloyd George and Bonar Law, supported by the Unionist Ministers. Mr. Asquith hurried back; there were interviews, and the upshot was that Lloyd George and Bonar Law tendered their resignations. The same night the official announcement was issued that the Government was to be reconstructed. This appeared in the papers next morning, (Dec. 4.) The London Times, in addition to printing the official statement, also published without authority what Mr. Asquith afterward described as "a confidential document known only to myself and one other person." The "one other person" was Lloyd George, but Mr. Asquith absolved him from all blame.

The result of this unauthorized publication was to alarm Mr. Asquith's Liberal colleagues and also the Labor sup-

porters of the coalition, who feared that Lloyd George and the Unionists were engaged in a plot against the Government. Some of Mr. Asquith's Liberal colleagues —it is said they were Viscount Grey, Lord Crewe, Mr. McKenna, and Mr. Runciman—saw him and vigorously objected to his adopting Lloyd George's proposals, and they even threatened to resign. The result of this interview was that Mr. Asquith reconsidered his attitude and decided to reject Lloyd George's War Council scheme. According to The London Morning Post, the Liberal Ministers thought that a good opportunity had occurred to get rid of Lloyd George altogether. At any rate, The Daily Chronicle next morning stated that rather than consent to a War Council of which he was not the effective Chairman Mr. Asquith would resign. The Westminster Gazette, a Liberal afternoon paper, which speaks with authority, confirmed this by saying that "Mr. Asquith has definitely declined the proposal." It now looked as if Mr. Asquith's intention was to let Lloyd George resign and so discover the strength of the Government he and his Unionist allies wished to dominate.

Contest of Factions

On Tuesday (Dec. 5) the two factions came to grips. There were many consultations. Mr. Asquith had interviews with the Unionist Ministers, except Bonar Law, who kept away, and with the Liberal Ministers, except Lloyd George, who remained in seclusion at the War Office. Mr. Asquith remaining decided not to adopt their proposals, Lloyd George and Bonar Law resigned, as did the other Unionist Ministers. Mr. Asquith then held a meeting of the Liberal Ministers, and with their approval tendered his resignation to the King and advised that Bonar Law be commissioned to form a new Administration.

At this stage King George took the unusual step of intervening by calling a conference of party leaders. Mr. Asquith and Lloyd George of the Liberals, Bonar Law and Mr. Balfour of the Unionists, and Mr. Henderson of the Labor Party were summoned to Buckingham Palace, where, it is said, the King tried to arrange a reconciliation. After the conference Bonar Law saw the King alone and declined to undertake the formation of a new Ministry. The King then sent for Lloyd George, and the same night (Dec. 5) it was officially announced that he, with the co-operation of Bonar Law, had undertaken to form a new Government.

Lloyd George's task was no easy one. He had no definite party following of his own, for the Liberals were not inclined to desert Mr. Asquith. The Labor Party was hostile, while the Irish Nationalists were against every Government that was not pledged to home rule. Only the Unionists, a minority of the whole House, could be depended upon. Nevertheless, the former War Secretary set to work. Although he was unable to get Mr. Asquith's Liberal colleagues to serve under him, he secured the services of other Liberals, who, if politically not influential, represented great economic and industrial interests; and he won over the Labor Party by the offer of several Ministerial positions, including one in the War Council. Among the Unionists he had an unlimited choice.

Most Remarkable Ministry

The new British Government is the most remarkable ever called into existence, suggesting developments which at the moment are still obscure. Its outstanding feature is that it represents practically every great industrial interest in the country. This representation is so complete that labor as well as capital is given a larger and more effective voice in the affairs of the nation than has ever before been the case. Lord Rhondda, formerly D. A. Thomas, is the head of the great coal combine of South Wales. Sir Albert Stanley, who learned his business in America, is the head of the London underground railway system. Lord Devonport, who becomes Food Controller, has had a successful career as a food merchant, his firm being the well-known one of Kearley & Tonge. He has also been Chairman, since its creation, of the Port of London Authority, which governs the docks and shipping facilities of the metropolis. The newly created

position of Shipping Controller is held by Sir Joseph P. Maclay, himself an important ship owner. Rowland E. Prothero, the new President of the Board of Agriculture, is an authority on agriculture, and has been manager of the estates of the Duke of Bedford, one of the world's richest landlords.

Sir Alfred Mond is one of Britain's leading captains of industry, the head of many important enterprises. His appointment to the Cabinet is surprising, in view of his German parentage and the attacks made on him since the war. Sir Frederick Cawley and Albert Illingworth have large interests and much practical experience in the textile industries of the North of England. So unpolitical is the character of the new element in the administration that some of the Ministers are not even members of Parliament and will have to find seats if they are to remain in office. Even Bonar Law before entering politics had had a long business career as an ironmaster. The Labor Ministers, Arthur Henderson, John Hodge, who is at the head of the new Ministry of Labor, and George N. Barnes, have all been workers and are leaders in the trade union movement.

War Council of Five

The other important feature of the Lloyd George Government is the War Council of Five. He is the only Liberal in it. Three are Unionists, namely, Lord Curzon, who is Lord President of the Council and Government leader in the House of Lords; Bonar Law, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Government leader in the House of Commons, and Lord Milner, Minister without portfolio. The Labor member is Mr. Henderson, also Minister without portfolio. As both Lord Curzon and Bonar Law have other duties, it appears that the supreme direction of the war will be centred in the hands of the Prime Minister, with Milner and Henderson as his chief assistants.

Lord Milner's appointment is not at all unexpected. He is a great driving force. Partly German by descent and education, he showed in South Africa that he could wield an iron hand as civil dictator just as effectively as Lord Kitchener did in the military sphere. An interesting change is that Mr. Balfour succeeds Viscount Grey as Foreign Secretary. This appointment, which was violently attacked by the Northcliffe press, shows that the struggle behind the scenes was not exactly that pictured by The London Times and Daily Mail. This is emphasized by the fact that Lord Robert Cecil remains Minister of Blockade, despite the demand that he, too, be sent packing with the "elder statesmen." Lord Derby, as War Secretary, and Sir Edward Carson, as First Lord of the Admiralty, are regarded as the right men to energize their departments.

For Economic Problems

The new Cabinet, apart from the Labor element, is a combination of Unionist politicians who have always advocated the economic union of the empire and captains of industry who belong to the so-called "Liberal plutocracy." It is a Cabinet that has obviously been formed to control and organize Great Britain as an industrial nation and to maintain, if not extend, the British world power in commerce. As such it is equally suitable to the needs of war or of peace. If there is to be a trade war after the war, then this is the kind of Government for the purpose.

The change that has taken place is not merely the result of a fight between rival leaders or political factions, but is due to the assertion by the great economic interests of the country of their intention to control the affairs of a nation which depends upon economic efficiency, whether it be for the purpose of waging war or to meet the extremely difficult situation which will arise as soon as the country has to readapt itself to peace conditions.

Meanwhile Mr. Asquith, having refused the Earldom which would have relegated him to the House of Lords, has taken his place with his former Liberal colleagues on the front Opposition bench in the House of Commons. At a meeting of the Liberal Party at the Reform Club on Dec. 8 he stated that, although he had resigned the Premiership, he had not given up the leadership of the Liberal Party. There had been, he added, a carefully engineered campaign against him, but he

acquitted Lloyd George and his other associates in the retiring Government of complicity therein. He emphasized the necessity of giving strong adhesion to whatever Government was in power for the purpose of bringing about what all desired—the winning of the war. The meeting decided to follow Mr. Asquith's advice, and the Liberal Opposition will content itself with friendly criticism. Nevertheless, the Liberal Party has been split, and those who oppose Lloyd George look upon him as a wrecker. But the country as a whole admires him and believes he is the right man in the right place. His advent to the Premiership was greeted everywhere with the remark, "If Lloyd George can't win the war for us, no one can."

Cabinet Changes in France

In France the recent changes were accomplished with very little public controversy. One reason for the absence of the fierce discussions that marked the British crisis was the stringent censorship, but a significant change is indicated by the adoption on Dec. 14 by the Chamber of Deputies of a motion abolishing the political censorship, while retaining the diplomatic and military censorship. The motion was accepted by the Government and passed unanimously. The agitation against Premier Briand is accordingly now able to find fuller expression. Although he has reconstructed his Cabinet and followed the British example of a small War Council, there is at this writing evidence of very great dissatisfaction, with a crisis in prospect. A sign of unrest is the diminished Government majority in the Chamber of Deputies.

At the beginning of December the Chamber of Deputies was holding a series of secret sessions. More energetic measures of civil, commercial, and industrial mobilization were being discussed. The situation in England at once quickened interest among French statesmen in the question whether the present Governmental machinery was in conformity with the exigencies of war, and also whether there should not be a reorganization of the supreme command of the army. On Dec. 7 the Chamber, by a vote of 344 to 160, passed a resolution expressing confidence in the Government in its conduct of the war and approving the proposals to reorganize the General Staff and "to concentrate under restricted direction the conduct of the war." Next day a special meeting of the Cabinet was held and the establishment of a War Council and the economic organization of the country were considered. The semi-official note issued on Dec. 10 stated that there would be "a diminution in the number of the members of the Cabinet and the constitution of a restricted National Defense Committee, as in England." Finally, on Dec. 12, M. Aristide Briand, the Premier, announced that he had completed the reconstruction of the Cabinet. The supreme direction of the war is concentrated in a National Defense Council of Five, consisting of M. Briand, Premier and Foreign Minister; M. Alexandre Ribot, Finance Minister; General Hubert Lyautey, Minister of War; Rear Admiral Lucaze, Minister of Marine, and M. Albert Thomas, who, as Minister of Fabrication Nationale, (National Manufactures,) is also to have control of munitions and transportation. The rest of the Cabinet has been reorganized, one of the Ministers being described as that of National Subsistence and Labor. General Lyautey, the new War Minister, has been French Resident General in Morocco.

A resolution of confidence in the new Government was adopted by the Chamber of Deputies on Dec. 13, but as the voting on this occasion was 314 to 165, M. Briand's majority had in less than a week fallen from 184 to 149. M. Clémenceau says that the minority included some of the most important members of the Chamber. The first of the expected changes in the high command was made on Dec. 12, when it was announced that General Nivelle, commander of the French troops at Verdun, had been appointed Commander in Chief of the French armies of the north and northeast. This was followed next day by President Poincaré signing a decree naming "General Joffre, Commander in

Chief of the French Armies, technical counsel to the Government regarding the direction of the war." Another decree declared that the Commanders in Chief of the armies of the north and northeast and of the Orient were now to be directly responsible to the Minister of War. The effect of this decree is to bring both General Nivelle and General Sarrail, Commander of the Entente forces in Macedonia, under the control of the War Office, now presided over by General Lyautey, and make them independent of the Commander in Chief, General Joffre.

Changes in Other Countries

Austria made a record for a short-lived Government when the Ministry headed by Dr. Ernest von Koerber resigned on Dec. 13. It had only been formed on Nov. 1 after the assassination of Premier Stuerghk. Herr Alexander Spitzmueller was intrusted by Emperor Charles with the formation of a new Cabinet. The resignation of the Rumanian Premier was announced on Dec. 15; and in Portugal, according to Lisbon newspapers, a coalition Cabinet was again being considered. At this writing there is little information to explain most of the political changes in the belligerent countries, so that it is difficult to say whether they are local and personal or part of a general tendency possibly connected with coming events.

Russia's Ministerial Crisis

There were two fundamental causes for the Cabinet crisis in Russia. The forces of the war and the forces of democracy were these two causes. The significance of the downfall of Sturmer is to be found in the fact that he was known to favor a separate peace with Germany as much as in the inefficiency and incompetence of his reactionary and bureaucratic administration.

The new Premier, Alexander Feodorovitch Trepoff, and the new Foreign Minister, Nikolai Nikolaievitch Pokrovsky, are the very opposite of Boris Sturmer. Both are men of broad vision, and their vision is directed not toward the realm of politics, but toward that of economics and industrial expansion. Being economic radicals for Russia, their selection promises a stable Government that will bring their country by the longer yet surer route to the stage of regeneration that surely awaits her in the future. It is through the slow process of economic development that a new political Russia will have been evolved.

Trepoff, like Pokrovsky, is a man of positive convictions. Both are men of action. The program that Trepoff unfolded before a group of journalists when he became Minister of Communications in November, 1915, sounded utopian for Russia. He proposed the building of tens of thousands of miles of new railroads and hundreds of thousands of miles of canals. Ten months after this program had been laid before the newspaper men, in the course of the most critical and strenuous war in the life of humanity, Russia had made a substantial beginning toward the full realization of Trepoff's plans. An initial loan of 350,000 rubles was oversubscribed four times! This fact alone, in the present state of Russian finances, illustrates magnificently the new Premier's methods of doing things, and doing them successfully. The 3,000 miles of new railways that have been built in Russia during 1916 are another example of Trepoff's efficiency.

Pokrovsky, the Foreign Minister, who was Controller of the Empire in Sturmer's Cabinet, is a novice in diplomacy and politics. He was assistant to the Minister of Finances in 1906, was member of the Imperial Council, and in both capacities showed himself to be a fearless advocate of economic reforms. He is very popular with the Duma, which has now acquired a controlling influence in national affairs. His speech in the Russian Parliament, made on Dec. 15 with the approval of the Czar, in which he rejected in the name of the Government the German peace offer, shows him to be the kind of Foreign Minister that public opinion in Russia demanded. He is straightforward, sincere, candid. Incidentally, the appointment of Pokrovsky means the renewal in the near future of the commercial treaty between Russia and the United States, on the latter's conditions.

[FINANCIAL]

War Finances in Europe

Some Aspects of the Present and Future Situation

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by an Official of a Leading American International Banking House.]

THE financial aspects of the great European war are of vital interest to the people of the United States. Vast and complex as they are, we are beginning to realize that we must master some of the principles involved if we are to look the future in the face, for although the whole world is involved in a financial sense, no neutral power is so directly interested as we, and as yet no economist has arisen with sufficient imagination or power of prophecy to glimpse the possibilities of its ultimate results upon the future of this country

During the last two years the war has created developments in the world of finance which have astonished students of economics. Who would have ventured to prophesy, for instance, three years ago that any event or series of events would shift the financial centre of the world from London to New York, even temporarily? Who would have dreamed that our bankers could, almost within the period mentioned, loan to foreign Governments such a sum as, approximately, two billions of dollars!

Such sums are staggering in their proportions and tend to bewilder the average mind. The first question which presents itself to the casual thinker is, where does all this money come from? He is apt to remember that about this time every year there used to be quite a scramble for funds to move the crops of the West, as well as to take care of the other normal requirements of business and speculation. This year and last the movement of the crops was financed as usual, business is going ahead at a prodigious rate, speculation is rife on the Exchanges, and yet we are lending our billions to foreign Governments. And to cap the climax the business man finds his banker grumbling because he cannot lend money at a rate sufficiently profitable to suit him. As this article is written rates of interest show a stiffening tendency, the money market having (early in December) passed through something resembling a flurry. The untold resources of our new Federal Reserve banking system, however, are almost untried as yet. For the first time in years money is as cheap throughout the West at this season of the year as it is in the East. The various foreign loans have been absorbed with ease by the investing public and financial institutions and their prices have been maintained on the Exchanges in spite of adverse factors.

Can Europe Pay Its Debts?

This raises some very interesting questions, well worthy of attempted explanation. For the present, let us inquire more directly into the position of the belligerent Governments from a financial point of view. As indicated above, we are directly interested in the vital point at issue, how is Europe's war bill to be paid? We have loaned vast sums of money to the belligerents, and we have given them credit for millions of dollars' worth of goods of every kind. To put the matter into blunt words, the bottom must fall completely out of our present vaunted prosperity unless Europe can pay it. It is therefore perfectly right and proper that we should inquire into the credit position of those of the belligerents with which we are concerned, just as the credit manager of a mercantile house looks up the resources of a customer whose account is growing into large proportions.

It has been estimated that by Aug. 1, 1917, or at the end of the third year of the war, it will have cost the belligerent nations considerably over $75,000,000,000. Roughly speaking, Germany's share, or, rather, that of the Central Alliance, is

DR. VON KOERBER, AUSTRIAN PREMIER

Dr. Ernst von Koerber, Former Finance Minister, Was Made Premier of Austria-Hungary After the Assassination of Count Stuergkh.

(Press Illustrating Service.)

GERMAN GENERALS WHOSE ARMIES HAVE CONQUERED RUMANIA

Field Marshal von Mackensen.
(Photo © F. O. Koch.)

General Eric von Falkenhayn
(Photo © F. O. Koch.)

about one-third of this total. It is also estimated that the present daily cost of the war to the Entente Allies is $105,000,000, Great Britain's share being $25,000,000, that of France $18,000,000, and of Russia $16,000,000. The balance is divided among Italy and the lesser powers.

Here is a table showing the approximate public debt of the principal belligerents before the war and their estimated debts at this time. For the sake of simplicity the figures are given in round millions:

Public Debts of the Belligerent Nations

	Aug. 1, 1914. (Approximated.)	Present. (Estimated.)
United Kingdom.	$3,485,000,000	†$18,000,000,000
France	6,607,000,000	*18,500,000,000
Russia	4,537,000,000	13,000,000,000
Italy	2,836,000,000	4,600,000,000
	$17,465,000,000	$54,100,000,000
Germany	$5,198,000,000	$12,000,000,000
Austria-Hung'y.	3,970,000,000	4,230,000,000
Turkey	640,000,000	360,000,000
	$9,808,000,000	$16,590,000,000

*Includes advances from the Bank of France. †On Dec. 13 Chancellor Law asked Parliament for a new war credit of $2,000,000,000.

From the above table it will be seen that, even should the war end immediately, the belligerent nations of Europe must pay interest on a combined public debt of something like seventy billions of dollars. It is futile to estimate what this total may grow to before the war actually does come to an end, but some statisticians, taking Aug. 1, 1917, as an arbitrary date upon which to base their calculations, have placed the figure at $86,500,000,000.

Debt Too Vast to Comprehend

These figures are so vast that one finds it difficult to comprehend their meaning. Such a sum, for instance, would be more than twice the estimated value of all the farm lands in the United States. It would be more than three times the total outstanding capital of all the railroads in the United States, and over seventy-five times the capital of all the national banks in the United States. The United States Steel Corporation, the largest corporation in the world, with its $1,300,000,000 of capital, loses much of its impressiveness when mentioned in connection with such a sum.

At this writing the direct loans made in this country to Great Britain total above $1,100,000,000, which, of course, includes Great Britain's half share of the Anglo-French loan of $500,000,000. This, it must be remembered, is an external debt, and therefore it takes precedence of all internal borrowings, not only in a legal or diplomatic sense, but also from the point of view of the economist.

The external indebtedness of a nation differs from its internal indebtedness in the same manner as the debts of an individual in his own household differ from those which he has contracted among comparative strangers. If you owe a sum of money to a member of your own household the chances are the indebtedness does not rest very heavily upon you. In all probability your creditor will not push you for payment, or is likely to incur some obligation to you in the future which will square the account.

To carry the simile a little further, suppose this member of your household should charge you a rather high rate of interest on the debt. In such a case, in order to help us with the comparison, let us suppose that you are in a position to increase the rent of your creditor, and thus prevent his interest charges from running up to unwieldy proportions. The comparison is far-fetched, perhaps, but it illustrates, to some extent, the position of a nation which has a large indebtedness among its own people. If it must pay out vast sums in interest charges it must necessarily increase its taxation proportionately. Of course the holders of its bonds and therefore the recipents of its interest are not literally the same people as those which will be taxed to meet the interest charges, but although the money is collected and paid out by the Government, it does not go out of the country. It is kept in circulation by a sort of endless chain, a far heavier chain perhaps in war times than normally, and one requiring much more skillful handling by financiers than the ordinary chain of peace times.

So much for the internal loans of a Government. It is only by the process of some such homely simile that we can conceive of the ability of any Government to pay interest on its war debts, even those of previous wars, which will be far eclipsed by the war debts incurred during the present one.

War Bonds in America

Now, the external debt is a different matter. The nation which incurs one knows that no sentiment enters into it. It is like a note discounted at the bank; it must be met at maturity. Moreover, unless the debtor nation can sell sufficient goods to the creditor nation to create a trade balance in its favor, it must meet its obligations in cash, which means gold. Not to do so would mean national dishonor, loss of credit, and most likely war.

In a sense, however, and this point seems to me to be an important one, a large proportion of Europe's borrowings in this country are not, strictly speaking, external debts. In the case of the United Kingdom, for instance, the only real external debt is Britain's share of the Anglo-French loan, $250,000,000. Her other loans are on collateral borrowed from her own people. If I borrow a thousand-dollar bond from you to use as collateral for a loan of eight hundred dollars at my bank, I am technically the debtor of the bank, but my real debt is to you. Similarly, the British Government's real creditors, in the matter of its secured notes, are those who have loaned their stocks and bonds for collateral. As a matter of fact the owners thereof hold the obligations of the British Government, which is obligated to pay interest in addition to that which accrues to the various securities. In the sense that American bankers may demand payment of the United Kingdom notes when they mature, they constitute an external obligation, but viewing the owners of the collateral upon which they are based as the real lenders to the Government, they are internal.

Great Britain's Total Debt

Apart from certain so-called contingent liabilities which need hardly be considered here, the total debt of the British Government on March 31, 1914, which is the end of the British fiscal year, stood at £707,654,101, or $3,500,000,000. During the first two years of the war the United Kingdom alone, without taking British colonies into account, borrowed for war purposes about $12,000,000,000. By August 1, 1917, the public debt of Great Britain will in all probability have progressed to approximately twenty billions of dollars. Obligations contracted by the entire British Empire, which includes Canadian, Australian, and Indian loans placed since the war began, are rapidly reaching the imposing total of fifteen billions.

It is obvious that the cost of this gigantic struggle is going to superimpose enormous sums to the present normal national indebtedness of the belligerent powers. But it must not be supposed that the entire cost of the war will be financed by increasing the national debts. England, especially, is making every endeavor to "pay as she goes." Taxation is meeting a very large proportion of the cost of the war, the income tax alone ranging from about 1 per cent. on small incomes to 41½ per cent. on large ones. Besides this there are various taxes on business profits, corporations, &c., and especially the tax on munitions profits, which must, in the end, prove very remunerative.

Shifting Burden to the Rich

Viewing the entire matter from a somewhat academic position, it is well worthy of note that as civilization has progressed a very perceptible shifting has taken place as regards the burden of warmaking. It is quite evident from the study of ancient history, and even of feudal history, that the cost of war in earlier days fell almost entirely upon the people of the lower social strata. They paid not only in blood but in money or its equivalent, while the higher classes waxed wealthier as wars were waged. It is not saying too much to declare that these conditions are directly reversed today.

The present struggle is not only costing the upper classes of Europe dearly in blood but the cost of the war is falling

far more heavily upon these classes than it is upon the people. For at least a decade previous to the war the whole trend of British taxation has been in favor of the people, and this tendency has been greatly emphasized since the war. This is in accordance with the modern spirit. European democracy is willing to fight, but it will not pay. European aristocracy must not only fight but it must pay as well.

It would appear that the burden of future taxation in Great Britain is bound to fall upon the wealthier classes. Under Lloyd George and his associates the wealthy had been taught that it is its duty and privilege to obey the rhythmic injunction of Mr. Kipling and "Pay! Pay! Pay!" During the present conflict no murmur of dissent has reached these shores at least, and in the present wave of patriotism, engendered by the national crisis, it is scarcely conceivable that any wealthy Englishman would venture to complain when nearly 50 per cent. of his income is demanded of him in taxes, while his brothers are yielding their life blood in the trenches.

The enormous expenditures of a country at war may be rather aptly compared to the losses of a group of friends who "sit in" to a friendly game of poker with each other one night a week all the year round. If all their losses at these friendly games were added up, the result would be rather terrifying to people of moderate means, but such a compilation is rarely made. Moreover, the half dozen friends who play poker with each other weekly usually end the year without serious financial catastrophes on the part of any of them, and the secret is that they play with each other regularly. The money which A wins from B and C one night will, in all probability, find its way back to B and C a week later; and so it goes. The chief winner of the season, perhaps, gives a dinner to his friends, and thus equalizes matters. No one is very much better off for the season's playing, and no one very much worse.

The Losses Not Net

So it is, to a certain extent, in the case of a country at war. Certain lines of industry must suffer, it is true, to such an extent that they may never recover. Certain classes of people must lose financially that other classes may gain. But all the vast sums which are being reckoned on as the cost of war are by no means total losses. Much of the money so spent goes back to the people. England, be it remembered, has had her "war brides" and her war-time prosperity. We are apt to picture England in our mind's eye as making war so vigorously that she has no time for anything else. It is exceedingly interesting, therefore, to study the comparison of Great Britain's imports and exports for the first nine months of 1915 and 1916, respectively. These figures are culled from The London Economist of Oct. 14, 1916, and they do not, of course, include importations of war materials for the use of British armies in the field. It should be noted also that the figures given are in pounds sterling, and not in dollars.

	NINE MONTHS ENDED SEPT. 30.			
	1915.	1916.	Inc. or Dec.	P.C.
Imports.	£643,812.337	£704,044,617	+£60,232,280	9.3
Exports..	283,091,686	379,328,938	+96,237,252	22.9
Re-exp'ts.	75,619,886	76,865,079	+1,255,193	1.6
Import balance.	£285,100,765	£247,840,600	—£37,260,165	13.0

It is natural that we should consider the financial future of the United Kingdom as the key to the situation so far as the other two great powers of the Entente are concerned. As regards France, there is an undercurrent of confidence as well, based on the known frugality of the French people, the strength of the French banking system, and the remarkable achievements of that nation in discharging the enormous burdens imposed upon it by the Franco-German war.

The Finances of France

The Bank of France, founded by Napoleon in 1800, has long been regarded by financial students as the model national banking institution. It is, like the Bank of England, privately owned, though differing somewhat from the English bank in its relations with the State.

During the Franco-Prussian war the bank advanced to the State about $300,000,000. This necessitated an increase in its note issues of some 1,300,000,000 francs. By 1879 the advances of the

bank had all been repaid, having been funded by the sale of French Government securities.

The manner in which the enormous burdens of the war of 1870, to which must be added the staggering war indemnities imposed by Germany, were met, will always serve to inspire confidence in the financial resources of the French people. The increase which followed in the public debt of France was about eighteen billion francs, bringing it up to about thirty-one billions. On Aug. 1, 1914, the public debt of France was 32,787,000,000 francs.

As in the case of the Franco-Prussian war, the war expenditures of the French Government have been met primarily through advances from the Bank of France. In both cases the bank was authorized to increase its note circulation.

That French industry and commerce is regaining rapidly any ground which it may have lost in the midst of its time of trial may be seen from the following report of its imports and exports for nine months to Sept. 1, 1916, which parallels the table of British imports and exports quoted above:

FOREIGN COMMERCE OF FRANCE DURING THE FIRST NINE MONTHS OF 1916

(From L'Economiste Francais, Oct. 21, 1916.)

IMPORTS

	First Nine Months, 1916. Francs.	First Nine Months, 1915. Francs.	Difference in 1916. Francs.
Articles of food	2,152,793,000	1,793,735,000	+359,058,000
Material needed for manuf't'e.	2,987,613,000	2,280,538,000	+707,075,000
Manufact'd articles	2,241,002,000	1,733,118,000	+507,884,000
Total	7,381,408,000	5,807,391,000	+1,574,017,000

EXPORTS

	First Nine Months, 1916. Francs.	First Nine Months, 1915. Francs.	Difference in 1916. Francs.
Articles of food	311,772,000	405,400,000	— 93,628,000
Material needed for manuf't'e.	505,881,000	470,032,000	+ 35,849,000
Manufact'd articles	1,519,438,000	1,184,171,000	+335,267,000
Parcel post.	178,972,000	119,828,000	+ 59,144,000
Total	2,516,063,000	2,179,431,000	+336,632,000

Of which 6,640 francs were for parcel post containing silk fabric and silk floss. The corresponding figure for 1915 was 4,884,000 francs.

The Situation of Russia

Russia presents to us the greatest mystery of all the warring powers because we know so little of her normal methods of financiering. We know, of course, that, unlike either Great Britain or France, she has been unable to continue her normal export business, and that, consequently, the trade balances have been heavily against her during the last two years. In normal times her excess of exports greatly exceeds her imports. In 1912, for instance, this excess was over $179,000,000. In 1913, it was over $75,000,000. In 1915 the balance against her was over $369,000,000, and for the first eight months of 1916 it was more than $520,000,000. But Russia's resources are great. With an estimated population of 174,099,600; with an area of 8,417,115 square miles; an estimated national wealth of between fifty and sixty billions, and annual production approximating $7,725,000,000; with its vast areas of uncut forests; with its agricultural resources, as yet scarcely developed to a fraction of their possibilities—it would seem that the Russian Empire can face the future with confidence, even though confronted with the payment of interest on an abnormal public debt.

The estimated present debt of the empire is about one and two-thirds the normal annual production, and the amount per capita equals about $75, which is small when compared with the per capita debt which the other great powers will have to face.

Russia has made two loans of $50,000,000 each in the United States, and large advances have been made to her by both the British and French Governments and by bankers of both of those powers. Only a small proportion of her war debt has been funded as yet, the expenses of the war being met by advances from the Bank of Russia, Treasury bills, and the loans mentioned above. Some idea of the tremendous resources of Russia may be gained from the following figures, which show the revenue and expenditure of the Government, not including the extraordinary expenditures of war, for the last four years, together with the esti-

mates for 1917. The figures for 1915 are partly estimated, and those for 1916 and, of course, 1917, are entirely estimated:

RUSSIAN ORDINARY REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE

	Revenue.	Expenditure.
1913, actual.....	$1,759,940,000	$1,593,538,000
1914, actual.....	1,492,470,000	1,507,405,000
1915, preliminary..	1,455,905,000	1,580,020,000
1916, estimate.....	1,561,480,000	1,692,805,000
1917, estimate.....	2,058,970,000	1,923,010,000

Russia's achievement in doing away with the vodka evil, which was a State monopoly, yielding in 1913 38 per cent. of the total ordinary revenue, excited the admiration of the world. Its financial results are observed in the increase in the deposits in the savings banks, those of the State Savings Banks alone having increased nearly $775,000,000 from the outbreak of the war up to the middle of last August, while some $558,000,000 worth of securities were placed with these banks for safekeeping during the same period. There has been, in consequence, a large increase in direct taxation. It is estimated that the return to the Government in this form of revenue will be about double in 1917 what it was before the war.

Germany's Position

The financial position of Germany in the great struggle is unique. There are not lacking those who maintain that it is stronger than that of the Entente Allies, because she has not been able to spend any money beyond her own borders except with her own allies. Her adherents claim that when the war is over Germany, having practically no external debt, will be in much better case than her enemies. Her debt will be entirely to her own people, and she can repudiate or not, as she sees fit.

Her borrowings since the beginning of the war have totaled some $13,000,000,000, which, added to her pre-war debt of $5,200,000,000, makes her present indebtedness some $18,200,000,000.

Germany's achievement in maintaining her reserves of gold is not less notable than that of her enemies, but it is far less impressive because she has been able to do little else than store it up. As in the case of the other great European banks, the Reichsbank has been permitted to issue notes without reference to its gold reserves, and these notes have been accepted freely by the people. At the close of the war Germany's gold reserves will doubtless be of great value to her in restoring her national credit and re-establishing normal rates of exchange, but it has availed her little during the struggle. On the other hand, Great Britain, acting as the financial leader for the Allies, has not only maintained astonishing reserves of the yellow metal, but has helped to pay her way with this, the only form in which money has any real currency between nations. Since Aug. 1, 1914, she and her allies have shipped to this country about $1,100,000,000 in gold, either direct or through Canada.

Without dwelling on the financial fate of Austria-Hungary, which will, of course, depend upon that of her great ally, or upon that of Turkey, which is not of such vital interest to American readers, it is interesting, while we are still considering the subject of gold, to study the following table from The Commercial and Financial Chronicle of Dec. 9, 1916, showing the increase in the gold holdings of the principal European banks during the past year:

DEC. 7, 1916	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
England	£55,942,730	.....	£55,942,730
*France	146,683,487	£12,440,360	159,123,847
Germany	125,924,350	821,805	126,746,155
†Russia	155,880,000	10,202,000	166,082,000
‡Austria-Hung'y	51,578,000	12,140,000	63,718,000
Spain	48,050,000	29,846,000	77,896,000
Italy	36,647,000	2,908,000	39,555,000
Netherlands	48,716,000	560,400	49,276,400
§Nat. Belgium..	15,380,000	600,000	15,980,000
Switzerland	12,342,900	.....	12,342,900
Sweden	10,131,000	.....	10,131,000
Denmark	8,340,000	168,000	8,508,000
Norway	6,069,000	.....	6,069,000
Total week....	£721,684,467	£69,686,565	£791,371,032
Previous week.	724,893,662	70,864,420	795,758,082

DEC. 9, 1915	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
England	£50,272,748	.....	£50,272,748
*France	197,601,000	£14,260,000	211,861,000
Germany	121,809,850	1,796,050	123,605,900
†Russia	160,518,000	2,855,000	163,373,000
‡Austria-Hung'y.	51,578,000	12,140,000	63,718,000
Spain	33,738,000	30,114,000	63,852,000
Italy	45,251,000	4,427,000	49,678,000
Netherlands	34,756,000	291,200	35,047,200
§Nat. Belgium..	15,380,000	600,000	15,980,000
Switzerland	9,902,300	.....	9,902,300

	Gold.	Silver.	Total.
Sweden	6,298,000	.....	6,298,000
Denmark	5,917,000	247,000	6,164,000
Norway	3,753,000	.....	3,753,000

Total week....£736,774,898 £66,730,250 £803,505,148
Previous week. 734,665,069 66,219,060 800,884,129

*Gold holdings of the Bank of France this year are exclusive of £55,407,438 held abroad.

†The gold holdings of the Bank of Russia for both years in the above statement have been revised by eliminating the so-called gold balance held abroad.

‡July 30, 1914, in both years.

§Aug. 6, 1914, in both years.

From the early days of 1914, when the determined efforts of the great European banks to build up their gold reserves caused constant drains upon our supply of the yellow metal—a signal which should have warned us of the trouble to come—the gold accumulations in the European banks have been astonishing in their proportions.

Few doubt the ability of Germany to meet her obligations after the war. An empire and a people with such vast resources as hers, a Government which has been enabled to maintain such an expensive war military establishment as Germany has built up within the last twenty years, should not find it more difficult than any other European power to meet its interest charges and the other obligations caused by the war, especially if the terms of peace should provide for disarmament in any degree.

Nothing has been said in this article about indemnities, because, as the war progresses, one hears very little conjecture of any kind about them, and it is the opinion of most well-informed men that there will be no war indemnities.

This, however, belongs to the field of pure conjecture, as do, indeed, not a few of the points touched upon in this brief and of necessity sketchy outline of certain phases of war finances. The subject is a tremendous one, but the time is not yet come when any writer can speak with decision, or even precision, regarding most of its angles.

NOTE.—The word billion is used in this article in the sense which obtains in the United States, one thousand millions, and not in the English sense, which is one million millions.

Aspects of War Finance

THE New York Stock Exchange was reopened to restricted trading Dec. 12, 1914, after having been closed for four months, but was not entirely free until some weeks later. A glance at the changes in the prices of stocks in the two years that have intervened reveals the profound effect of the war on certain industries. In some cases the advances have been justified by the increased profits, but with others the advance has been sentimental.

A few of the more active stocks which were traded in two years ago, and which have shared in the advance since then, are shown below, with their last prices, fractions being dropped from both sides:

	Dec. 12, 1914.	Dec. 9, 1916.
Allis-Chalmers	8	34
Allis-Chalmers pf.....	34	90
American Beet Sugar.....	30	105
American Can.....	25	62
American Car & Foundry.....	43	76
American Smelting.....	56	114
American Sugar.....	104	115
Bethlehem	42	644
Central Leather.....	35	110
Distillers	14	43
Erie	22	37
General Motors.....	86	750
Inspiration Copper.....	16	68
International Paper.....	8	64
Marine	1	47
Ray Consolidated.....	16	32
Utah Copper.....	48	122
U. S. Steel, (Dec. 19).....	50	123

Large profits have been made by ordnance works; on Dec. 12 the E. W. Bliss Company announced an extra dividend of 100 per cent., making 300 per cent. in 1916, in addition to the regular dividend. This excessive profit, however, is unusual even for war stocks. Industrials that paid no dividends have been put on a 5 or 6 per cent. dividend basis; the metal stocks have increased their dividends to 6, 8, and 10 per cent.; the International Mercantile Marine, which is in a receiver's hands, is said to have earned over 80 per cent. on its stock in the last year, and the powder companies

are supposed to have earned fabulous sums, the estimates ranging from 250 to 500 per cent. The United States Steel Corporation is supposed to be earning about 20 per cent.

Wages have been increased from 5 to 15 per cent., and salaries from 10 to 20 per cent. by many of the larger corporations. The United States Steel Corporation made three increases in wages in 1916, aggregating 33 1-3 per cent., and extending to more than 250,000 workmen.

The German peace overtures created a semi-panic in the market on Dec. 12, 14, and 15, prices declining in the three days from 5 to 50 points; but on the 16th the action of Russia in rejecting the overtures caused a substantial recovery.

* * *

THE report of the Treasury of the United States for the year ended June 30, 1916, discloses that the total Government holdings in gold amounted at that date to $1,803,493,932.83, an increase during the fiscal year of over $400,000,000, and a circulation increase of $454,000,000 over the preceding year. This makes the per capita circulation $39.28 and the gold percentage 50.97, being the firmest gold basis known in the history of this or any other country. The cash surplus of receipts for expenses for the year were somewhat in excess of $55,000,000.

* * *

THE United States in the year ended Nov. 1, 1916, held in gold coin and bullion $2,700,136,976, an increase of $714,597,804 in sixteen months. This is the largest amount of gold held by the United States or any other country in history. The national banks held on Sept. 12, 1916, in deposits $11,362,341,000.

* * *

THE second French national defense loan was subscribed up to 11,360,000,000 francs, (over two billion dollars,) of which 54½ per cent. is new cash, as against 47 per cent. in the preceding loan. Sixty-six per cent. of the fresh money came from the provinces, and included many millions in gold coin from the little private hoards of the peasants.

Great Britain Spending $28,000,000 a Day

THE British House of Commons on Dec. 14 took measures to raise 1,000,000 more men of all ranks for the army service during the present fiscal year, making a total of 5,000,000 men for the war. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Bonar Law, moved a new war credit of $2,000,000,000, in discussing which he said:

> We cannot continue at the present figure indefinitely. All we can hope for is that we can keep at that figure long enough to beat our enemies, and I believe we can go on long enough to make sure that it will not be from financial causes if we fail to secure victory.

Following debate the vote of credit was adopted unanimously. It is the fourteenth since the outbreak of the war, and brings up the total thus far for the present financial year to £1,750,000,000, ($8,750,000,000.)

In his discussion of the matter of finances, Bonar Law stated that the total expenditure of Great Britain since the outbreak of the war was £3,852,000,000, ($19,260,000,000.) This total included expenditures of £1,650,000,000 over and above the votes of credit. The Chancellor commented on the total he mentioned:

> That figure taxes the imagination. It is a colossal figure, but I do not think it is an appalling figure.

The daily average expenditure of Great Britain in the war, he went on, had risen to £5,710,000, ($28,550,000.) Assuming that the rate of expenditure would continue as at present, the vote would carry them until Feb. 24. An additional £200,000,000 would be required from that date to last until the end of the fiscal year. This would bring the total votes for the year to £1,950,000,000, or £350,000,000 in excess of the estimate made some months ago by the former Chancellor, Reginald McKenna.

The reason for this excess of expenditure, Bonar Law said, was the great increase in the munitions output and the

additional loans to Great Britain's allies and to her dominions.

As to the increase in munitions, the Chancellor said that if he could give the figures of June, 1915, and those of today the difference would seem almost incredible. Considering the nature of this country and how entirely its energies had been devoted to peace, he went on, it was marvelous to consider how she had been organized for war. No more striking proof of the vitality of the country, from an industrial point of view, was found than in the extent by which the output of munitions had increased during the year.

Referring to the increase in loans, the Chancellor said it would be gratifying to the House to know that it had gone largely to Great Britain's allies, the dominions having been able to finance their expenditures. These advances were just as much war expenditure, he said, as the amount expended on the British troops. These loans were now amounting to $2,000,000 daily.

In the course of his speech he said:

Two great advantages are possessed by the Germans. One is their preparedness for war. They have today another advantage—that is, that circumstances have so fallen out that the control of all the resources of our enemies is practically in one hand. One of the drawbacks of our alliance, as of every alliance, is that it is very difficult to get this central control. To secure it has been the object not only of this Government but of the Governments of our allies, and a great deal has been done in this direction during the last year, and particularly during the last six months.

In my belief, success in this war and the rapidity with which we can bring it to a victorious conclusion must depend upon the extent upon which the resources of the Allies in men, money, and munitions can be pooled and thrown into the common cause.

Reginald McKenna congratulated former Chancellor Bonar Law on his speech, thus showing the entente cordiale between the old and the new Governments. He continued:

We are bound to supply munitions to the full extent of our capacity, and we are bound likewise to meet all the demands of our allies, so far as we are able. The extent of our ability to meet those demands is enormous, but there is one restriction, namely, that it will not be easy to convert sterling wealth into dollars wealth. We must pay in dollars for what we buy now, not only in America, but all over the world, and that is the limit of our power to help the Allies.

Greece and the Entente Ultimatum

A Month of Swift Events

THE relation of Greece to the European war has undergone kaleidoscopic changes in the last month or two, at times taking on the aspect of actual war against the Entente Allies, at other times seeming to promise civil war; the situation was clarified to some extent, however, when the stern demands of the Allies, supplemented by a complete blockade of Greek ports, were submitted to by King Constantine and his Government on Nov. 15. By this action the King has saved his throne, at least for the present.

Events moved swiftly in late November. The diplomatic representatives of the Central Powers were ordered by the Entente to leave Greece, and they departed under protest on Nov. 21. On the 24th the Allies delivered an ultimatum to the Greek Government, demanding that it hand over the rifles and guns belonging to the Greek Army, the first delivery to consist of ten batteries of mountain guns by Dec. 1.

Athens seethed with excitement. The Government let it be understood that it would refuse the demands for the surrender of arms and munitions, and on Nov. 28 the Crown Council voted to support the Government in this position. On the 29th war vessels of the Allies loaded with troops arrived at Piraeus and moored alongside the quay. On Dec. 1 the King publicly rejected the Allies' demand and resumed control of Post Offices and telegraph lines in Athens. The same day Admiral du Fournet, the French commander of the allied fleet in the Mediterranean, landed French, Eng-

lish, and Italian detachments. At the same time two regiments of Greek troops of the Athens garrison, with their artillery, moved from the city. The official explanation was that this step was taken to prevent a possible conflict with the allied troops that had been landed; but it was believed by the Allies that the real reason was to move the war munitions out of Admiral du Fournet's reach. Bands of reservists paraded the streets and the city was in a state of greatest excitement. Numerous clashes occurred, and the King finally yielded on the evening of Dec. 1 and delivered six mountain batteries instead of ten. The allied troops at once withdrew from the city, leaving a guard of 300 men at an industrial exhibition building known as the Zappeion.

In the clashes which preceded this there were some bloody affrays, and it was stated that several hundred were wounded. The allied troops were fired on from windows and roofs, and it was stated that a number were killed. The casualties were estimated at 200. It was openly charged that the Greeks began the firing and were guilty of treachery.

On Dec. 7 the Allies blockaded the Port of Athens and placed an embargo on all Greek shipping.

After the fighting on the 1st, just before the establishment of the blockade, affairs grew quieter. Meanwhile the Allies procured documentary proof that the Greek authorities had been carrying on an intrigue with the Germans. The Greek police found correspondence between Deputy Kallimasiotis of Piraeus and the German Legation at Athens—also the Austrian authorities in Vienna—giving details of the supplying of German submarines in 1915 and 1916, with other incriminating evidence. Moreover, after the blockade was established it was ascertained that the Royalists were in wireless communication with the Germans and Turks, and German authorities made public requests to the King to hold out for a while until the German troops could advance against Saloniki and come to his relief.

The blockade was published in an official decree on Dec. 6. On the same day the Russian, Italian, French, and British Ministers called in a body at the Foreign Office and demanded an explanation of the Greek military activity. The answer, while professing neutrality and alleging that the object was solely to preserve order, was unsatisfactory to the Allies. On the 11th the British Foreign Office let it be known that the Entente Ministers would present an ultimatum to the Greek King, which would require complete demobilization of the army, restoration of control by the Entente over the posts, telegraphs, and railways, and the release of the Venizelists who had been imprisoned during the preceding disturbances.

This ultimatum was formally presented on Dec. 14 and expired at 3 o'clock on the 15th. The Allies had come to the conclusion that if King Constantine was not conspiring with their enemies, he at least had not sufficient authority over his armies to prevent their becoming a menace to the peace and security of the allied armies in Macedonia. Their note, therefore, had ordered the removal of troops and munitions, as specified in an accompanying list, these removals to begin within twenty-four hours; likewise they had demanded the immediate stoppage of all movements of troops and war materials toward the north. The ultimatum ended with an express declaration that failure to comply would be followed immediately by war.

King Constantine thus found himself compelled to choose between peace and war. He and his Government decided for peace, and it was announced on the 15th that the acceptance of the ultimatum had been ratified at a meeting of the Grecian Cabinet and Crown Council, at which King Constantine presided. This restored the status quo prior to the advance of the allied troops from Saloniki, and it is believed will remove further danger of a flank or rear attack by the Greeks upon Sarrail's army.

The tenuous hold of the Greek dynasty on the people at large has not been improved by the march of events, and in different parts of the kingdom the people in mass meetings have renounced allegiance to King Constantine and de-

clared for the Venizelos Provisional Government.

The so-called Provisional Government of Greece, formed in Crete on Sept. 26 by ex-Premier Venizelos and his supporters, and operating now from headquarters at Saloniki, declared war against Germany and Bulgaria on Nov. 25. On the same day M. Venizelos issued an address in which he said:

In fighting this fight we wish to wipe out the stain which has been placed upon the Greek Nation by the disregard of our treaty obligations to Serbia; we wish to play our part in the freeing of our territories invaded by the Bulgarians; we wish to emphasize in a tangible and concrete manner our absolute conviction that Greece can never progress, nor even exist, as a free and independent State, except by continued maintenance of the closest contact with those powers who have supported her on every occasion; who rule the Mediterranean, and who at this very moment are fighting for the liberty of Europe and for the right of every small nation to live in freedom and independence.

M. Venizelos reaffirmed his allegiance to the King, strongly disclaiming that the movement was anti-dynastic, and continued:

As soon, however, as the war is terminated, and after we have insured, as far as possible, the safeguarding of our country's national interests and raised Greece from the position into which she has been assigned by the violation of the Greco-Serbian treaty, then we will see what guarantees can be obtained for the future against the possibility of a certain limited number of persons around the King imposing upon the Crown opinions which are in direct contradiction to the will of the people, and forcing upon the people against their will a policy calculated to drive our country to national suicide.

The conflict to which I have referred can only be thoroughly and efficiently settled in one way, and that is by the free verdict of the people. We shall ask to be assured of this freedom in a practical manner, and we are convinced that the allied powers will assist us to this end. * * * Nothing but the re-establishment of the constitutional régime, which has been violated, and the restitution to the people of the right to decide their own destinies can offer any guarantee that Greece will continue in the future to maintain close and cordial relations with the powers of the Entente. Whereas, on the other hand, the maintenance of absolutist rule, from which we have been suffering for the last twenty months, would facilitate Greece's departure from her natural path, and would render possible a rapprochement between her and the Central Empires.

Such is the objective of the struggle we have undertaken.

We wish to fight for our national interests side by side with our natural and traditional friends.

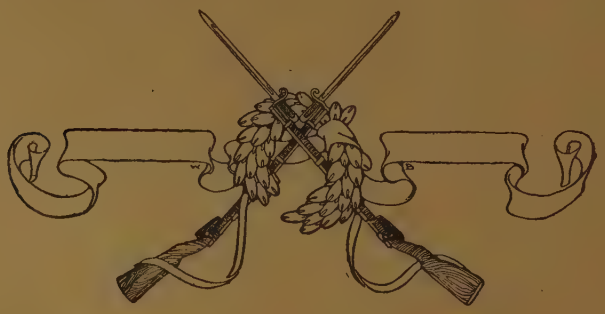
We wish to make good, as far as we can, the harm that we did to heroic Serbia by the non-fulfillment of our engagements.

We wish finally to insure in the future the right to be a free people, the masters of our own destinies.

In a word, we are struggling for precisely those principles, for the triumph of which over Prussian militarism the allied powers are waging their great war.

In these circumstances we feel that the great powers who have done so much for Greece in the past will appreciate the position in which Greece finds herself today, and we are confident in our hope that the powers, appreciating likewise the goal that we are striving to attain, will grant us that material and moral support of which we are in need to enable us to bring our struggle to a successful conclusion.

A warrant was issued at Athens on Dec. 18 for the arrest of M. Venizelos on charges of high treason. He is at the front fighting the Bulgarians. Admiral du Fournet has been superseded by Admiral Gauchet as commander of the allied fleets in Greek waters. The situation continues to be complicated and full of unknown elements.



Belgium and Greece

By Charles Johnston

GERMANY has led her troops into Belgium, and is exercising certain powers there; the Entente Allies have introduced their troops into Greece, and are exercising certain powers there. Are the two cases identical, in law and in their ethical relation? We can only solve the question by solving the legal status of the two nations, Belgium and Greece.

I.

There are close relations between the two nations. Belgium and Greece, as modern nations, were founded at the same time and very much in the same way. Neither owes its sovereignty and international status to a national revolution, though this was, in both, a co-operating cause. Both owe their status to treaties signed, not in Brussels or in Athens, but in London. The treaty which established Belgium "as a neutral State" was signed in London on Nov. 15, 1831, by the representatives of England, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia. The treaty which made modern Greece a nation was signed likewise in London, on July 6, 1827, and reaffirmed in 1830, supplemented by a treaty signed at Constantinople on July 21, 1832.

Both small nations were, therefore, in the making at the same time, and in the formation of both the present Entente Allies played the greater rôle—in Greece they accomplished the whole task of liberation.

Belgium came into being as a result of the collapse of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands, due in part to the unfair treatment of the Belgians by the Dutch ruler; but more to the national aspirations of the Belgians. But the Belgians were not strong enough to build their own State; therefore England and France came to their rescue and entered into an agreement with the other major powers that Belgium should be "a neutral State," Prussia and Austria being signatories to this now famous "scrap of paper." All the signatory powers were bound under this treaty not only to refrain from any violation of Belgian territory or sovereignty but, further, to come to the rescue of Belgium with armed force should any power infringe Belgium's neutrality. It was under the terms of this treaty that France and England led troops into Belgium when her neutrality was violated by Germany on Aug. 4, 1914.

The German Chancellor has publicly charged that Belgium had forfeited her neutrality before the Germans violated it. On two occasions, on both of which Belgium was threatened by Germany, the British Military Attaché at Brussels conferred with the Belgian War Minister as to the aid which England would bring to Belgium should she be attacked by Germany. This is the basis of the German Chancellor's charge. But it is absolutely clear that the facts charged in no way constitute a violation of Belgian neutrality. If Belgium was threatened it was not only the right, it was the duty, of the signatory powers to prepare to defend her. So weak was the charge against Belgium felt to be that it was supported by forgery. Whereas, according to the papers seized at Brussels, the British Attaché insisted "that our conversation was strictly confidential," the North German Gazette, which received the papers from the German Chancellor, rendered the phrase thus: The British Attaché insisted "that our convention should be absolutely confidential." This is, of course, simply forgery of a peculiarly despicable kind.

The newly created Belgium was governed by Leopold I., (1831-65,) Leopold II., (1865-1909,) and by her present ruler, Albert, who came to the throne, on the death of his uncle, in 1909.

II.

Modern Greece became a nation first through the influence of Russia, as the

most powerful nation belonging to the Greek Catholic Church; next, through a national movement, a part of the upheaval which created Rumania, and, finally, through the armed intervention of France, England, and Russia at a time when the Greek national movement had degenerated into hopeless disorder and anarchy.

The Greek Nation was actually constituted by these three great powers by a treaty signed in London on July 6, 1827, supplemented by a conference of the three powers at the Foreign Office in London on March 22, 1829, which declared, among other things, that "Greece shall enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Porte, the internal administration best calculated to guarantee the religious and commercial liberty, as well as the prosperity and repose, which it is desired to assure it. With this view, that administration shall be assimilated, as much as possible, to monarchical forms, and shall be confided to a Christian Chief or Prince, whose authority shall be hereditary, in the order of primogeniture. In no case can that Chief be chosen among the Princes of the families reigning in the three States of the powers who signed the treaty of July 6, 1827, and the first choice shall be effected in concert with the three Courts (of France, England, and Russia) and the Ottoman Porte. In case of the extinction of the reigning branch, the Porte shall participate in the choice of the new Chief in the same manner as it took part in the choice of the first," that is, under the supervision and with the consent of France, England, and Russia.

Greece, after three centuries of slavery and a bloody revolution, was thus constituted by the three allied powers. There had been a period of nominally republican government, with Count John Capo-d'Istria as President. He is referred to in one of the documents accompanying the London agreement: "The sacrifices which the powers have already made, and those which they continue to make, for Greece give them incontestably the right to interfere in an active manner in the form of its government and to exclude from it all the principles which should be thought incompatible at the same time with the real social tendency of the Greek people and with the repose of Europe. The President, whose opinion is of preponderating weight in this affair, goes even further, for he recognizes in the three allied powers the right not only to require from Greece guarantees of order and stability, but also that of founding a monarchical government."

The conference of London on Feb. 3, 1830, declared that "Greece owes her existence to the succors of every kind which the three powers have lavished upon her. * * * On these grounds they consider that they have a right to expect from her an entire deference to their decision. * * *"

As a result of Russian victories leading up to the Treaty of Adrianople, Turkey was compelled to accept the liberation of Greece under nominal suzerainty, with a moderate tribute or contribution. The three powers chose Prince Leopold as first ruler of the new Greece—the same Prince who later made an admirable ruler of Belgium during thirty-four years. He came to Greece, but, because he could not add Crete to his kingdom, he soon departed. Otto of Bavaria was then chosen by the three powers. For some ten years he reigned harshly and despotically. Then a revolution compelled him to accept a Constitution and dismiss his Bavarian troops, who had terrorized the Greeks. His reign ended in 1863.

The three powers, France, England, and Russia, held themselves to be, and in fact were, both creators and trustees of the Greek Nation. As such they chose Prince Otto as a first ruler. As such they financed Greece, contributing $12,000,000 to the Treasury of the needy State. About one-fourth of this sum went as tribute to Turkey; so that, in a sense, these three powers bought modern Greece from her century-long oppressors. Again, as trustees, the three powers, on the final failure of Otto of Bavaria, chose the Danish Prince, who reigned as King George I. and who was seated on the throne of Greece in virtue of a treaty signed in London on July 13, 1863. In the following year a semi-revolutionary movement gave Greece the very demo-

cratic Constitution which is still, at least nominally, in force.

Therefore the three powers, France, England, and Russia, who liberated and created Greece, held themselves morally and formally bound to continue their trusteeship. There choice of a ruler showed this. Their action in choosing a second ruler, in 1863, a third of a century later, showed that their duties and rights in Greece were still entirely operative. Their intervention, which saved Greece from reconquest by Turkey after the inglorious war of thirty days in the Summer of 1897, demonstrated that the same duties and rights are wholly valid now. In reality no further legal and moral justification is needed for everything these same powers have done in modern Greece in recent months, whether at Saloniki or at Athens.

III.

But they have further justification of the strongest kind. Eleutherios Venizelos, as Premier of Greece, commanding a strong parliamentary majority, and, therefore the mouthpiece of Constitutional authority in Greece, invited these three powers to land at Saloniki to act against the Bulgarians and their allies. This was quite frankly admitted by the German Minister, recently expelled from Athens. It has never been questioned and cannot be questioned.

There is a further obligation. Greece stood bound by treaty to fight to defend Serbia. Constantine, in spite of the strong insistence of Venizelos, refused to be bound by this treaty, therefore Venizelos invited the three powers to bring Serbia the help which Greece had bound herself in honor to give but had failed to give owing to the interference of Constantine with the Constitutional Government of Greece.

The framers of the Greek Constitution of 1864 copied English models, and, as the British Constitution formally invests in the sovereign powers which are really exercised by Parliament, the Greek Constitution used the same phrases. But, adopting the phrases of the British Constitution, it failed to adopt the moral guarantees which absolutely check all arbitrary action by the British sovereign. Constantine has taken advantage of this, has wholly ignored the moral guarantees, and precisely by keeping the letter of the Greek Constitution has grossly violated its spirit. This creates precisely such a state of affairs as was foreseen by the three constituting powers in 1830; circumstances which would "give them incontestably the right to interfere in the form of its government and to exclude from it all the principles which should be thought incompatible with the real social tendency of the Greek people."

IV.

There is, therefore, an absolute contrast, legal, moral, and ethical, between Germany's action in Belgium and the action of the "three guaranteeing powers," France, Russia, and England, in Greece. Germany was solemnly bound by treaty not to violate the territory or sovereignty of Belgium. The three guaranteeing powers were equally bound by treaty, under circumstances such as exist, to intervene in Greece; further, they were asked so to intervene by the Constitutional Government of Greece, to repair the pledges to Serbia which had been broken by Constantine.

The true analogy with the action of France, England, and Russia, in their intervention in Greece, is the action of these same powers intervening in Belgium. In both cases they come in obedience to solemn treaty engagements; in both cases they come to give effect to the real national life and the lawful authority of the nation. In Greece the three guaranteeing powers are seeking to save the honor of Greece, just as, in 1897, they saved her national life; just as they are seeking to redeem Belgium from abominable wrongs.

New Submarine Complications

Sinking of the Arabia, Marina, and Other Vessels Without Warning

EVIDENCE that German submarines are violating the pledge given to the United States last May has been accumulating during the month and has presented a problem of increasing gravity. According to a British Admiralty announcement on Nov. 15 thirty-three vessels were sunk by German submarines without warning between May 5 and Nov. 8, resulting in the loss of 140 lives. Twenty-six of these were British ships, those whose sinking entailed the heaviest mortality being the Golconda, on which nineteen lives were lost; the Euphorbia, eleven lives lost; the Franconia, twelve, and the Marina, eighteen. Many other cases have been added since the date named.

The issue of international law has centred chiefly about the Arabia and the Marina, both of which had Americans on board. Each of these has been the subject of diplomatic investigation by the United States. The sinking of the Peninsular and Oriental liner Arabia in the Mediterranean on Nov. 6 involves no question of indemnity, such as arose in the Lusitania case, for only one American was on board, and he was saved. But the evidence that this passenger vessel was torpedoed without warning is none the less a matter of serious concern, as it involves a violation of the pledge extorted from Germany at the time of the Sussex episode.

The sinking of the British freighter Marina on Oct. 28, 100 miles off the Irish coast, involved the loss of six American lives and was at once taken up vigorously by the American Government. Affidavits obtained from survivors by Ambassador Page and transmitted to Secretary Lansing declare that the Marina was sunk by a German submarine torpedo without warning, that it made no resistance, and did not try to escape. The affidavits showed that the vessel was armed with a 4.7-inch gun mounted astern for defensive purposes, but that the weapon was not used. There was no opportunity to use it, because the officers had no warning that the vessel would be sunk. The affidavits indicate that the Marina was struck by two torpedoes, with an interval of twelve minutes between, and that the second was followed by a boiler explosion. The loss of the Americans' lives was due to their drowning as the lifeboats were being launched in a rough sea. One of the boats was in the water seventeen hours, another twenty-one hours, and a third thirty-one hours.

The cases of both the Marina and Arabia are regarded in the United States as a continuance of Germany's lawless submarine warfare, thinly disguised by excuses and inadequate explanations. The German Government admits the act in both cases, but asserts that the submarine commanders believed the vessels to be armed transports. The correspondence between Washington and Berlin on the subject has been conducted thus far through Joseph C. Grew, the American Chargé d'Affaires at Berlin, and Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the new German Foreign Minister.

Germany's Reply on Arabia

On Nov. 21 the American Government sent an informal inquiry regarding the facts in the case of the Arabia. The text of the German reply is as follows:

Foreign Office,
Berlin, Dec. 4, 1916.

The undersigned has the honor to inform Mr. Grew, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States of America, in reply to the note of the 21st ultimo, Foreign Office, No. 14,401, that the investigation conducted by the German Government concerning the sinking of the British steamer Arabia has led to the following results:

On the morning of Nov. 6 a German submarine encountered a large steamer coming from the Cerigo Straits, 100 nautical miles west of the Island of Cerigo; the steamer was painted black and had black superstructures, and not, as is otherwise the case with

the P. & O. Line superstructures, a light color; the steamer, which was identical with the Arabia, was not traveling on the route regularly used by the passenger steamers between Port Said and Malta, as is made plain on the inclosed map, but was taking a zigzag course toward the west, 120 nautical miles north of that route; this course, on which the submarine had passed three similar steamers at the same spot on the same morning, leads from the Aegean to Malta, so that the Arabia was moving on the transport route Cerigo-Malta, used solely for war purposes, according to the experiences until now. The commander of the submarine further ascertained that there were large batches of Chinese and other colored persons in their national costumes on board the steamer; he considered them to be workmen soldiers, such as are used in great numbers behind the front by the enemies of Germany; in spite of the clear weather and careful observation, he did not perceive any women and children.

In these circumstances, the commander of the submarine was convinced that in the case of this steamer he was concerned with a transport ship for troops in the service of the British Government, which is to be considered as an auxiliary warship, according to international law, and can therefore be treated like a warship. He accordingly considered himself justified in attacking the steamer without delay, and sank it.

Should the American Government give the official data showing that the Arabia was at the time of the torpedoing an ordinary passenger steamer, the action of the commander would not have been in accordance with the instructions given him, since these instructions are now, as before, in agreement with the assurances of the German note of May, 1916. This would then be a case of a regrettable mistake, from which the German Government would promptly draw the appropriate consequences.

The undersigned requests the Chargé d'Affaires to bring the above to the knowledge of the American Government and avails himself. (Signed) ZIMMERMANN.

The State Department at Washington found this explanation far from satisfactory, but decided that the next step was too serious to take without further facts. Meanwhile the Marina case was under similar discussion. A German note of Nov. 28 stated that a definite answer to the American inquiry could not be given until more details were forthcoming. On Dec. 11 the State Department announced that as a matter of courtesy it had sent to Berlin the data it had gathered regarding the Marina. Investigation had developed the fact that the vessel had not been under charter or requisition by the British Government, but was carrying horses at so much a head. It was not, therefore, a war transport. The United States has demanded that the character of a vessel be determined beyond doubt—by actual visit and search, if necessary—before it is sunk by an enemy. All the evidence goes to show that neither the Marina nor the Arabia was a transport, that both were torpedoed without warning, and that the policy of the German submarine commanders in trying to ascertain the character of their victims by periscope observations is an inexcusable menace to the lives of innocent neutrals.

The issue remains unsettled at this writing, but its seriousness is acknowledged at Washington. Marine insurance rates have been substantially increased. The sinking of the American steamship Chemung, which went down near Spain with the Stars and Stripes flying, and the fate of the Columbian, Palermo, Lanao, and other victims of German torpedoes during the month deepened the impression without changing the issue.

Dr. Zimmermann's Defense

Germany's attitude on the subject is indicated in verbal statements made by Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, in which he said:

The German naval forces are not sinking neutral merchant ships per se. They are sinking as a defensive measure ammunition transports and other contraband shipments to our enemies that are calculated to lengthen the war. It is not strictly correct, therefore, to speak of "submarine warfare" in this connection. We are conducting cruiser warfare, waged by means of submarines, acting in punctilious compliance with the rules of international law applying to cruiser warfare. Our position, therefore, both militarily and from the viewpoint of international law, is irreproachable, and the propagandistic accusation and charge in connection with ships sunk, as agitated by the English press, are interesting and important only as indicating how hard England is being hit by our defensive submarine measures against England's hunger war and England's economic strangle hold on the neutral nations in question.

Our cruiser warfare with submarines is being conducted in strict compliance with the German prize regulations, which correspond to the international rules laid down and agreed to in the Declaration of London, and this despite the fact that England has refused to be bound by the London Declaration. Germany, accordingly, will continue to exercise her perfect good right to take these defen-

sive measures. If neutrals have to lament the loss of ships and cargoes, it should be remembered that the real blame lies on England. * * *

Germany has promised the United States to carry on submarine war according to the international rules of cruiser warfare. The orders to the commanders of our submarines are clear and strict in this direction. I can affirm with absolute certainty that no German submarine has intentionally attacked a merchant ship without warning and without giving all on board ample time and opportunity for rescue.

We are animated by the best feelings toward everybody, but we are fighting for the life and future of our nation. Everybody can understond that at such a moment as this German public opinion analyzes very carefully the facts and compares our attitude with that of the enemy. Of course, we are cut off from the greater part of the communications with the outer world, especially with the United States. Our enemies use the cables, the mails, and the spoken word in order to plead their case before the whole world. But the other nations also ought to hear our voice, our grievances.

The United States Government has filed at Berlin no less than ten inquiries concerning recent submarine acts. Germany's tendency is to base its defense upon the ground that merchantmen carrying a gun for defense are virtually auxiliary cruisers and subject to the same treatment as warships. Such a justification cannot be accepted by the United States Government, which has definitely ruled that merchantmen may carry a defensive gun at the stern without altering their status.

It may be added here that the German merchant submarine Deutschland completed a second successful voyage to the United States during the month just past. After a few days' delay by an accident near New London she sailed on Nov. 21 with a $2,000,000 cargo, and reached Bremen on Dec. 10, having successfully run the British blockade.

British Admiralty List of German Violations of Submarine Pledge

THE British Admiralty has compiled a list of British merchant ships which, it officially states, have been torpedoed without warning of any kind since the German pledge to adhere to the rules of cruiser warfare was made to President Wilson on May 5 last. From May 5 to Oct. 28 this list numbered twenty-two ships, and the lives lost totaled 131. The detailed list up to the Marina is as follows:

Vessels	Tonnage.	Date.	Miles from Land.
Cymric	13,370	May 8	140
(4 lives lost.)			
Golconda	5,874	June 3	..
(19 lives lost.)			
Moeris	3,409	June 30	46
(3 lives lost.)			
Calypso	2,876	.....	..
(30 lives lost.)			
Euphorbia	3,837	July 16	46
(11 lives lost.)			
Aaro	2,603	Aug. 1	..
(3 lives lost.)			North Sea.
Swift Wings	4,465	Sept. 1	18
(2 lives lost.)			
Butetown	3,789	Sept. 8	60
Llangorse	3,841	Sept. 8	48
Inverbervie	3,841	Sept. 14	20
(6 lives lost.)			
Italiana	2,663	Sept. 14	112
Dewa	3,802	Sept. 17	45
(3 lives lost.)			
Lord Tredegar	3,856	Sept. 17	51
(4 lives lost.)			
Kennett	1,679	Sept. 22	.
(30 lives lost.)			Gulf of Finland.
Secondo	3,912	Sep. 27	4(
Huntsfall	4,331	Oct. 2	12
Franconia	18,150	Oct. 4	195
(12 lives lost.)			
Elax	3,980	Oct. 10	70
Crosshill	5,002	Oct. 11	60
(4 lives lost.)			
Sebek	4,601	Oct. 10	..
Penylan	3,875	Oct. 19	..
Marina	5,204	Oct. 28	100

A statement made public with this list says:

From the fact that the Cymric of the White Star Line was sunk without warning three days after Count von Bernstorff delivered his country's note to the White House, it may be gathered that Berlin has no steady intention of sticking to the letter of the note exacted by the President of the United States at a time when severance of diplomatic relations between Germany and America appeared imminent. Four lives were lost on the Cymric.

About 140 lives have been lost in the sinking of more than twenty British ships with-

GERMANY'S NEW FOREIGN MINISTER

Dr. Alfred F. M. Zimmermann, Former Under Secretary, Is Now Head of the German Foreign Office, Succeeding von Jagow.

(Photo by Bain News Service.)

GENERAL VON BESELER

Governor General of Conquered Russian Poland, Who Has Proclaimed a Polish Kingdom Under German Suzerainty.
(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

out warning by German submarines. Shots and even torpedoes were fired when men and women were making for the boats. One of the last vessels to be sunk without warning by the Germans was the Marina, off the coast of Ireland—a tribute to German frightfulness which still is fresh in the minds of the world.

Since the time of the delivery of the famous German promise to the White House more than 100 British ships have been sent to the bottom of the seas by German submarines, and in these cases a perfunctory warning of a few minutes has been given to those aboard the vessels. Men and women have been set adrift on the high seas in boats, with the result that many were drowned. Others have been killed by the shots which followed so speedily upon the warning solid shot across the vessel's bows. It also is noted that cases have been frequent where the crews of vessels were picked up in an exhausted condition.

In the case of the Cymric, the first flagrant instance of Germany's frightfulness following her promise to the United States, four men were killed when the torpedo from the U-boat struck the ship, which then was 140 miles from land. She had 112 persons aboard, and left New York City on April 29. The attack on her occurred on May 8.

The Canford Chine, which was sunk off the coast of Spain, was given but little time before the German commander of the U-boat sent shots at the vessel. Her crew were tossed about in small boats for more than twelve hours. Eleven men and the master were lost from the Windermere, another victim of a German submarine on June 27, when she went to the bottom off Port Mahon. The Chief Officer and eleven men got into one boat and the Captain and eleven others into the second boat. The Captain's craft is supposed to have capsized in the bad weather.

One of the steamship Calypso's boats was found on the shores of Norway. That is all that is known of her, except that the German Government announced that they had sunk the Calyx, the former name of the Calypso. Thirty perished on this vessel, which undoubtedly received no warning from the U-boat. She left London July 7 and was last seen passing Hull.

The Kennett was sunk without warning in the Gulf of Finland, and the Captain and his crew of thirty Russians all perished. The Virginia, owned by Edward Grey & Co. of Liverpool, was attacked by a submarine off Cape Matapan. Many shots followed right on the perfunctory warning and nine of the crew were wounded, while, in taking to the boats, the Chief Officer and another man were drowned. Three boats with twenty-five of the crew got away safely, leaving one waterlogged boat for the remaining twenty-five and the Captain. While the Master and the Chief Officer were lowering a wounded native into a boat the submarine discharged a torpedo, which glanced off the ship and headed back toward the German craft. It exploded sixty yards away. The Captain of the Virginia was twice sucked down with his vessel after the German had fired a second torpedo. He came up and was saved.

In going through the lists of vessels which fell victims to the German submarines one comes across the case of the Huntsfall, in which twelve of the crew were killed. The survivors took to the sea in their boats when 195 miles off Malta, and after many hours they finally were rescued by the Dover Castle.

The Euphorbia of the Stag Line of North Shields was sent to the bottom without so much as a preliminary solid shot, and eleven lives were lost. Both the starboard lifeboats were smashed by the explosion, but there were two rafts on the vessel. The survivors got away from the ship in the two port boats and the rafts. Six men were blown to pieces in the stokehold. After towing one lifeboat for six hours the Captain went in his boat to Algiers for assistance. This happened on July 16.

The Swift Wings of N. Hallet & Co. met her fate eighteen miles east of Cape Bengut, Algiers. She had no warning from the U-boat, and two men were killed. On Sept. 8 the Llangorse also was torpedoed without warning, and the Chief Officer perished. Nine days afterward the Lord Tredegar, which left New York Aug. 24, unwarned, was torpedoed off Malta and four men lost their lives. As in other cases, lifeboats were destroyed and damaged by the explosion.

On more than one steamship that was torpedoed the submarine Captain did not give the men a chance to get to their boats, but gave the order to fire three or four minutes after the warning shot. As in the case of the West Point, sunk by the U-53, the commander was in the chart room, hardly having had time to give the order to abandon the ship when the second shot burst right through that structure.

The crew of that vessel while getting into boats had a hard time, because of the shell fire from the submarine while trying to get away from their vessel.

The Stephano, with many American passengers aboard, is another instance in which the lives of not only the crew but women were imperiled, and many undoubtedly would have perished had it not been for the timely aid of the American destroyers.

A second Admiralty table gives the names of 107 ships, all of British registry, sunk by German submarines in the same period, which, it is stated, were sunk and "the lives of the crews and passengers imperiled through their being forced to take to the sea in open boats, while their ships were a target for the enemy's guns."

Germany's Drive in Rumania

By a Former Officer of the German Army

[See maps of Rumania in preceding pages]

THE campaign of the Central Powers against Rumania had three distinct aims in view—the protection of the Orient Railroad and Constantinople, the acquisition of the resources of the Rumanian Kingdom, and the elimination of the Rumanian Army.

To realize the first aim action was required in two separate theatres: On the Rumanian western frontier, where the Orient Railroad was imperiled by a Rumanian force attempting to cross the Danube in the middle of the month of September, and in the Dobrudja, where the Russians were undertaking a thrust against Constantinople at about the same time. The massing of troops south of the Iron Gate on Serbian soil proved an effective check to the Rumanian advance, which did not go beyond Negotin; and Rumanian action was henceforth confined entirely to Transylvania, where it succeeded in pressing heavily against the Teutonic troops.

To alleviate this pressure Field Marshal von Mackensen, in command of Bulgarian and German troops south of the Danube, threw the Rumanians who had invaded Bulgaria across their southern frontier, back over the Danube between Rustchuk and Tutrakan, and with a mighty thrust rolled the Russians, who likewise had invaded Bulgaria, back through the Dobrudja beyond the Cernavoda-Constanza railroad through the possession of which he cut Rumania off from the Black Sea and the sorely needed Russian reinforcements and supplies. This powerful counteraction compelled the Rumanians to weaken the forces which they had engaged in the invasion of Transylvania, and it afforded the Austro-Hungarian defenders the desired relief.

These isolated campaigns, which constitute the prelude to the later combined concentric action of the Central Powers, took place in the time up to Nov. 15. From that day onward Mackensen's activity was suspended until the northern half of the ring that was to close about Rumania should be ready to be pushed forward. The first aim, the protection of the Orient Railroad and of Constantinople, had been realized.

Falkenhayn's Mountain Battles

The second phase of the campaign began when General von Falkenhayn led the Ninth German Army, reinforced by Austro-Hungarian troops, against the Transylvanian invaders. Toward the close of September and at the beginning of October the Rumanians suffered three great defeats, one south of Hermannstadt at the Red Tower Pass, another near Fogaras, and a third to the south of Kronstadt at the Predeal Pass. They withdrew their whole front into the mountains, where they fortified the heights and the passes. It was in the Transylvanian Alps that the bitterest fighting of the whole campaign ensued. The Teutonic troops succeeded in a relatively short time in breaking the resistance of the Rumanians despite the terrible difficulties of the terrain. Bavarians and Hungarians won especial distinction in these mountain battles.

The main pressure was brought to bear by General von Falkenhayn against the Vulkan Pass. As soon as the Rumanians began to give way here they had to withdraw their entire front from the mountains in order to escape the danger of being outflanked from the west. Once across the passes and on the southern slopes of the Transylvanian Alps, the attackers rapidly deployed their front, and fighting proceeded in the open on the plains of Little Wallachia.

Falkenhayn directed his advance from the Vulkan Pass against the valley of the Jiu, from the Red Tower Pass against that of the Alt. In the second half of November the Rumanian resistance in Northwest Wallachia was broken, the fleeing troops retreated to Craiova, hotly pursued by the Germans. A wedge was thus driven between the Rumanian forces at the Iron Gate and the fleeing first

army. Orsova and Turnu Severin, on the western frontier of Rumania, were occupied on Nov. 24, and the defenders were dispersed. That removed all possibility of a danger to the rear of Falkenhayn's army, (the Ninth.)

Crossing the Danube

Before this, and earlier than might have been expected, several Bulgarian and German cavalry divisions, covered by a German motor boat corps, had effected a crossing of the Danube to the west of Rahova and established connection with the advance guards of the Ninth Army. The dragnet had been closed and now was being drawn in through all of Western Wallachia. Here we have the transition phase from separate marching to combined striking in a masterly application of Moltke's famous principle.

While the centre of the Ninth Army in the north was following the downward course of the Alt, threatening the rear and flank of the Rumanians, who had to fall back from Craiova to the Alt as their next natural line of defense, the Danube army in the south crossed that river on Nov. 26 near Simnitza, endangering thereby the rear communications of the Rumanians in the direction of Alexandria. To hold the Alt became impossible, and the Rumanians at the close of the month abandoned that position as well as the lines further back of the Vedea and Teljorman, and it was behind the Argesu River that they first made a stand, on Dec. 3.

In the meantime, while the Teutonic centre was pushing forward, taking Pitesci on its way on Nov. 29, more German troops kept moving down from the mountain regions of Campolung. The Rumanians were thus caught on two fronts, one facing west, the other north, while in their rear they were hemmed in by the course of the Dimbovitza.

From this untenable position retreat was the only means of salvation. While the right Rumanian wing was thus completely crushed in, the Teutonic army continued its pursuit of the Rumanian centre and gained possession of the Pietrosita-Titu-Bucharest railroad, the only avenue of which the vanquished northern wing of the Rumanian Army might have availed itself for a retreat into the capital. These troops were completely pulverized.

Closing in on Bucharest

As has been mentioned above, the Rumanian centre made a stand on the Argesu on Dec. 3. Undoubtedly there was a chance here of bringing the pursuers to a halt, for the Argesu is some 900 feet wide, runs very deep, and its many rapids would have made the building of pontoon bridges exceedingly difficult, if the Rumanians had found time to destroy the existing bridges. This they did not succeed in doing, and their retreat continued, while on the lower course of the river the Russians, greatly reinforced, attempted to save the situation by a counterstroke with vastly superior numbers. Not only was this attempt frustrated by the powerful fire to which their left flank was subjected by the artillery of the Danube army, but they were forced back and withdrew behind the Dimbovitza.

The capital was now enveloped on three sides and threatened with immediate bombardment, when it was evacuated by the Rumanian troops in the night from the 5th to the 6th of December.

The evacuation of Bucharest was the signal for the retreat of the Rumanian north army, which withdrew across the Jalomita to Ploechti; this was in turn given up on Dec. 7, and the army fell back until it reached the River Buzeu. Ploechti was of military importance for the reason that it is the centre of the railway net of Eastern Wallachia and is situated on the only railway line over which the defenders of the Predeal and Altschanz Passes in the north might have retreated. As it happened these troops had no time to escape, they were caught on two sides on Dec. 8, and the majority of them were made prisoners.

After the fall of Bucharest the Danube army swept through the southeastern corner of Great Wallachia, cleaning out the bend of the Danube. At the same time the Russians that were left in the Dobrudja joined the retreating forces on the western side of the Danube and the Dobrudja detachment of Mackensen's forces took possession of the Cernavoda bridge.

At this writing (Dec. 14) the armies of the Quadruple Alliance are approaching the river Buzeu, where the Russo-Rumanians will have a possibility of offering a more effective resistance along a line of only 100 miles.

Enormous Rumanian Losses

The haul made by the Teuton-Bulgarian dragnet from the time of taking the Transylvanian passes up to the present amounts to 150,000 men. According to the recognized method of computation the further Rumanian losses would be 250,000 in killed and wounded.

More than one-half of the Rumanian Army is thus permanently eliminated. If the Central Powers have not succeeded in annihilating the entire army, there can be no doubt that its spirit is broken and that the remnants that have joined their Russian brothers-in-arms are not in a condition to have a favorable influence on the latter's morale.

Of war material captured so far, 600 cannon are reported. That amounts to the equipment of four to five army corps.

As the campaign stands today there can be no doubt that the Rumanian participation in the war has been wholly of advantage to the Quadruple Alliance. The value of the possession of Rumania for the Central Powers has three aspects—a political, an economical, and a military one.

Teutons' Strategic Gains

Beginning with the last and assuming that, after reaching the shortest line—let us say the line of the Buzeu—the Germans will halt there and move into Winter quarters, the most salient result would be the shortening of the southeastern front by 650 miles, compared with the time when Rumania had entered the war. It has been maintained by proally critics that in spite of this shortening of the line the position of the Central Powers would be inferior to what it was before Rumania joined the war, since the battle front would still be longer, and that hundreds of thousands of soldiers of the Central Powers will be kept engaged who before Rumania's participation were free for service on other fronts. This conclusion is a mistaken one. For, though avowedly neutral, Rumania was all the time considered by the Central Powers as such an uncertain factor in their calculations that all along her frontiers, especially at the Iron Gate, troops had to be kept that must have numbered at least half a million. The shortening of the Rumanian front from 750 miles originally to the prospective shortest line of 100 miles will therefore actually release no less than those half a million men who before Rumania's declaration of war had to be kept on her frontier.

The second strategic success which the Central Powers will have gained through the campaign is the danger in which the left Russian flank will find itself before long. It formerly rested on the mountain positions in the Bukowina, while now the front will extend as far down south as the bend where the wooded Carpathians and the Transylvanian Alps meet. It will be in peril of being rolled up or enveloped, a possibility which was less great in the Bukowina. If the Central Powers should not move into Winter quarters, but invade Moldavia, that peril to the Russian flank would arise immediately.

The economic advantage gained from the possession of 25,000 square miles of the most productive territory of Rumania is too generally acknowledged to require many words. It may be summed up by saying that it means the definite collapse of the British scheme of forcing Central Europe into an ignominious peace on account of lack of food and other supplies. The economical insuperability of the Central Powers is raised from the plane of probability to that of absolute certainty.

Political and Moral Effect

The political and moral effect of the success of Germany and her allies is undoubtedly very great all over the world, though in America the press attempts to belittle it. The campaign has revealed the enormous reserve of strength possessed by the Central Powers, their capacity not merely to stick in their trenches and defend them, but to come out into the open in powerful array and deal swift, mighty, and well-calculated blows in an

offensive which by itself represents a war of considerable magnitude. On the other hand, the campaign has shown the helplessness of the Allies in situations which are entirely of their own choice and making. Russia failed adequately to support the Rumanian Army, and all that the western allies did to relieve the desperate situation was the pathetic counteraction across Serbia, which came to a halt a few miles beyond Monastir.

To the neutral nations of Europe Rumania's fate, after that of Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro, cannot fail to be a warning not to let themselves be dragged into the war by fine promises and with the seemingly inevitable result of extinction for no other purpose than to put off, in the interest of their great allied friends, the dark day on which they will have to acknowledge final defeat—unless peace intervenes in the meantime.

Editorial Note.—On Dec. 10 Emperor William conferred upon Field Marshal von Hindenburg the Grand Cross of the Iron Cross with an autograph letter in which he said:

"My Dear Field Marshal: The Rumanian campaign, which with God's assistance already has led to such brilliant successes, will be valued in the war history of all times as a bright example of the strategic art of genius.

"You have again conducted great operations with rare prudence as regards splendid arrangements, with the greatest energy in carrying them out, and you proposed to me with far-seeing thoughtfulness measures which directed the way to separately marching columns for a united blow.

"To you and your well-tried assistants of the General Staff the thanks of the Fatherland again are due. With proud joy and satisfaction it has learned the news of victory and, full of confidence in such leaders, looks into the future. But I desire to give especial expression of my deepest thanks by conferring upon you as the first of my Generals the Grand Cross of the Iron Cross.

"Your grateful and always very affectionate King, WILHELM."

Will Rumania's Downfall Prolong the War Indefinitely?

["Politicus," who is an important English publicist, in The Fortnightly Review of London, reveals startling facts regarding Rumania's supreme importance to the Teutonic Powers in the matter of food supplies.]

RUMANIA'S downfall would have the most serious consequences not only to the Rumanians themselves but also to the Allies. Let us investigate Rumania's position both from the economic and from the strategical point of view.

Rumania is only a small State. Its area is 50,702 square miles, while that of the United Kingdom is 121,371 square miles. The country is inhabited by only 7,500,000 people. The southern part of Rumania consists of the Danube Valley. It is a level plain. The northern part is formed by the very gentle slope of the Carpathian Mountains. The country is blessed with an exceedingly prolific soil, a favorable climate, and an industrious population. Hence the 7,500,000 Rumanians produce on their narrow territory vast crops of cereals, beans, potatoes, beetroot, tobacco, fruit of every kind, wine, &c. On the Carpathian slope there are huge and exceedingly valuable forests. Minerals, such as iron, copper, lead, mercury, nickel, sulphur, and coal, abound, and the Rumanian oilfields are celebrated for their productiveness. The British blockade is beginning to be exceedingly effective. Germany is suffering keenly from lack of food and raw materials. By subjecting Rumania she can provide a vast store of the foodstuffs and raw materials she requires.

The Germans are attacking Rumania with the greatest energy, not so much from thirst for revenge, as their statesmen and newspapers assert, but from desire for bread, meat, &c. It is not generally known that until recently Rumania was the third largest exporter of wheat in the world—that in the exportation of that grain she ranged immediately after the United States and Russia. During

the last few years Argentina and Canada have come to the front as exporters of wheat, but even now Rumania sometimes exports per year more wheat than does Canada. By conquering Rumania Germany would conquer, therefore, another Canada. It is noteworthy that Rumania produces almost twice as much wheat as the whole of Austria and about 60 per cent. as much as is raised in the whole of the gigantic German Empire.

According to the last Consular Report on Rumania which gives the figures only for 1911, the following were the principal exports of that country:

	Tons.
Wheat	1,458,029
Maize	1,555,332
Barley	475,164
Oats	233,296
Beans	72,271
Flour	64,917
Rye	130,755
Oxen	*22,856
Eggs	8,624
Millet	35,490
Bran	41,455
Wooden planks	237,799
Benzine	124,414
Refined petroleum	318,434
Petroleum residues	200,822
Colza	36,837

*Heads.

It will be noticed that in 1911 Rumania exported more than 4,000,000 tons of grain, flour, &c. Rumania produces, as a rule, about 10,000,000 tons of grain of every kind. If Germany should succeed in subduing Rumania she would undoubtedly follow her traditional policy of confiscating foodstuffs right and left and starving the population. To the hundreds of thousands who have been killed by starvation in Poland and Serbia hundreds of thousands of Rumanians would be added. The Rumanians would no doubt be put on half rations at the best. Instead of consuming between six and seven million tons of grain and exporting three or four million tons, they would be left with about three million tons of grain, while six or seven million tons would go to Germany. The significance of that colossal quantity will be understood only if we convert it into train loads at 150 tons each.

The grain which Germany could draw from Rumania would be equivalent to half a pound of flour per head per day for every one of the 70,000,000 inhabitants of the German Empire.

It should not be forgotten that, in addition to the yearly crop, Germany could confiscate the vast stores of grain and flour which have been accumulated in Rumania during the war. Germany's food position would be secured by the conquest of Rumania, especially as the yearly harvest of that country can be doubled by improved agriculture. Rumania's downfall would obviously nullify the British blockade as far as Germany's food is concerned. Rumania produces not only vast quantities of grain, but also of meat. She had in 1900, the last year for which statistics are available, 2,588,526 cattle, 5,655,444 sheep, 232,515 goats, 1,709,205 pigs, and 864,324 horses.

It is generally known that Germany suffers keenly from lack of petroleum and of the products made from it. Rumania is an exceedingly important petroleum producer. According to the last Consular Report her exports and her production of that commodity were as follows:

	Production of Crude Oil. Tons.	Export of Oil Products. Tons.
1906	971,019	325,327
1907	1,147,483	430,595
1908	1,139,268	465,444
1909	1,355,867	421,165
1910	1,326,495	586,104
1911	1,625,119	677,982
1912	1,806,942	849,447
1913	1,885,384	1,031,350

It will be noticed that the production of petroleum doubled between 1906 and 1913, and that it steadily increased during that period. The production of petroleum in Rumania can apparently be expanded indefinitely and its exportation could be increased very greatly immediately by prohibiting the use of petroleum in Rumania.

The facts and figures given prove conclusively that Rumania's downfall would be a disaster of the first magnitude to

the Grand Alliance. It would almost completely nullify the British blockade. Germany and Austria-Hungary could hold out indefinitely as far as bread, meat, and petroleum are concerned, and their position with regard to wool and leather would be greatly improved. In addition, the Rumanian mines could supply them with considerable quantities of copper, nickel, &c.

Let us now consider Rumania's position from the strategical point of view:

Germany suffers keenly not only from lack of food and of raw materials, but also from lack of men. Turkey and Turkish Asia Minor are exceedingly important to Germany, for she can draw thence not only vast numbers of excellent fighters, but food and raw material as well.

At the beginning of the war the two Central Empires were separated from their Turkish vassal by Serbia and Bulgaria, which together formed a powerful dike. Turkish troops could not be sent to Central Europe and Germany could send only surreptitiously and by difficult raundabout ways to Turkey the guns, ammunition, &c., which the Turks urgently required. When Turkey's position became critical the Allies, with incredible folly, allowed Serbia to be destroyed by a simultaneous attack from the north and east. The downfall of Serbia created a valuable, but scarcely a sufficient, connection between Berlin and Constantinople, for only a single railway line connects the two capitals by way of Serbia. If Rumania should share Serbia's fate, the small breach in the dike created by Serbia's occupation would become a huge gap. A glance at the map shows that, in addition to the Belgrade-Nish-Sofia-Constantinople railway, the Central Powers would obtain three lines of railway leading toward Bulgaria and Turkey. These are the railways which lead from Hermannstadt to Corabia on the Danube or to Bucharest; the line which goes via Kronstadt to Plosci and Bucharest, and, lastly, the railway which goes from the Bukowina to Galatz and Bucharest, or by the Cernavoda Bridge to Constanza. Instead of a single railway line toward Turkey and Bulgaria, Germany would command four. Her transporting and her striking power by railway would be quadrupled. In addition, she would dispose of the Danube from the source to the mouth, and she could transport on it vast bodies of troops and millions of tons of food and stores, leaving the railways free for other transport. There is a canal which connects the Elbe and the Danube. By subduring Rumania, Germany could easily send a large fleet of submarines by way of the Elbe and Danube into the Black Sea. The Black Sea might become a German-Austrian lake.

If the Rumanian Army can no longer create a diversion in the flank and rear of the Bulgar-German forces facing toward Saloniki, the idea of conquering the Balkan Peninsula from Saloniki would probably have to be abandoned. Germany's vast superiority in transporting troops would make such an undertaking extremely perilous. The international troops would at best have to confine themselves to the passive defense of Saloniki. The downfall of Rumania would not only deprive us of all hope of reconquering the Balkan Peninsula, but would very seriously compromise Russia's position. * * *

The destruction of Rumania's army would not merely have a most unfavorable effect on the economic and strategical position, but on the political position as well. * * * If Rumania should share Serbia's fate, history will hold the Allies responsible for her downfall. The experience of Germany's methods and the destruction of Belgium and Serbia should have made a third disaster impossible. There is a limit to excusable improvidence on the part of nations and their statesmen. Great Britain, France, Russia, and Italy could scarcely complain if neutral nations, desirous of benefiting themselves, would conclude that it was dangerous to take the part of the Allies, that it was safe to join the Central European Alliance, and Germany would no doubt make the best use of that situation and force hesitating neutrals into the war at her side by her usual methods. * * * We have evidently arrived at a most important moment, perhaps the decisive moment of the war.

Naval Power in the Present War

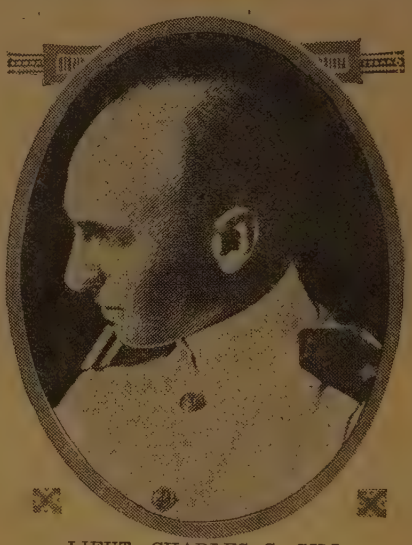
By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill

United States Navy

Lieutenant Gill is a graduate of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis and a member of the Naval Institute. After eight years in the Atlantic fleet, devoted mostly to gunnery, he served recently in the Naval Academy as instructor in English and history. Lieutenant Gill is now again in active service on the United States superdreadnought Oklahoma. He is the author of various expert monographs on naval topics. The article here presented is the first of a series which he has written for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *on the naval lessons of the present war. The series has been submitted to the Hon. Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, in accordance with the regulations in such matters, and is published with the sanction of the Naval Department.*

I. General View of the Situation

SEA power in the present war has been exerted for the most part behind the scenes. For this reason the potent influence of the silent navies has not been brought home to the public mind. It is hard to realize that the achievements of the allied fleets, accomplished with so little fighting, have had, nevertheless, a far-reaching effect upon the conduct of the war, in comparison to which the much-heralded land battles, involving frightful loss of life and property, are, in their influence toward bringing the war to a decision, small and relatively insignificant.



LIEUT. CHARLES C. GILL

Before taking up the disposition of potential naval power at the beginning of the war, and the transition to the present conditions of divided active control, it might be well to explain the meanings of some of the technical terms used in speaking of naval operations.

The sea power of a nation may be said to comprise all its means for contesting for control of the sea. It includes the battle fleets and their auxiliaries, cruisers, destroyers, submarines, aircraft, also naval bases and stations, fortified or naturally protected harbors, coast defenses, the merchant marine, (embracing armed and unarmed vessels engaged in commerce and passenger traffic,) in short, everything the country possesses that may be useful, directly or indirectly, for the purposes of naval warfare.

Big-gun ships comprise the main reliance in battle and are known as "dreadnoughts." These are divided into dreadnought battleships and dreadnought battle cruisers, the difference between the two being that a certain amount of the gun power and armor of the battleship is sacrificed in the battle cruiser in order to get speed. Predreadnought battleships differ from the dreadnought battleships in that, instead of carrying all big guns and torpedo defense guns, they carry some big guns and some smaller or intermediate battery guns, thus tapering down to the torpedo defense guns. The armored cruiser is faster than the predreadnought battleship, carrying less armor and less powerful guns.

Both predreadnought battleships and armored cruisers are discredited in that no more are being built, but they are by no means useless, and still form an im-

portant part of the strength of the more powerful world navies. The light cruiser, used for commerce destroying and scouting, is a comparatively light, fast vessel without armor and carrying a light battery of intermediate calibre guns. The light cruiser type has shown considerabe usefulness in the present war and may be regarded as a development of the torpedo boat destroyer, as it also carries torpedo tubes, but the light cruiser is larger and more seaworthy, more habitable and better armed than the destroyer. The torpedo boat is a smaller edition of the destroyer, and the submarine requires no definition. An auxiliary cruiser or a converted cruiser is a merchant ship or private vessel requisitioned by the Government for naval purposes. Such a vessel is usually armed for both offense and defense. She loses her character of a merchant ship engaged in peaceful pursuits and becomes a part of the fighting navy with the status of a regular man-of-war.

On the other hand, an armed merchantman is armed simply for defense. She is not a part of the fighting navy, and her character is determined by her employment. If she is still engaged in the peaceful pursuits of trade the fact that a ship carries one or two guns for defense only does not change her character into that of a man-of-war.

Strategy and tactics comprise the science and art of using these elements of sea power with the object of getting control of the seas. The word *strategy* conveys the idea of preparation for the fighting and *tactics* that of the execution of the fighting.

Potential Sea Control

When nations of maritime importance are at war relative control of the sea, or certain parts of the sea, belongs to the belligerent whose sea power has practically driven the sea power of the other from the areas in question, so that the maritime operations of the former, both naval and commercial, are practically unhindered, while the maritime operations of the latter are for the time being practically nonexistent. For example, it is generally considered that the Allies at present control the Atlantic. This does not mean that the maritime operations of the Central Powers in these waters have been literally extinguished. It would appear impossible, in the face of an enterprising and resourceful enemy, to prevent completely the operations of submarines and occasional commerce destroyers. But as long as these do not materially affect the maritime operations of the Allies it is proper to say that the latter control the Atlantic. There are varying degrees of sea control, and the more extensive the submarine and commerce destroying activities of the Central Powers in the Atlantic the less completely do the Allies control this sea area.

Theoretically, in times of peace at least, the seas are free to all, but even then certain areas are said to be potentially controlled by certain nations by virtue of their relatively superior sea power in these respective waters. For example, the superior sea power of Japan in Asiatic waters gives her in peace times what might be called potential control of those seas, and it may be assumed that this potential control increases the weight of her voice in international affairs of the Far East.

In times of war also the potential sea power of neutrals may easily prove important factors in this question of relative control of the seas between the belligerents. For example, suppose that the United States possessed a navy superior to the navies of the Allies; relatively speaking, between the Allies and the Central Powers, the former would still control the Atlantic Ocean, but the superior sea power of the United States would give this country a potential control of this ocean, which might affect the conduct of the maritime operations of all the belligerents, particularly in matters concerning the neutral rights of the United States.

International law is not very clearly codified, and it is natural that different nations should look at things from different angles. When great wars are going on potential sea power may prove especially valuable in securing respect for neutral rights.

Naval Losses to Date

Secrecy forms an important part of naval strategy and is favored by nature. The sea isolates and frequently swallows up all testimony of the fighting done. Hence, in the present war, the Admiralty announcements of both sides have been laconic. Notwithstanding this, however, there is plenty of evidence that the silent navies have not been idle. This is indicated by a summary of the losses sustained. It is reported that, in capital ships, Great Britain and her allies have lost four dreadnoughts and twelve predreadnoughts, while Germany and her allies have lost one dreadnought and three predreadnoughts. The Allies have lost seventeen armored cruisers and twelve light cruisers, against six armored cruisers and twenty-three light cruisers lost by the Central Powers. In other types the figures are less reliable, but the Allies have lost about twenty-seven destroyers, fifteen torpedo boats, twenty-four submarines, and twenty-eight converted cruisers and auxiliaries, while the Central Powers have lost about twenty-one destroyers, fourteen torpedo boats, between thirty and sixty submarines, and about forty-two converted cruisers and auxiliaries. In addition to these, both sides have lost numerous small craft, including air scouts, patrol boats, yachts, and mine-sweepers.

Of course, the primary purpose of battleships is to give battle, but it is to be borne in mind that sometimes there are important naval happenings without attending losses or even without fighting. The escape of the Goeben and Breslau may be cited as an example of conspicuous political significance.

The Goeben and Breslau

It is reported that during the first few days of the war the German battle cruiser Goeben and light cruiser Breslau bombarded the Algerian coast, sank a few ships in Bona Harbor, and then proceeded to Messina, arriving there on Aug. 5, 1914. From the pre-wartime disposition of forces it may be assumed that the Allies had in the Mediterranean in that vicinity numerous men-of-war, including very likely two or three British battle cruisers, several fast light cruisers, and many destroyers. International law required that the German warships leave the neutral port of Messina within twenty-four hours. The chances for escape appeared rather dubious, and the following version of the manoeuvre, purported to be from the log of the Goeben, is of particular interest:

On Aug. 6, 1914, just before sailing from Messina the German commander issued these orders: "News about the enemy is uncertain. I presume his strength lies in the Adriatic and that he is watching both exits to the Messina Strait. Our object is to break through to the east and reach the Dardanelles. I want to create the impression that we intend to go to the Adriatic. In case I so succeeded I will veer round in the night and make for Cape Matapan, if possible throwing the enemy off our track."

As the ships—flags flying and music playing—were reaching the open sea the following wireless message from the Kaiser reached the Admiral: "His Majesty expects the Goeben and the Breslau to succeed in breaking through."

Shortly after leaving the harbor the English cruiser Gloucester appeared on the horizon. The English cruiser was emitting signals in three groups. The word "Mumfu" frequently occurred and it was clear that it referred to the Goeben. The wireless receivers interpreted the signal of the British cruiser as follows: "Goeben making for the Adriatic."

The German wireless officer argued thus: "I can jam him. If I break my waves against his perhaps I can confuse, hold up, destroy his messages. Shall I jam his wireless?" he asked the Admiral.

"Shall we fire?" asked the Commander.

"No," was the answer to both questions. No one apart from the staff understood the Admiral. This is how he argued, however: "This boat is evidently a patrol, intending to wireless our movements to the main British fleet. He shall save us, not ruin us. He shall do his work. We will neither fire at nor jam him. Let him wireless that the Germans are making for the Adriatic, whereas the Dardanelles is our object."

It was dark. The Breslau closed in. It was 10 o'clock in the evening; then came the order from the bridge: "Starboard; make for Cape Matapan."

The watching British cruiser saw the manoeuvre, but before she could wireless the news that the Germans were making for the east the following order flashed out from the Admiral: "Jam the wireless; jam it like the devil."

For hours the Germans were traveling eastward without obstacle, while the patrol boat tried to make itself understood in vain. Where did the error of our enemy lie? In England the excuse was advanced that the

Germans had acquired knowledge of the British secret wireless code and so deceived the latter into waiting. Is it worth while contradicting such stuff? The English should have waited before the Strait of Messina, and nowhere else. But so confident were they that the Goeben and Breslau must try and break through to the Adriatic in order to reach an Austrian port, that they thought it safe to wait in the Strait of Otranto, which is forty sea miles wide. So positive were they on this point that the thought of our making for the Dardanelles never seems to have occurred to them.

When the wireless messages of the Gloucester finally reached the British fleet it was too late. The German ships were en route for Constantinople.

That this episode caused the Allies considerable chagrin may well be imagined. A little later, apparently as an alternative to disarming and being interned, the Goeben and Breslau were sold by Germany to Turkey, a transaction without precedent and involving a question of international law. Sharp representations were made by the Allies to Turkey claiming that the latter had violated her neutrality and demanding immediate repatriation of the officers and crews. Turkey failed to comply with their demands, and it is reasonable to suppose that the presence of the two warships in Constantinople had considerable influence in persuading the Government to join Germany and Austria in the war.

As another example of the kind of naval activity frequently overlooked because unmarked by noteworthy fighting, the work of destroying the enemy's cable and wireless lines and safeguarding one's own, may be mentioned.

Cable and Wireless Stations

Means of transmitting information are most important factors in modern strategy. These are now so efficient that it is extremely difficult for commerce destroyers of the nation of weaker sea power to escape the net drawn about them by the stronger navies dominating the seas. That the German ships on foreign stations well realized the part wireless and cable would play in their final downfall is evidenced by some interesting attempts made by them to destroy wireless stations and cable stations.

An instance of this was the visit of the Nürnberg and a German collier to the British cable station at Fanning Island in the mid-Pacific. The dull monotony of life on Fanning Island, scarcely more than a desert rock situated about four hundred miles south of the Hawaiian group, received a severe shock, when, on the morning of Sept. 7, the German cruiser Nürnberg paid its eminently informal call.

The cable employes were hard at work, when they were paralyzed to see a German officer at the door of the operating room with a revolver. "Take your hands off those keys, all of you!" he commanded. The men were made to line up against the wall while the sailors, with axes, smashed the delicate and costly instruments. Heavy charges of dynamite were planted and the cable was blown to atoms. In the meanwhile the collier grappled for the cable further out to sea with the intention of doing additional damage. Still another party planted guncotton and dynamite in the engine rooms, the boiler rooms, refrigerating plant, and in the dynamo rooms. The explosion from these charges was terrific, but no one was hurt. A search was then made by the officers, and a number of papers were taken which revealed that several valuable instruments were buried in reserve for just such contingencies, and that a quantity of hidden arms and ammunition existed, all of which were quickly uncovered and confiscated.

Later on the Nürnberg formed a part of Admiral Spee's squadron, which, after the victory off Coronel, attempted to raid the Falkland Islands in the same way as Fanning had been raided. But this time the British Navy did the surprising, and instead of a defenseless wireless station the Germans found Vice Admiral Sturdee on guard with a battle cruiser division. This superior force had just arrived from England the day before. The ensuing engagement resulted in the destruction of the German squadron.

Fate of the Emden

Another instance of cable attack, also unhappy in its results for the raiders, occurred in the Far East at the Cocos

Islands. The valiant Captain Muller of the Emden attempted one of his bogus-funnel ruses as a means of taking by storm the cable and wireless station on Keeling-Cocos Island. But the ruse was detected—and well ahead—by those in charge on shore, who promptly advised by wireless several British men-of-war near by. This led to the Emden's ultimate doom. Moreover, a rush cable message was sent out to the Navy Office at Melbourne, and the alertness and intelligence shown by the cable and wireless Superintendents showed that they had well learned the lesson taught by the raid on Fanning Island. The Emden landing parties did, indeed, succeed in cutting two cables, but were too late. The intelligence which proved so fatal had already passed over the wires.

The story of the telegrapher's part in the sinking of the Emden is one of those records of ready wit and efficiency which make the best of romance. The guns of the Sydney sent the Emden on the rocks, but those guns would not have come into play had not the telegrapher at Cocos Island quickly recognized the enemy in all her disguise and dispatched the warning message throughout the world which brought the Sydney up in time. It is almost disturbing to think that before the boat's crew had landed from the Emden the warships were moving to the rescue and London was making arrangements for repairing the cable and wireless station.

The superior sea power of the Allies, however, has made German attempts on allied wireless and cable stations difficult, and, when successful, of only temporary embarrassment, while the overseas German stations, without ships to defend them, have passed permanently into the hands of the Allies.

It is thus seen that in estimating the work done by the belligerent navies, there is more testimony to be considered than that set forth in a mere table of ship losses.

Significance of Sea Control

The consideration of sea power and what control of the sea signifies opens the way to a general estimate of the relative sea power of the countries involved in the European war, and their respective sea areas of potential control just before the war opened.

The Allies had superior sea power and consequent potential control in the Atlantic, Pacific, Indian Ocean, Mediterranean Sea, Black Sea, North Sea—in short, in all sea areas excepting those adjacent to the ports and naval bases of the Central Powers, namely, the Adriatic near Austria's ports, the North Sea and the Baltic adjacent to Germany's ports, and the Sea of Marmora, the Dardanelles, and the Bosporus, under the control of Turkey.

Again, if a similar estimate of the situation at present is made, we find that there has been no material alteration. The fighting incident to changing the potential control into active control has followed a course quite to be expected, and maritime operations have been singularly free of surprises. The Allies made a notable attempt to wrest control of the Dardanelles, Sea of Marmora, and Bosporus from Turkey and her allies, but it failed, and, with the possible exception of the battle off the Jutland Peninsula, there has been no other active struggle to alter the areas of sea control as practically determined by the pre-wartime disposition of sea power. This apportionment of the seas is manfiestly disadvantageous to the Teutonic powers, but the sea power of the latter, the part their navies play, and the waters they control, are by no means negligible.

Plans of Warring Navies

Broadly speaking, Great Britain's plan of naval campaign at the outbreak of hostilities aimed, first, to destroy the enemy fleets with superior forces, or, failing in this, to confine the enemy fleets and restrict his trade by a system of distant blockades; second, to convert potential control of the high seas into active control by destroying, capturing, or bottling up enemy men-of-war operating on foreign stations.

On the other hand, the weaker German and Austrian navies instituted a different kind of campaign. The Teutonic powers planned, first, to operate the home fleets so as to protect their coast line and control as wide as possible sea

areas beyond, thereby preventing a close blockade and permitting commercial intercourse with neighboring neutral countries; second, to use naval vessels abroad so as to inflict greatest possible damage on their enemies before being cornered and destroyed by superior allied sea power or escaping to the shelter of home or friendly ports, as was the case when the Goeben and Breslau eluded numerous enemy ships in the Mediterranean and steamed safely through the Dardanelles to Constantinople; third, to interfere with and damage enemy commerce with submarines and commerce destroyers, such as the Möwe; and, fourth, the Teutonic powers planned to lessen the disparity of force between their navies and the superior navies of their enemies by so-called attritionative warfare, harassing and menacing the enemy in all possible ways, instituting raids with fast air and sea squadrons, attacking with mines and torpedoes, and watchfully seeking opportunity to fall upon a detached portion of the enemy fleet with a superior force.

How have these plans worked out? What has Teutonic sea power accomplished? What has allied sea power accomplished?

Early in the war a German cruiser squadron under Vice Admiral Count von Spee defeated a British cruiser force under Admiral Sir Christopher Cradock —but a month later this victorious squadron was destroyed by a superior British force off the Falkland Islands. German commerce destroyers, of which the Emden is a historic example, have done considerable damage to allied shipping. The exploits of submarines have astonished the world. The British shores have been raided both by air and sea attacks. In minor engagements as well as in the battle of Jutland, Germany, hitherto without traditions of the sea, has made a record which, ship for ship, places her fleet second to none.

But to what purpose? The superior naval power of the Allies has slowly but surely swept the German flag from off the seas. With no navy to protect them the German colonies have fallen one by one. On the other hand, the colonies of the Allies are secure, and a source of help and comfort to their mother countries. The seas are open highways to the Allies. Supplies and munitions of war constantly stream into their ports. Transports carry their troops all over the world. The fleets of the Central Powers are hemmed in comparatively close to their home shores. The grip of the blockading navies is ever tightening its hold.

[*The next article of this series will appear in the February issue of* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

The Political Upheaval in Russia

By Isaac Don Levine

RUSSIA is at present emerging from one of the most vital crises in her tempestuous history. The long and bitter struggle between Russian bureaucracy and democracy is at a stage where all indications point to the latter's triumph. Indeed, the victories already attained by the people through their chosen representative—the Duma—and the definite consequences of these victories are absolutely without parallel in the annals of modern Russian political history.

The crisis in Russian national life, which reached its climax at the opening of the Imperial Duma and Council on Nov. 14, was the result of a series of events that occurred in the Slavic empire in recent months. The chief perpetrator of these events was Boris Sturmer, the deposed Prime Minister. A reactionary of the strongest dye, he brought Russia to the brink of revolution through his internal and foreign policies.

Sturmer, appointed to the Premiership in February, 1916, began his Ministerial career with a drive against the popular forces making headway in Russia. He inaugurated, first of all, a new crusade against the already muzzled press. The military censorship grew in rigidity steadily and extensively during his administration. The curbing of public opinion was not, however, the only step taken by the Premier in his campaign to deprive Russian democracy of the power it had already won in the direction of the nation's fortunes.

Thus, the appointment of extreme reactionaries to Cabinet posts was a policy of Sturmer calculated to have the same effect as the heavy press censorship. But, deplorable as these appointments were, they would not have resulted in profound dissatisfaction had they proved stable. But this they could not be. For the bureaucracy of Russia constituted in ordinary times a class of ignorant and inept tchinovniks. When Sturmer attempted to return this class to its rôle of yore in the most critical period of human history he could not but fail miserably. For his bureaucrats demonstrated their defects so promptly that their dismissal soon became a necessity. As a result of this, some Ministries changed heads three or four times in the course of 1915.

These Ministerial changes provoked much feeling in the popular ranks, for they could bring nothing but harm to the interests of the nation, as they were impeding the Government's activities.

Duma's Prerogatives Threatened

Another serious cause of unrest was the Government's encroachment upon the prerogatives of the Duma. There is an article in the constitution of the Russian Parliament, known as Article 87, which permits the Government to enact laws without the help of the Duma. The Government has always made much use of this article, but never as much as in the last few months. Sturmer took advantage of the long intermission in the session of the Duma to pass some very obnoxious and revolting measures. One of these was more than a mere blow at democracy; it was a dangerous stab at the vitals of the Russian Nation.

What is the most vital thing in Russian national life at this moment? It is the resolute and unanimous intent to prosecute the war to a successful issue. Russian democracy patiently stood the suffering inflicted upon it by the bureaucrats for the sake of unity and victory. For it is in victory that the people of Russia see the promise of a new, regenerated country. The fight for internal political reformation has been postponed by all the radical elements in the empire in order to win the war. But the Government proved itself not very eager to labor for this object. The actions of Sturmer showed that the bureaucracy was more interested in losing than in winning the war.

The Russian people have not depended

on their Government to win the war. After the collapse that followed the invasion of Poland and Lithuania by the Teutons, Russian democracy rose to the succor of the army that had failed because of the Government's incompetence. Vast organizations have been created. The All-Russian Zemstvo Union, the Union of Municipalities, the War Industries Committee, and many other popular bodies are helping the War Ministry in its work of equipping, supplying, and caring for the army.

A Blow Bitterly Resented

It was at these vital organs that Premier Sturmer struck a blow which filled Russia with rage and rebellion. In April the Cabinet announced its decision to forbid national conferences and conventions of the various social organizations. The pretext for this decision was that these bodies were engaged in revolutionary activities. Prince Lvoff, the head of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union, thereupon addressed a protest to General Shuvayeff, War Minister, who was known to be in sympathy with the popular organizations.

"I have repeatedly pointed out to you," wrote Prince Lvoff in a recent note to the War Minister, "the abnormality and impossibility of the situation created for the organizations that are working for the interests of the State; for the Government, in spite of its distrust of these organizations, continues to lay new orders on the Zemstvo Union."

But the War Minister could not revoke the Cabinet's order. He could only refer the protests for the consideration of the Cabinet, which he did. It was the answer of the Cabinet to these protests that made Russia stand aghast, full of indignation.

A circular was issued by the Government on Oct. 4 which put all meetings, councils, conferences held by social bodies under the supervision of the police. When one remembers that the budget of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union alone had reached the colossal sum of two and a half billions in the first two years of its activities, and that the other organizations are also performing vast operations, frequently of a confidential character, one can well imagine what it means to have the intricate and immense machinery of the social bodies under the constant supervision of the Russian police, which can interfere with, or entirely interrupt, its movement.

No other construction could have been put on this act of Sturmer than a desire to hamper the progress made by the people toward the winning of the war. In any event, this was the way Russia interpreted the Premier's act. Had this been the sole movement in the direction of contradicting the popular will and state of mind, events might have shaped themselves quite differently. But Sturmer already had to his credit at least three major deeds that served to enhance the suspicion with which his attitude toward the war and its objects was regarded throughout Russia.

Resignation of Sazonoff

The first of these three factors was the resignation of Sazonoff as Foreign Minister. This was forced by Sturmer, and it provoked a storm of indignation. For, as far as the determination of Russia to stick to the Allies and prosecute the war to the end goes, Sazonoff had the fullest confidence of all classes of the people. A stanch friend of England, Sazonoff was to the Russian people the only member in the Government in whose presence they saw the coming triumph of democracy in their own country. His retirement was, therefore, a deep wound to the Russian people.

But it was the consequence of his retirement that reverberated most profoundly in the Russian heart. For the portfolio of Foreign Minister was taken over by Premier Sturmer. This Russia could not bear calmly. The fact that Sturmer was a descendant of the Baltic Germans was in itself responsible for many disquieting reports. The fact that soon after Sturmer assumed office rumors of a separate peace between Russia and the Central Powers began to fill the world was portentous enough. The fact that there is known to exist a certain group in the Russian Court favoring the conclusion of such a peace was never lost sight of by those who guard and lead the various forces of popular Russia. But it

was necessary to witness such an act as the assumption of the office of Minister for Foreign Affairs by Sturmer in order to give form and substance to the wave of nervousness that seized the nation when it was faced by the possibility of a separate peace.

Appointment of Protopopoff

And then something happened that made the possibility look like a probability. This was the appointment of A. D. Protopopoff as Minister of the Interior. Protopopoff, a wealthy landlord and manufacturer, associated with certain Petrograd banks, was never a political leader in the Russian sense of the word. He is a politician in the American interpretation of this term, i. e., a man of ambition, a builder of a career, a seeker of the spectacular and vainglorious. Thanks to his shrewdness and affability he managed to become a member of the Duma and one of its Vice Presidents. He belonged to the Octobrist Party, which is the central group of the Progressive Bloc that comprises the majority of the Deputies. He got into the limelight, however, only last Summer, when he headed the Russian Parliamentary Delegation to Western Europe.

It was on his way home, while in Stockholm, that A. D. Protopopoff met in conference an attaché of the German Legation there. When this fact leaked out it created a sensation in Russia. True, Protopopoff apparently proved that the conference took place at the initiative of the German Ambassador in Sweden. But the fact of the conference was in itself an indictment. At least the Society of 1914, which aims to destroy all German influence and activity in Russia, and which includes among its members Russia's leading public men, so regarded it.

This society maintains an open blacklist. The name of any public man found guilty of relations with Germany is recorded there. The Propaganda and Commerce Committees of the society took up the charge of Germanophilism made in the press against Protopopoff, investigated them, and recommended the blacklisting of Protopopoff to the Executive Council. At this juncture, to the profound astonishment of the nation, Protopopoff was appointed Minister of the Interior. It was a perplexing, confusing, mysterious move on the part of Sturmer. It is no exaggeration to say that no Ministerial appointment in Russia for the last decade had been as bewildering to Russia as this. No more surprising appointment was ever made by the Czar.

Those who interpreted Protopopoff's entrance into the Cabinet as signifying a change for the better were soon to be disillusioned. He announced his program as that of Sturmer. He donned a gendarmery uniform which no Minister had worn, not even the arch-reactionaries Durnovo and Stolypin, since the days of von Ploehve, who was assassinated in 1904. Protopopoff turned away from the principles of the Progressive Bloc to which he belonged. He became an object of derision through these acts. He also became an object of suspicion when the Executive Council of the Society of 1914 decided at its meeting of Oct. 3, soon after Protopopoff's high appointment, to present before the general meeting of the society the recommendation to blacklist him. The effect of this decision on the nation was tremendous. The three most important posts in the empire, the Premiership and the Ministries of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs, were held by two men suspected of pro-Germanism.

The Problem of Poland

In addition to the Sazonoff and Protopopoff factors there arose one more condition of a nature to provoke the nation. This was the Government's attitude toward the Polish problem. Sturmer's original solution was one of the causes of Sazonoff's resignation. He proposed to give Poland only general self-government. Later the Cabinet decided that all announcements on the part of Russia in regard to its Polish program would be premature. Protopopoff, in the course of his first audience with the Czar, also advised postponement of action on the Polish question. Meanwhile, it became generally known that the Central Powers were preparing some kind of a political move in regard to Poland. Russia wanted to forestall any such move, but its Government did not; and when Germany and Austria jointly announced

POPE BENEDICT XV.

This Wartime Portrait of the Pope, With Its Face of Pain and Mystery, Was Painted Recently by the French Artist Besnard. It Has Attracted Worldwide Attention.

NOTABLE ITALIAN LEADERS

At Top: Duke of Aosta, Admiral Corsi (Minister of Marine), and the Duke of Abruzzi. Centre: General Alfieri, General Morrone (Minister of War), and General Dal'olio. At Bottom: Signor Orlando, Minister of Interior; General Morrone (Again), and Luigi Luzzatti, Noted Publicist and Former Minister.

(Root Newspaper Association.)

early in November the creation of a Polish Kingdom the effect on Russia was enormous. The opposition to the Government gained powerful impetus.

On top of all this, an economic condition arose that carried more danger with it to the Government than all the political factors combined. This was the chaos in the food supply organization of the country. Russia has been suffering from the high cost of living more than any other country in the world. Prices of some articles reached fabulous proportions. But when leather was selling at premiums the Russian turned to rags and wooden sandals to protect his feet. When kerosene was selling at prohibitive prices, tallow candles again became popular. Sugar was dispensed with by a large part of the population.

Faced by Starvation

But a time came when the country suddenly found itself without bread. A famine was threatening the nation in the Fall, and this in spite of the fact that Russia had hundreds of millions of surplus bushels of grain! Where was that vast surplus? It was not for sale. The peasants, the landlords, and, especially, speculators, held it back.

What was the reason for this? It was a clumsy attempt made by the Government to solve the bread problem by fixing prices. The prices fixed by the Government were too low. The owners of the bread would not sell it. Meanwhile, starvation was staring into the eyes of the nation.

To add to the confusion the Government empowered local officials with requisitionary powers for the army. As a result the chaos was increased. In one province, for instance, the Governor held back 50,000,000 bushels of grain. The army demanded of him only five of these millions, yet the rest was meantime out of reach of the market.

When the state of mind throughout the country reached a menacing degree, when the cry for a solution of the bread problem was raised from all the corners of the empire, the Government lost its head completely. The Minister of Agriculture and the Minister of the Interior were fighting for control of the food situation. Protopopoff proposed several solutions, but he could not go ahead without the Cabinet's consent that the whole affair, which was in the hands of the Ministry of Agriculture, should pass into those of the Interior. It was at this stage that the Government's incompetence reached a revolting point, for the Cabinet could not make up its mind what to do with the food supply question. Vacillation from one plan to another consumed days and weeks. The exasperation of the nation knew no bounds.

Dark rumors of revolt began to fill the country. Only the fact that the Duma was to meet on Nov. 14, and that the leaders everywhere counseled patience till the Duma's meeting, controlled the passions of the excited nation. Here is what a leading deputy of the Duma, A. Kerensky, said on the eve of its opening:

> Never before was the Duma's opening session preceded by such a stormy state of mind. Our immediate tasks are colossal. The difficulties of last year seem insignificant when compared with those of the present moment. The democratization of the Government is not a theoretical demand now, but an urgent political problem. The change is no longer dictated by the mind, but by the stomach.

Stormy Scenes in the Duma

Such was the state of affairs in Russia at the opening of the Duma. The political and economic conditions furnished the basis for the most concerted attack ever made in Russia against the Government. All factions and groups joined in it. Socialist and extreme reactionary united in denouncing the Government. By far the most remarkable phase of the crisis was this unprecedented union. The Black Hundreds, who were instrumental in the origination of pogroms and massacres a short time ago; the reactionary landlords and capitalists of the conservative parties, the moderate Octobrists, the liberal Constitutional Democrats, the radical Labor Party, and the Socialists, all presented one solid wall of opposition.

The President of the Duma, M. Rodzianko, a moderate progressive, made the first speech at the opening session. The speaker exposed the most important of all the Government's faults, making the striving for a separate peace his subject.

His allusions to it were accompanied by thunderous outbursts of applause. The Premier and the Cabinet left the Duma after Rodzianko's utterance. The allied Ambassadors were accorded a tremendous ovation at the speaker's reference to their countries. The attack on the Government was expressed in the following words by the President of the Duma:

The foremost duty of the Duma is to make a calm and thorough valuation of the situation, and to remove immediately that which ought not to be and which interferes with the nation's reaching its only marked aim. The war must be won at all costs and risks; this our national honor and national conscience demand. This not only our national safety but the welfare of the future generations demands. With the help of God we shall attain it. * * * But what are the paths leading to that goal? We all know them: Order within the country, faith in our powers, firmness of spirit, and the truth firmly stated here, within these walls.

The Government must learn from us what the country needs. In the course of a struggle and an exertion of national faculties the spirit of the country must not be dampened by unnecessary restrictions. The Government must not follow a path different from the people. With the confidence of the nation it must head the social forces in the march toward victory over the enemy along the path that harmonizes with the aspirations of the people. There is no other path to be followed. Any deviation from it means delaying success and postponing victory. * * *

In close union with our allies we wage the bloody conflict. * * * It is necessary to remember here that there is no discord among us. Our friendship is still developing and growing firmer. * * * There is no trick to which our enemy will not resort with the treacherous object of wrecking our alliance. In vain, however, are his efforts. In vain his hostile intrigues. Russia gave her word to fight in common with the Allies till complete and final victory is won. Russia will not betray her friends, and with contempt refuses any consideration of a separate peace. Russia will not be traitor to those who are fighting side by side with her sons for a great and just cause.

Attacks by Popular Leaders

But the voice of the people was yet to be heard from the tribune of the Duma. Rodzianko's diplomatic utterance lacked the bluntness and directness of the attacks that were to follow. The declaration of the Progressive Bloc, which consists of a majority of members, briefly touched upon all the misfortunes that have befallen Russia in the course of the Sturmer administration, and concluded with the statement: "In the interests of victory the present Government must give place to men united by a single mind and ready to act with the support of the Duma and to carry out the Duma's program."

At the following session of the Duma Paul Miliukov, the leader of the Constitutional Democrats, in a brilliant speech indicted the Government for seeking a separate peace with Germany. The text of his speech, and of many others, has not been allowed to be published by the censorship. A scathing arraignment of the Government was also made by Shulgin, an eminent Conservative. In all the utterances made in the Duma one note was ever present: The necessity of the resignation of Sturmer. Another demand was the creation of a Cabinet having the confidence of the Duma, i. e., the setting up of a responsible Ministry.

With these two demands the Duma began a demonstration against the Government that was to last as long as it was in power. The fight between bureaucracy and democracy had thus narrowed down to a most spectacular contest between the Duma and the Prime Minister. While the Duma protested, the Government suppressed for publication most of what was said in the Duma. But there was one thing it could not suppress. That was the blank spaces created in the newspapers through the original suppressions. And these blank spaces told the nation "in white and black," as the Petrograd Dyen said, what was occurring in the capital.

The third day of the Duma's attack on the Government found Russia in suspense. Sturmer threatened to dissolve the Parliament. A united nation, strained to the utmost, watched with alarm for the next move. It came from an unexpected quarter, in an unexpected manner, dramatically sealing the fate of Sturmer as Premier.

General Shuvayeff's Speech

On Nov. 27 there suddenly appeared in the Duma the Ministers of War and Marine, General Shuvayeff and Admiral Grigorovitch. They announced that they had a statement to make. The War Minister said in part:

'I consider it necessary to share with you some of the observations and ideas obtained from the period through which we are passing. The bloody and cruel war has now lasted twenty-seven months. It was not our beloved Emperor who desired and sought to start this war. We all know that neither our sovereign nor our valiant allies received the right response in the enemy camp to their efforts and endeavors to avert this universal conflagration. And no wonder! In this enemy camp for decades there was cultivated, raised, and strengthened the idea, expectation, hope, conviction of the necessity of conquering and capturing the dominant rôle among all nations by force of arms and violence, disregarding truth and justice. No wonder, also, because in this enemy camp the swords were sharpened and armaments prepared for decades, and the hour was only awaited when it would be possible to surprise the neighbors by falling upon them with the intent of crushing them. * * *

But calculations are one thing and life is another. * * * Each day brings our perfidious enemy nearer defeat. And to what change do we owe this? To the fact that the war is waged not only by the army but by the entire nation. This realization is daily permeating more and more the minds of the nation. [After illustrating with figures the accomplishments of the national efforts in the interests of the army, the speaked said:] This is what our common and co-operative effort gave us. Allow me to hope and ask for your help in the future in this common work for the equipment of our valiant army.

As the President of the Duma has said, we must win at all costs and risks. This is the demand of our country's welfare, to which everything else is subordinate. As an old soldier, I express my fullest conviction that we shall win. There is no power on earth that could vanquish the Russian Empire.

The Minister of Marine briefly stated to the Duma that he came there to support the War Minister in his declaration that "the nation's defense demanded our united and co-operative effort." The Duma never witnessed such a scene as that which followed the Ministers' speeches. A tremendous demonstration occurred. Roditchev, the Duma's golden-tongued orator, mounted the tribune and said:

It has rarely happened at our sessions that the necessary word has been said unexpectedly and weightily at the opportune moment. The representatives of the army tell us that in accordance with the wish of the Emperor and the will of the people our army will fight until the end. And that is precisely what we want, that is precisely why we are sitting here.

The salient fact about the event was pointed out by Paul Miliukov to a newspaper correspondent. He said:

The War and Marine Ministers have declared themselves on the side of the Duma and the people. We, on our part, have said that the Duma is with the army and the people.

The Duma's Great Victory

The chief result of this historic moment in the life of Russia was that the army, hitherto the support of the bureaucracy, openly declared through its representatives its union with and support of the democracy. The Government was paralyzed. It was helpless without the army. The only thing to do was to give in. Sturmer resigned. "The Duma has won the first victory," said M. Adjemov, a leading Deputy. "It is as yet a far cry to the satisfaction of all our demands; but it is the first time in the history of Russia's Parliament that Government heads have openly given to it their moral support."

The Duma, therefore, caused the fall of the Prime Minister. This was the first case of its kind. But the Duma was not satisfied. It wanted a "responsible Ministry," one having the confidence of the people. It was therefore rather disappointed when Alexander Feodorovitch Trepoff, Minister of Communications, was promoted by the Czar to the post held by Sturmer. Trepoff is a man of much broader vision than his predecessor. The first thing he did was to unmuzzle the press. In his declaration in the Duma he definitely and firmly declared the Government's resolution to continue the war to the end.

Dardanelles to be Russian

Undoubtedly to allay the passions of the nation, Trepoff announced that by an agreement concluded in 1915, and subsequently adhered to by Italy, the Allies definitely established Russia's right to Constantinople and the Dardanelles. He also announced Russia's decision to grant full autonomy to Greater Poland. He said in part:

For more than a thousand years Russia has been reaching southward toward a free outlet on the open sea. This age-long dream, cherished in the hearts of the Russian people, is now ready for realization. * * *

From the beginning of the war, wishing

to spare human lives and sufferings, we and our allies did our utmost to restrain Turkey from mad participation in hostilities. Turkey received formal assurances guaranteeing her, in exchange for neutrality, the integrity of her territory and independence, and also conferring on her certain privileges and advantages. These efforts were vain. Turkey surreptitiously attacked us, and thus sealed her own doom.

We then concluded an agreement with our allies, which established in the most definite manner the right of Russia to the strait and Constantinople. Russians should know for what they are shedding blood, and, in accord with our allies, announcement is made today of this agreement from this tribune.

Absolute agreement on this point is firmly established among the Allies, and there is no doubt that after she has obtained sovereign possession of a free passage into the Mediterreanean, Russia will grant freedom of navigation for the Rumanian flag, which now, not for the first time, floats in battle side by side with the flag of Russia.

I thought it my duty not to conceal from you the difficulties and sacrifices which we have still to endure in order to bring the present war to a victorious conclusion, but no difficulty and no sacrifice will stop Russia and her brave allies on the path of reconstruction and consolidation. A bright future will be the heritage of all nations fighting for a just and holy cause.

Our heroic troops and fleet are doing their great work without pause. The first task which falls on the rest of us is to devote all our strength and every hour of our time to productive work. Russia needs the common labor of every one, based on regular distribution, according to individual capability. It is the patriotic duty of every one not to undermine the country's power but to do his utmost to strengthen it. The history of the world has never known so decisive a moment. We must organize all the power of the nation and hurl it against the enemy. Nothing will resist that force.

The Government's immediate program must be directed to winning a complete and conclusive victory, cost what it may. The war must continue till German militarism is destroyed beyond all possibility of recrudescence in the early future. The war must be crowned by victory not only over the enemy without but the enemy within. The war has opened the eyes of the people, and they realize now that Russian industry, education, science, and art have been under the yoke of Germanism. * * *

Remember that, however cruel the enemy blows may be, the final victory is ours. It is surely approaching us. Let us march united to meet it.

The food crisis, the acute internal and foreign political questions, all that which was chiefly responsible for the political upheaval that shook Russia to its foundations, was settled for the time being by the appointment of Trepoff. But the crisis is not past yet. A great political principle, around which Russia rallied in the critical days, is not yet settled. The issue as to whether Russia is to have a Ministry responsible to the Duma, i. e., whether Russia will become a true constitutional country with a parliamentary form of Government, is still at stake.

Imperial Council Converted

There is in Russia, besides the Duma, also an upper chamber, called the Imperial Council. Half of its members are appointed by the Czar from former Ministers and high tchinovniks. The other half is chosen by the wealthy landlords and capitalists and by the educational institutions of the country. The Imperial Council was always supporting the Government in the past, disregarding the figures who were at the helm of it. Russia never looked for aid, relief, or initiative to come from that body.

The best measure of the tremendous political upheaval that Russia is undergoing can, therefore, be had from the fact that the Imperial Council, by an overwhelming majority, allied itself with the Duma. When the Council convened on Nov. 14 the Government was attacked there with unprecedented violence. The Polish Deputy Shebeko, in a brilliant speech that was met with stormy approval, attacked the Government for its vacillation and inaction in reference to the Polish problem. At one of the first sessions an interesting incident occurred. A Government bill providing for the reorganization of a certain technical institute was taken up. An amendment to the bill read that in accordance with the custom of sixty-five years Jews are not to be admitted to the institute. The Government representative defended this clause. When the Council voted on it, it was rejected by sixty-five against sixty-three.

The Imperial Council is the very foundation of the Government. The significance of its allying itself with the Duma is incalculable. Its support of such a radical demand as a "responsible Ministry" proves how profoundly Russia was affected by the bloodless revolution.

Austria's Change of Emperors

FRANCIS JOSEPH, Emperor of Austria-Hungary, died at 9 o'clock Tuesday evening, Nov. 21, 1916, at Schönbrunn. He was born Aug. 18, 1830, hence was in his 87th year when he died. He became Emperor Dec. 2, 1848, on the abdication of his uncle, Kaiser Ferdinand. His reign of sixty-eight years was the longest in duration of any European monarch in modern times. His health was normal, for one of his advanced years, almost to the end; he was able to attend to his official duties within twenty-four hours of the end, and was not taken to bed until a few hours before his death.

Archduke Charles Francis Joseph, his grandnephew, the eldest son of Archduke Otto, younger brother of the murdered Francis Ferdinand, whose death precipitated the war, succeeds to the throne. The new Emperor has taken the title Charles I. He was born Aug. 27, 1887, son of Princess Maria Josepha of Saxony. He attended the Vienna public schools, and in his youth shocked the sticklers of Court etiquette by his democratic manners. He married on Oct. 21, 1911, Princess Zita of the Bourbon House of Parma, one of a numerous family; two of her brothers are serving with the Belgian Army. She was only 19 when she married, and has borne two sons.

The new Emperor, on taking over the Government and confirming the present Premier, Dr. von Koerber, in his functions, issued a proclamation in which, referring to Francis Joseph, he said:

"I will continue to complete his work. I ascend his throne in a stormy time. Our aim has not yet been reached and the illusion of the enemy to throw down my monarchy and our allies is not yet broken. You know me to be in harmony with my peoples in my inflexible decision to continue the struggle until a peace assuring the existence and development of the monarchy is obtained. I will do all in my power to banish as soon as possible the horrors and sacrifices of war and to reobtain peace as soon as the honor of our arms, the conditions of life of my countries and their allies and the defiance of our enemies will allow."

The German Emperor sent the following telegram after the death of the aged Emperor:

"We of the younger generation were accustomed to see in his venerable figure examples of the finest virtues of rulers and truly kingly devotion to duty. The German Empire loses in him a loyal ally. I personally lose a paternal and highly honored friend.

"God's inscrutable will has called him away in the middle of the greatest world war, and has not permitted him to see the result of the struggle and the return of peace. May God give him eternal rest, and to you strength to bear the burden which falls upon you at this grave time."

Emperor Charles replied:

"I thank you for the sympathy which you, dear friend, have shown, and for the genuine friendship which you manifested toward the dead Emperor, who held you in such high esteem. As your and his loyalty to the alliance stood firm as a rock in this world war, so shall it remain for us."

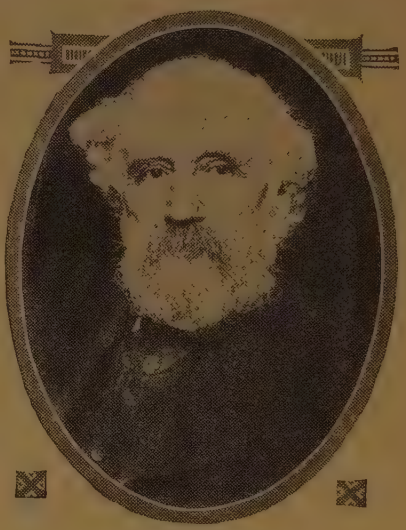
The von Koerber Ministry, which held over after the Emperor's death, resigned Dec. 12, 1916. No details of the cause are given out. It is assumed that the new Emperor intends to surround himself with a Cabinet not so completely under German influences. It is generally believed that Emperor Charles realizes that his empire will be threatened by German absorption or suzerainty after the war unless a more independent course is steered by him before the war ends.

Private Savings as a War Weapon

Address by Alexandre Ribot, French Minister of Finance, in the Chamber of Deputies

[Delivered Nov. 9, 1916.]

I AM about to make known to the Chamber the general results of the second national defense loan. The task of collecting the subscriptions in all the villages and cities of France has been long and laborious; as will be understood when I say that we have opened books not only at the Treasury but at every Post Office, at every window of the Bank of France, and at all other banks, so that no office force should be deprived of the honor and satisfaction of contributing its mite to the national defense.



ALEXANDRE RIBOT
FRENCH MINISTER OF FINANCE

When the subscription closed—after the period of twenty-four days which we had allowed—the task became one of summing up the results; this also is a long undertaking, requiring about ten days. Only yesterday was I able to determine the practically final figures in the operation.

The results have been added up in the various provinces by the Sub-Treasury officials; in Paris by the Treasury Department, and also by the Bank of France, which lends us, in all these operations, an increasingly efficient aid. The Bank of France has not only taken subscriptions at its counter windows, it has also this time reported those taken in a certain number of other banks, and it has required a great deal of time to verify the results. The total which it announces is considerable — 3,890,000 francs, ($778,000.) That is the contribution of the Bank of France to the loan. The public accountants and banks have furnished a similar amount. There has been a universal rivalry of zeal, but what concerns us now is the grand total.

We were accustomed to say that if this loan could bring us 10,000,000,000 francs we would consider it a success. I believe that is the general opinion. The 10,000,000,000 mark has been passed. At the present moment the total returns amount to 11,360,000,000 francs, ($2,272,000,000!)

Of the annuity bonds (rentes) that have been subscribed for—about 568,000,000 francs—almost all are paid for already, only 4 or 5 per cent. being bonds on which payments will be made by degrees in accordance with the plan proposed by the Treasury. We have allowed six months in which to pay subscriptions. The very small subscribers have made use of this privilege. They are the ones who have wished to draw upon their salaries at the end of the month for the 15 francs which were necessary to subscribe for a 5-franc annuity, and who will faithfully pay over the other installments by drawing upon their salaries in the coming months.

The fact that the paid-up subscriptions are in the vast majority shows that the subscribers wish to depend only upon economies already achieved, that they are not even discounting the economies of tomorrow, and that all idea of speculation

is excluded from the subscription just completed.

You will ask me—and you have the right to know—what proportion of the total sum collected is represented by hard cash, what proportion by bonds, and what by obligations. In the preceding loan the cash was 47 per cent. of the total; today it is 54½ per cent., or about 5,500,000,000 francs. The bonds are about 35 per cent., or almost 3,500,000,000 francs; the obligations are 9½ per cent., or 950,000,000 francs. Finally 7,400,000 francs in 3½ per cents, of which no great amount remains to be converted, have been employed in the subscription.

The proportion of cash varies according as the subscription is made in the provinces or in Paris, and according as it is made directly by the subscriber or through the medium of the banks. The explanation is easily given.

Drawing on Private Savings

When a subscriber comes to the pay window of a public accountant he usually brings money which he has taken out of his drawer reserved for domestic and personal savings. This is done especially by the small subscribers. They begin by opening their little private hoards. They find hidden away there a few coins that had been forgotten; thus, in the cash which we have received, we have found 160,000,000 francs of gold, which have come in very opportunely for the Bank of France at the moment when we have to make—and are very glad to make—shipments of gold to our friends and allies of England to meet the difficulties of foreign exchange.

Thus the small subscribers bring their savings, and bring them usually in cash, so that in the vaults of the General Treasuries—although we have not kept separate accounts of the results in the Sub-Treasuries, in the Treasury, and in the provincial banks—the proportion of money is 66 per cent. In Paris, at the Bank of France, it is only 47 per cent., because the subscriptions from the provinces and those from Paris have not been kept separate.

In the Parisian banks, which bring their subscriptions to the central vaults of the Treasury, the proportion falls to 40 per cent. The explanation is self-evident. When a subscriber has an account in a bank he brings first any savings which he has kept in his own possession, but completes his subscription by drawing on his account. The director of one of the large banks in Paris told me that one-half the funds were brought by the subscribers themselves, and that for the remainder they gave orders to turn over to the Treasury a sum drawn from their account.

The banks themselves have accounts with the Bank of France and thus have cash at their command, but they also have portfolios of Treasury bonds. In payment for subscriptions they turn over indifferently either bonds or cash.

This explains why in Paris, at the postal stations, where the smallest subscriptions are received, the proportion of cash has been the largest. There is no need, however, to exaggerate the interest we have in collecting cash rather than bonds. In the hands of the bearer the one is worth as much as the other, because a bond today, because of its short-time demandability, is really money. For the Treasury it is the same thing, because if the Treasury can use the money brought in today or tomorrow to make payments, it will be spent tomorrow in cashing the bonds deposited with it today. Consequently in both cases there are real and immediately usable funds placed at the disposal of the Treasury.

[Here a Deputy, Hubert Rouger, interrupted to ask whether the furnishers of war supplies were subscribing considerable sums. M. Ribot answered:]

Yes, certainly, the great firms that are working for the war have had the honor of making their contribution. I can say, since you give me the opportunity, that a rumor had been spread to the effect that the war profit tax would work special injury to the loan. I never believed it. I had too much confidence in the patriotism of my country. I can add that neither the discussions on fiscal questions nor the vote on the war profits tax diminished the nation's zeal and devotion to the accomplishment of the national duty.

You will not have failed to notice, gen-

tlemen, that the proportion of bonds is considerably smaller than one could have believed in advance. Before this loan, after deducting reimbursements and renewals, Frenchmen held Treasury bonds for a net sum of 15,000,000,000 francs; there came in for renewal in perpetual annuities only 3,500,000,000. The proportion is almost the same from one year to another: 25 per cent. last year, a little less this year, 23 per cent.

This proves that the National Defense bonds have obtained a success in this country which surpasses our highest hopes. Those who hold them consider them an investment that they are extremely loath to part with. Indeed, the Minister of Finance is not the man to call them a poor investment, with their 5 per cent. interest and almost complete convertibility.

I should prefer to see all these bonds transformed into perpetual annuities, (rentes.) I like perpetuity when it is a matter of national debts. But there is no need to worry over the preference which the public gives to the bonds, these bonds that have penetrated into every household, that are in all private boxes today, as well as in the large portfolios. These investments will be continued by renewals until the end of the war, and even after the war.

In England at the present hour the total of Treasury bonds amounts to 27,000,000,000 francs. We have not reached that point; before the present loan our total was 15,000,000,000. As 3,500,000,000 were liquidated in exchange for perpetual rentes, we have reached a proportion that can cause no uneasiness. We give 5 per cent. for these bonds, and we cannot give less. England gives 5½ per cent.; a month ago she was giving 6 per cent.

These bonds are the war treasure of France. If we had not had them at the beginning of the war we should have had all the trouble in the world to meet with long-term loans the ceaselessly increasing and now enormous needs of our national defense. As I said, 3,500,000,000 of bonds have been converted. As for the obligations, these have come in in a much smaller quantity—only to the amount to 950,000,000 francs.

The Army of Economizers

I cannot now ascertain exactly the number of subscribers, and I do not wish to submit figures that will be subject to revision. I can state, however, that the number is at least equal to that of last year. The army of economizers, that army which I salute every time I mount the tribune, remains as strong and compact, with its effectives renewed, perhaps, but as powerful as last year—3,100,000 or 3,200,000 persons.

In these circumstances I can state that this loan is truly a national loan, because everybody has wished to take part in it—the rich, because it was their most imperious duty, as well as the most modest and humble citizen. The fact that will show you how much we owe to small subscribers is this: that the average subscriptions for rentes does not exceed 185 francs; 110 francs in the provinces, a little more in Paris, naturally, but the average for all France is 185 francs.

It is therefore truly France's loan, a democratic loan, a national loan, as befits our great country, crowning it with a new honor before Europe and the whole world.

[After an analysis showing that the second loan had brought the Government a little more in actual liquid resources than did the first loan, M. Ribot continued:]

And remember that this loan was floated in a country some of whose departments are still occupied by the enemy; remember also that it was done after two years of war. Certain superficial observers, having thought they saw signs of weariness in the country, have sought to begin a campaign that would be criminal if it were not so senseless—a campaign consisting in saying to the peasants, whose robust good sense they underestimated, that the way to shorten the war was to refuse the National Government the means of defending the soil invaded by the enemy! * * * This campaign was immediately brought to nought by an outburst of good sense and indignation throughout the country.

Well, the country understood us, and

responded superbly. It rose en masse and brought us its savings. Oh, there are still reserves left, happily, for tomorrow, and we shall have to appeal to the country again; but this year, at least, it has given us the means to fight on until victory comes. * * *

All the societies, all creeds, all the organizations in the country, the Chambers of Commerce, the Chambers of Syndics, the unions, notably those of the workingmen and the railway employes, the mutual benefit societies, the army, which has doubled the amount subscribed and the number of subscribers as compared with 1915—all France has sprung erect, all France has understood its duty and acted upon it, forgetting the quarrels of yesterday, putting aside all differences until tomorrow, because when the country is in danger there are neither parties nor bitter memories; there is only one thing, the flag of France, which must be defended, which must be carried to victory!

[French War Loan Cartoon]

A Powerful Weapon—the Peasant's Savings

"With kicks of boot and blows of stocking!"

France and the New Commandments

Address by Paul Deschanel

President of the French Chamber of Deputies and Member of the Académie Française

[Delivered in Paris, Oct. 26, 1916, at the annual meeting of all five academies of the Institute of France]

GENTLEMEN: The Germans have invaded us more than twenty times; five times since the Revolution. From this fact there arise certain essential duties for us, commandments of patriotism: to remain united; to know Germany better; to make France better known; never again to forget; to foresee.

PAUL DESCHANEL

Let us hearken to the voice of the trench and the tomb; what comes from there is a cry of love. Never has the French family been more united. Frenchmen were following different roads, but they have come together at the summit. The same devotion, the same ideal! The heroes facing death know that before the brief flame of life is extinguished in them it lights another, immortal. And the enemy does not comprehend that the thing which was tearing us apart is what is now uniting us: the passion for right.

France of St. Louis, of Joan of Arc, of St. Vincent de Paul, of Pascal; France of Rabelais, of Descartes, of Molière, of Voltaire; France of the Crusades and France of the Revolution, you are sacred to us, and your sons are equal in our hearts as they are in the face of peril. Those who do not discover the common peak under the same rays have not looked long enough or far enough.

Yes, this sublime array of youth goes to death as to a higher life. Will that higher life be the life of France? The great silence of these deserts full of men, where the cannon alone speaks, will not hover above them forever. Controversy is the soul of progress. It is because it has been lacking in Germany that the world is on fire.

Let us glance at the live points. I do not know whether the phrase, "conflict of the classes," still expresses the meaning of those who formerly employed it, for since 1914 not a single voice in Germany has been raised against the invasion of Belgium and France; but never have men seen more clearly the grandeur of poverty, the obligations of wealth, the truth that souls are not measured by conditions. There are the things that one possesses and the things that one values, and the two comprise the whole patrimony of a nation. The little white crosses which mark out battlefieleds from the Marne to the Seille and from the sea to the Vosges are terrible masters of equality. May they draw the living closer together!

The same spirit should lead us in the problem of Church and State. It is not enough to say that Governments have no authority in matters of dogma and that religions have no authority in matters of Government. The State and the Church, even separated, meet each other in various domains. May the spirit of wisdom everywhere drive out fanaticism! Ah, let us chase out of our language

those old words, made for old ideas: intolerance, tolerance. What! Do we have to tolerate each other, endure each other? The right word is not tolerance, but respect.

The thought that does not respect faith is not truly free; and the faith that infringes upon liberty, in place of increasing its own power, loses it. He who scorns the religious forces exposes himself in politics to strange miscalculations and he who wishes to impose a religion alters its source.

If the virtues of today are those of tomorrow, victorious France will astonish the world with the swiftness of her upward flight, even as she has by the stubbornnness of her resistance. Already our enemies are preparing the works of peace, just as they prepared the war beforehand; another assault, no less fierce. There, too, we must concentrate our efforts.

And why are careers isolated in our country? One of the forces of Germany is the accord of the universities and the armies, of the professors and officers. In France they are separate. If they had worked together, things might have taken a different course at times.

To Know Germany Better

Is the war, which has taught Frenchmen to know each other better, teaching them also to know Germany better? For two years an entire literature has attempted the task—a little late! At each new invasion France wakes up and cries: "What! It's Germany, the Germany of Schiller and Goethe!" The ignorance of one nation toward another baffles comprehension; one might think that each nation inhabited a different star.

It is the land that makes the man. Prussia, as M. Lavisse has said, is a German State founded outside of the German boundaries. Having no frontiers of its own, in order to live it has to attack. Either grow or perish. Who says Prussia, says conquest.

To save herself from anarchy Germany has had recourse to Prussia. Prussia has built her up. German unity has been made by war and cemented by conquest. Thus it comes that her strength has driven Germany to the same acts as her weakness. To this fact she has adapted a theory: the chosen nation, born to command others. Germany is acting in the name of the Eternal. She must exterminate evil, and she does evil in order to bring about the good. Each philosopher, each historian, adds a new formula to the doctrine. Fitche said: "Allman," (Germany;) "all manhood." Hegel demands that the State shall be "venerated as a god," that it shall have absolute obedience; and he regards war as a moral necessity. Treitschke holds that the highest duty of the State is to develop its power, even at the expense of treaties. Nietzsche lauds selection by force and creates the "superman." Lamprecht invents the "tentacular State," whence we have Delbrück's law regarding naturalization; and the Generals, from Clausewitz to Bernhardi, teach their soldiers that the more ferocious a war is, the more humane it is, because it is so much shorter. A formidable arsenal of sophisms! Artillery no less dangerous than the other kind!

Universities, schools, pulpits of all denominations, administration, press, books, (700 a year on war alone,) poems, songs, public gatherings, farm leagues, industrial leagues, colonial societies, all pour into the people the idea, which becomes action, that everything is at the service of the State, that everything serves national ends. The army, the fleet, the bank, the factory, the counter, all unite in the same task. The "manifesto of the intellectuals," which revolted us, is, despite certain tardy reservations, what all thinking Germany teaches: an instruction born of profound racial instincts and confirmed by age-long traditions, save in the hours when Germany received light from Greece, from Italy, and from France.

German Passion for History

The German historians are political leaders. At the very time when they are communing with the past of the nation they are shaping its future. The German is a historical being. He lives with his gods and his ancestors. In them he admires and exalts himself. Hermann is as present to him as Hindenburg.

Verdun, in his eyes, is the greatest of our fortresses, because it traces its distinct existence back to the treaty which divided up the empire of Charlemagne. He is forever avenging himself for Louis XIV. and Napoleon. Forever there is the same conflict against the cursed civilization of the Latins, against the world of perdition. "We hate in our enemies," said Heinrich Heine, "that which is most essential, most deeply hidden in them—their thought." And always there are the same violences, the same crimes, more frightful, but the same.

The deeds of 1870 were only one stage. Everything indicated this: The harangues of the Emperor; the resounding praise that he gave in 1909 to a study by his Chief of Staff, General von Schlieffen, the great preparer of the war of 1914; "the Treaty of Frankfort is only a truce"; the speeches and writings of the Chancellors and Generals, the repeated provocations, the purely strategic railway lines toward Luxemburg and Belgium, the military laws of 1911, 1912, 1913, voted to the sound of applause in the Reichstag; the scholastic books. Everything was ready; nothing was wanting but the occasion, the pretext. A year before the Austrian ultimatum Theodor Schiemann wrote: "To have war with France, nothing more is needed than to let loose Austria against Serbia."

The invasion of Belgium, the burning of Louvain and Rheims, the assassination of Miss Cavell, the torpedoing of steamships, the murder of Jacquet, the execution of Captain Fryatt, the uprooting of the civil populations in our invaded provinces, the rallying of all the professors of law to justify these crimes—these things indicate a nation overcome by vertigo, like those hordes on the Yser which rushed forward in serried columns, drunk with ether. One divines above their heads the bloody virgins of Walhalla and the fierce divinities of their impenetrable forests. "Let insolence germinate," says Aeschylus in "The Persians"; "what grows up is the fruition of crime; one gathers a harvest of sorrows."

And now we hear repeated every day: "We must destroy German militarism, the Prussian military caste." Yes, without doubt; and even in Germany the privileges, the abuses of that caste have called forth jeers, protests in the press, in fiction, in the theatre, in the Reichstag. But we know how the Saverne affair ended. It is the army that has created independence; it is the army that guarantees the power and wealth of the empire. Germany is proud of it, loves it, has made a cult of it. Her "intellectuals," better informed on that point than the stranger who judges others by himself, cry: "We resent it that the enemies of Germany dare to oppose German science to what they call Prussian militarism. The spirit of the army is the same as that of the nation."

The truth is that in Germany, as elsewhere, national sentiment has been strongest; it has carried all before it, rivalries of caste, of class, and of creed. To judge a nation aright one must look upon the whole of it at once, like the aviator who hovers above the ocean and sees currents which others cannot see.

Making France Better Known

If Frenchmen ought to know Germany better, they ought also to make France better known. "A wornout nation!" said Bismarck. "A degenerate people!" cried William II. Wornout, degenerate, the France of Pasteur, of Berthelot, of Henri Poincaré! A wornout nation, a degenerate people, the France of Renan and Taine, which for forty years, in all lines of thought, in poetry, philosophy, history, drama, fiction, criticism, has magnetized the minds of the world! "A degenerate nation," the nation that has produced at the same time illustrious musicians and pleiades of painters, sculptors, architects, engravers, such as the world had not seen since the Renaissance! "Worn out," the nation which, between two wars, has created the second largest colonial empire in the world! And tell me: In what country, in what epoch, have all the hopes and aspirations of mankind found finer orators?

Our institutions were supposed to be unworthy to endure, and yet they resist the most enormous upheaval of all the ages. The republic was not to be al-

lowed to conclude alliances, and yet France has never had more allies, or more powerful ones.

And mark the climax! Yes, even after Marathon, Salamis, and Plataea, even after Valmy, Jemmappes, and Fleurus, France touches the highest peak; for Athenian civilization was founded on slavery, and the armies of the Revolution were restricted armies, while today it is all France that is fighting—for all men! Through her we are living the greatest life that men have ever lived, for what is the life of humanity if not an increase of justice?

At the same time that Germany was calumniating us she was attempting to swell out her own rôle and take our place. It is the picture of Overbeck at Frankfort over again, "The Triumph of Religion in the Arts," and the fresco of the "Schools of Philosophy" at the University of Bonn, from which France alone is absent.

Contemporary Germany pretends to supremacy in science. Now, most of the time Germany does not invent, she imitates; she utilizes the discoveries of others; there, too, she annexes. She has nothing that we need to envy in mathematics, in astronomy, in physics. Too often our chemists have let themselves be robbed by her. France is always first in medicine, in surgery, in physiology. In botany and zoology she has remained a fecund initiator. The most recent inventions—wireless telegraphy, the automobile—are daughters of her genius.

What has France done to vindicate her titles? Before the war, through the Alliance Française, through the offices of the universities and great schools, through the institutes of Florence, Madrid, Petrograd, London, we were beginning to defend ourselves. Since the coming of the war excellent labors of propaganda have been undertaken, in which you, my dear confrères, have done your part valiantly. * * *

Yes, we have here a new crusade in which we must mobilize all our forces. It is the struggle of two spirits, one of which assumes to dominate or absorb national consciousness, while the other wishes to assure the free expansion of divers kinds of genius, regarding civilization as the collective product of both the great and the small nations.

The end of this dream of dictatorship will be like the end of other dreams of hegemony. In preceding centuries the greatest empires have collapsed one by one like gigantic monuments that could no longer support their own height. Once more the public right of Europe is about to be avenged. Force bears the same relation to right that the body bears to the mind: life circulates in the body, but it is the thought that governs.

The Duty of France

For us Frenchmen the prime affair is to protect the frontier. So long as the German armies are a few days' march from Paris, as they have been for forty-three years, the world will not be tranquil. It is a pity to evoke through our anger of today that of our scholars and writers of 1870 against the bombardment of the Cathedral and Library of Strassburg, of the Museum, the Val-de-Grace, the Salpetrière. * * * Every time that the vulture, whose shadow has not ceased to darken France, digs its talons into our flesh there are the same cries, the same imprecations, the same oaths of vengeance. Alas! a few years later the sons no longer feel the sufferings of the fathers: the past becomes too heavy! "Generosity!" men murmur. Toward the enemy, perhaps, toward the enemy who goes on arming himself more heavily and boasts of it, but not toward those who have perished, nor toward those who, because of it, will perish!

Gentlemen, sixteen years ago, standing under this cupola, I had the honor to say to you: "Watch the Balkans. Study the basin of the Vardar. The duel between the Germans and the Slavs is threatening. France will be dragged into it. Let us be united, let us be ready!" And I recalled this thought of my predecessor, Edouard Hervé, that perhaps some day upon the Danube we could reconquer the Rhine. But France was then thinking of other things.

Perils of the Future

Will she understand the danger of tomorrow any better? Will she see clearly

the peril which Prussia, as mistress of a Germany and an Austria-Hungary, diminished perhaps, but welded together and forming a solid mass of 100,000,000 people, will be to permanent peace? May the foresight of our people equal their courage! And may Europe put itself on guard against an abusive extension of that principle of nationalities which Germany invokes when it serves her purpose and violates when it does not, and which, rigorously applied, would strangle us and cause such nations as Switzerland and Belgium to fly into pieces!

Will our school children tomorrow know the war of 1914 any better than their elders knew that of 1870? Will the education of our youth in every grade be a perpetual preparation for the nation's defense? A people whose military virtue declines is condemned to death. True, as against Germany we shall continue to defend arbitration; if it should save us from even one war it would be sacred; but it presupposes a law, and then a force. To organize this force should be the care of all nations that do not wish to pass under the yoke. Meanwhile, to guarantee our rights, we and our allies should remain united and strong.

Every year Germany celebrates the feast of Sedan. I ask that France shall celebrate the memorable day of Aug. 4, 1914, when the accord of all her children was sealed, and also that she shall celebrate the immortal combats of the Marne and Verdun. The Cathedral of Rheims, with bleeding arms, curses the crime forever. To forget would be treason. But France will not forget this time; she can no longer forget; in their heroic appeal her dead have risen, they are standing, they are watching her!

Edmund Gosse's Description of Rheims as It Is Today

Mr. Gosse is one of the most charming of England's living masters of style, and he is at his best in an article in The Fortnightly Review entitled "Rheims Revisited," as indicated in the subjoined descriptions of that cathedral and city.

WHAT remains of the population of Rheims mainly consists of the poor inhabitants of the suburb of Flechambault. We cross the river, and then the Aisne à la Marne Canal; still little that is sensational. Here some windows broken; there a chimney chipped. Bent on producing his coup de théâtre, Captain Bloch-Laroque whirls us through a street or two, and abruptly, violently, we are in the desolate Place du Parvis, and draw up exactly opposite the great west front of the cathedral.

It is difficult to express without an appearance of affectation what the emotion is which this sudden sight produces. The cathedral in its present state has been described as a ghost, but that does not seem to me to be a happy similitude; the structure is too solid, the aspect too material for that. Say rather that it is a corpse. To gaze at it from the Place du Parvis is like being confronted with the dead body of some beautiful great lady, whose presence has always sparkled before us in the splendor of her high vitality. Here she still is, but empty of life, shorn of all her vivacious glory, with no motion in her hands, no light in her hair; from being an object of majesty and pride reduced to be an object of anguish and pity. No longer would it seem extravagant to hear, as I was presently to hear from the lips of residents in Rheims, that when the humblest inhabitants of the outer suburbs crept in to see their cathedral burning, they wept and wrung their hands and wailed aloud. The queen of their desire was dead.

We recover our powers of calm observation, and as we gaze up at the vast façade towering above us we try to define the change in the general character of its appearance. Of this I can give no more exact idea than by saying that a cobweb seems to have been drawn over

the whole of it. There it is before us, colossal and superb, but we rub our eyes. What, we ask ourselves, can be the cause of this dimness, this immaterial look?—for the cathedral is "pinnacled," indeed, but, as Shelley would say, "in the immense inane." After some moments of reflection the cause of this cobwebbed effect flashes across the mind. In its pristine state the sculptured detail of the great west front, with its traceries and its pierced galleries, its tiers on tiers of triumphant saints and angels, was sharply drawn everywhere, with a profusion of lines all pure and clear. Now, no salient part has been actually removed, but the sculptured detail has been chipped and calcined, broken and stained, so that all the exquisite harmony of the lines is suppressed, veiled, made inexact and ineffective. It cannot be too distinctly explained, I think, to those who have not seen the Cathedral of Rheims that it is not precisely a ruin, but it is like some delicate object of art that rough children have been playing with. It retains its shape and substance, but it is dirtied and chipped and degraded.

With regard to the west front, moreover, I think it is only proper that the extent and character of the damage done should not be misstated. It is easy to pile up adjectives and swell the tragedy, which is dreadful enough without any such exaggeration. Let it be admitted at once that the City of Rheims presents scenes of mutilation, not so important, of course, but infinitely more extensive, than the west front. For one thing—and this was a great surprise to me—the sculptures around the three great doors were protected early in the siege by a most complete and ingenious system of sandbags. Behind this fortification I was permitted to squeeze myself, and, so far as I could judge, the statues which we know so well are in the condition—already considerably worn by time—in which they stood before the war. Several heads and hands are broken off, but—I speak without book—it seems to me that some of this damage was done already.

There can be no question that the most complete and searching damage to the cathedral was caused by the fire and not by the projectiles as such. The action of the flames, which were driven by the draft caused by the holes in the roof and windows strongly against the exterior as well as the interior of the west front, has corroded the stone, which presents from outside a very odd hue, a sort of blanched red or dusty rust color, from which rains have washed away all the blackness of smoke or soot, and have left a dreadful livid pallor, very shocking to the eye. The result of this penetration of the calcining flames is most manifest in the statues which form the second row above the ground over the three great doors. Here the heat from within seems to have positively dislodged and thrust out many of the statues, and to have so far scaled the surface of the others that it has become difficult to distinguish the design in detail. On the sides of the right-hand doorway, and to some lesser degree elsewhere, there are curious shallow hollows, like the marks left by fossils detached from a chalk cliff, which I take to be the result of blows from shreds of German shells. * * *

At the first attack thirty bombs were seen to strike the cathedral in quick succession. These were principally effective on the upper part of the northern tower, the wall of which they smashed; a flying buttress was struck and broken; a part of the balustrade under the great rose window was crumpled up like cardboard; these and other injuries were noted as early as Sept. 17. Day by day the attack grew more intense and the evidence of its progress more vague and agitated. A shell penetrated the roof of the apse; three others exploded on the porch, destroying several statues and smashing half the glass of the great rose window and most of the windows of the gallery. Then followed the vindictive, and, to my mind, incomprehensible destruction of the Archbishop's Palace and of the adjacent Salle du Tau; and, finally, an inflammatory obus set fire to the straw which had been laid down in the nave for the German wounded, and the whole interior of the church incontinently roared like a furnace.

It is a mistake to think that the ca-

thedral is a ruin open to the sky. The vaulting, though its upper surface was destroyed, remains unbroken, and such gaps as the bombs created seem to have been temporarily filled up. The aspect of the interior is dry and neat. The progress of the fire can be traced by a dark line on the floor. The choir was invaded by it and the stalls were burned, but the flames just lapped the foot of the high altar without injuring it. Portions of the building which seem peculiarly open to the attacks of fire have escaped miraculously. The remarkable but not beautiful organ, a modern work, is untouched, and, if my memory serves me right, the famous horloge du choeur, which has marked the division of the sacred offices for generations, is intact. I was not able clearly to discover what has become of the innumerable works of art which made the interior of the cathedral a museum. First and foremost, of course, one's inquiries were made about the unsurpassed series of tapestries, which I had the pleasure of seeing wholly exhibited on Easter Sunday so long ago as 1882. One is assured that the best of these are safe in Paris; but undoubtedly some of them were burned.

Once more we emerged into the mournful Place du Parvis, which two little boys in blouses and one old woman seemed but to make more pathetically deserted. * * * Nothing that we have yet seen can compare for annihilation with the state of the archiepiscopal palace, which faces us when we turn our backs on the Lion d'Or. It is difficult to give a conception of the appearance of what was once this famous and sumptuous building of the late fifteenth century. There seems, at first, to be absolutely nothing on the site to see. A low edge of the base of the walls runs around four sides of a vast empty space; it is like a dustman's tray with a little collection of rubbish at each corner. This is what remains of the noble palace founded by Archbishop Briçonnet in 1498. * * *

Within comparatively recent years the wealth of Rheims has been concentrated in the Quartier de Cérès, where old houses have been ruthlessly removed to make room for substantial residences and showy shops, which aimed at rivaling those of Paris itself. Here, in a relatively small compass, the wealth of Rheims was collected, and it is quite evident, when one examines this district, that the Germans deliberately and, it must be added, with devilish skill contrived the destruction of all that meant financial prosperity to the ancient city. Without wasting ammunition on the suburbs where the poor reside, or on either of the outlying portions of Rheims, they concentrated their fiery rain on the rectangle of streets where the rich merchants and the vine-growing millionaires had built their mansions and stored their possessions. There is nothing reckless in the Schrecklichkeit of the Huns.

The great artery which flows through Cérès from northeast to southwest is named in its centre the Rue des Tapisseries. This fine street, which becomes the Rue de Vesle, was incumbered with a frenzied population of civilians flying toward Paris on the evening of Sept. 17, 1914. A lady who took part in the flight, Mme. Isabelle Rimbaud, has recently given a most moving account of it. Under a gray sky loaded with rain, over a causeway deep in mud, amid the shrieks of children and the loud weeping of women, sounds which were drowned every few minutes by the roar of the bombardment, a huge mass of distracted civilians, elbowing one another, crushed by the passage of carts and carriages, strove to escape on to the road to Paris before the sinister night should completely hem them in.

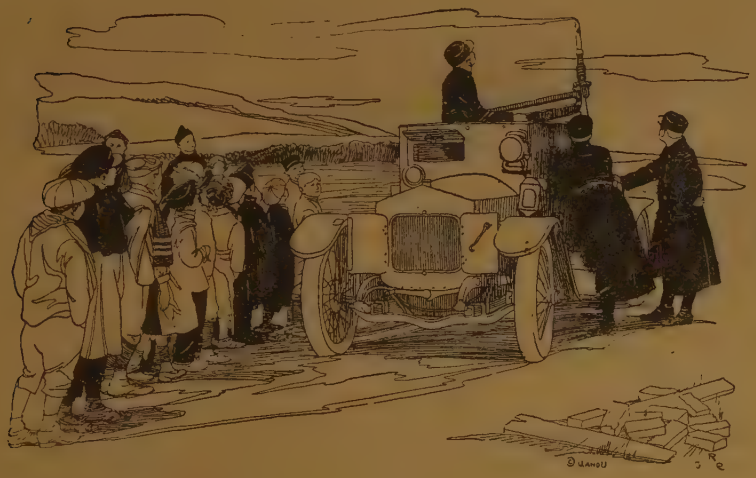
It is curious to contrast this vision of a whirlwind of fugitives with the absolute silence which now reigns in this tissue of cross-streets. We wander along them, up and down, hither and thither, without sight of a human being; not a dog, not a cat prowls around these desolations. Not Pompeii itself—and the regular plan of the Quartier de Cérès has something Pompeiian in its character—not the Campanian city, which the cinders of Vesuvius buried eighteen hundred years ago, can be more desolate and silent and woebegone than the once so prosperous and wealthy centre of Rheims.

It is to be borne in mind that the wild

confusion of débris and ruin has long ago been removed from the streets themselves and has been heaped within the inclosure of the houses. German prisoners were set to this irksome task, and they have carried it out with the thoroughness of their race. The result is that the streets present an aspect of neatness that is almost dreadful, because it makes the destruction look so deliberate. There can now be no illusion that earthquake has done this thing.

Of course, different degrees of destruction exist. There are streets at the sides of which, as, for instance, in the Rue St. Pierre des Dames, it is almost difficult to know what the crumbling remains of brick and metal can ever have represented. Were these shops, or private houses, or institutions? It is impossible to be sure. The whole space so lately inhabited with elegance is turned into a vague species of Stony Arabia. There remains on my mental retina the vision of one horrible mountain of indescribable rubbish in the Quartier Béthany, out of the slope of which arises to its original height an isolated Baalbek fragment of wall, with its bedroom wall papers and even its window shutters still dolefully existent, in spite of rain and sun. The squalid sights of which this is an example are poignant to a degree that baffles description.

But all the ruins are not of this kind. In the Rue de l'Université, which was the street of the most expensive and brilliant shops, the bombs have done their work with a most fantastic irregularity. What is not entirely smashed is here not hurt at all, and we have the discrepancy between huge gaping spaces of jagged nothingness and buildings that have hardly lost their pristine smartness. I could scarcely tear myself away from the grotesqueness of one enormous bon marché—I suppose the Magazin du Louvre of the Rémois—the whole interior of which had been gutted, with the exception of one or two counters and a staircase, and the exterior of which, a sort of grinning skeleton, still bears between its most shocking mutilations a large slab of black marble, absolutely unscarred and unscratched, on which we read in large gold lettering the ironic inscription, "Prix fixe absolue sans escompte." Alas! it will be long indeed before any enterprising customer tries to get "escompte" in a shop at Rheims!



Belgium's Agony

Protests From All the Neutral Governments Against Forcible Deportations

THE deportation of civilian Belgians into Germany for forced labor has evoked from neutral nations the first formal protests officially communicated to any of the belligerents since the beginning of the war.

The protest which the United States Government presented officially to the German Chancellor on Nov. 29 is as follows:

The Government of the United States has learned with the greatest concern and regret of the policy of the German Government to deport from Belgium a portion of the civilian population for the purpose of forcing them to labor in Germany, and is constrained to protest in a friendly spirit but most solemnly against this action, which is in contravention of all precedent and of those humane principles of international practice which have long been accepted and followed by civilized nations in their treatment of noncombatants in conquered territory.

Furthermore, the Government of the United States is convinced that the effect of this policy, if pursued, will be in all probability fatal to Belgian relief work, so humanely planned and so successfully carried out, a result which would be generally deplored, and which, it is assumed, would seriously embarrass the German Government.

Germany's Official Answer

Germany's answer to the American protest was dispatched on Dec. 11, and was made public through the German press on Dec. 13. The full text is as follows:

The Government of the United States of America has protested against the transportation of Belgian workingmen to Germany and against their compulsory employment for work, basing this on the view that these measures are in contravention of humane principles and of international practice as to the treatment of the population in occupied territory. The German Government thinks that the Government of the United States has been incorrectly informed regarding the cause and the execution of the measures, and, therefore, considers it appropriate first to explain the facts in detail.

In Belgium unemployment for a considerable time has been extending in a perplexing fashion among the industrial workingmen. This prevalence of unemployment has been caused by the English policy of isolation, which has cut off Belgian industry from the importation of raw material and the exportation of manufactured goods, and has thus brought the greater part of Belgian industry to a standstill.

By this measure almost half of the workingmen in Belgian factories, numbering altogether, in round figures, 1,200,000, were deprived of the possibility of earning a living, and many more than 500,000 Belgians who formerly supported themselves by industrial work were made dependent upon public relief. Adding the members of their families, this number is increased threefold, or, in round figures, 1,500,000 persons.

From the standpoint of Belgian economic right, upon which these unemployed inflict a heavy burden, as also from the standpoint of public order and public morals, which are most dangerously affected by general unemployment and the accompanying consequences, this situation makes it extremely desirable and urgent that efficient measures for improvement be taken. This necessity has been recognized and pointed out also by fair-minded Belgians for a long time.

Under such conditions the Governor General of Brussels on May 15, 1916, issued an order by which, upon persons enjoying public relief and declining without adequate reasons to accept or to continue to do work corresponding to their abilities, confinement or coerceive labor was imposed.

Belgian industries being in a depressed condition, it was impossible to procure work for all the unemployed, or at least proper employment, within Belgium itself. The only thing possible, therefore, was to assign them to work in Germany, where a large number of Belgian workingmen had already voluntarily accepted work, were well fed, were receiving high wages and were enjoying far-reaching liberty of movement. For those workingmen, however, that did not support their families coercive labor was used.

These measures are completely in accordance with international law, for according to The Hague Convention relating to war on land, (Paragraph 43,) the occupying power is obliged to undertake the maintenance of public order and public life in occupied districts, and for this purpose, as far as the country's laws prove insufficient, to act by complemental orders. The maintenance of public order, without doubt, implies that able-bodied persons as far as possible are not to be thrown upon public charity, and, by idleness, become a public

calamity and nuisance, but that they must be held to work.

The order has been carried out with all possible consideration and without harshness. If isolated mistakes have happened in the selection of persons sent to Germany, and if, especially, the measure has been extended to persons where the conditions of the order of May 15, 1916, are not fulfilled, the cause has been that the Belgian authorities frequently failed to co-operate in drawing up a list of the unemployed or reported in incorrect fashion. Care has been taken that such mistakes shall be repaired as quickly as possible. For, above all, it shall be insisted that only such persons shall be sent to Germany as receive public assistance and find no work in Belgium, or refuse the work offered to them in Germany.

The Pope's Allocution

At a secret consistory at the Vatican on Dec. 4, 1916, the Pope is reported to have protested energetically against the deportations. The following allocution by the Pope was officially made public as bearing on the Belgian question:

It is well to recall, aside from the laws of God, that even if the law of man were obeyed at present, peace and prosperity would reign in Europe. If we neglect or disdain laws and authority, discord is the sure result. This is the highest social law. As a result of ignoring this law we see every principle of right violated in Europe, acts committed in defiance of the laws of God and man, peaceable citizens and even young boys taken from their homes to fight, amid tears of wives and mothers. We see open cities and defenseless inhabitants exposed to aerial attacks, and we see by land and sea nameless horrors. I cannot but deplore again these crimes and condemn all those by whom they are committed.

Holland's Protest

An impressive protest was received by the American press associations to be circulated throughout the United States as a specific "Appeal to the American People." It was sent by the Holland section of the League of Neutral States from Amsterdam, signed by President Niemeyer and Secretaries De la Faille and Walch. The text follows:

Your President has said that sooner or later a moment would come when the war would make the position of neutral nations unbearable. For us Hollanders that moment has arrived, not through our own sufferings, but because we cannot longer passively contemplate the ghastly suffering inflicted by Germany upon Belgium, our neighbor.

The eloquent protests of the Belgian Government and of the higher clergy have acquainted you with the facts. A glance at the section of The Hague regulations of 1907 which deal with the law of war on land will make it obvious to you that the sole reason why the prohibition of this modern slave dealing was not included was because no delegate imagined it would ever be necessary.

Indeed, one must turn to the history of the early ages of long past centuries before international law existed to find a parallel to the enslaving of the Belgians. The Hague regulations stipulate that the "honor and rights of the family must be respected," but the German Government deliberately drags the Belgian families apart.

To us this cruelty is more vivid every day. Every day numbers of fugitives, in spite of the deadly electric wire which the Germans have erected along the frontier, succeed in escaping to the Netherlands. From them we learn the painful details of the unutterable despair of the women and children who are left behind and of the agonizing scenes which take place when husbands, brothers, and sons, dragged from their homes and womenfolk, are packed into cattle and freight cars and thus transported to an unknown destination and to an unknown fate.

To put an end to this—to arrest this hellish scourge, which at this moment lacerates the whole of Northern France and Western Russia—there is but one way open, and that is collective action on the part of the neutral nations.

And for you, citizens of the mightiest of the neutral States, it is, in our opinion, the right and duty to take the leadership upon you. Only if you place yourselves at our head can any success crown our efforts. This tyranny is not to be borne in patience, and the neutral nations can no longer stand idly by while in Western Europe the most primitive laws of humanity, observed even by uncivilized races, are trampled under foot.

We appeal to you to urge your Governments to energetic and decisive action and to call upon other neutral nations to rally around you. That they will find faith and strength in your leadership is evidenced by the stream of messages expressive of sympathy and a desire to co-operate which have reached us from the moment we published our intention to make this appeal to the American people. We do not hesitate to take it upon ourselves to speak with firm conviction in the name of humanity, and our hope is firmly fixed on that sense of justice which has always formed one of the most cherished traditions of citizens of the United States.

Americans, we are convinced that you will not disappoint our expectations.

Formal protests were also lodged with Germany by Spain, Switzerland, and Holland.

Meanwhile the exile of the Belgians continued without interruption. It was stated on Dec. 5 that at Antwerp 4,000

men were under orders to present themselves every day at the railroad station. A report from Antwerp describes the procedure as follows:

When the men present themselves at the station, the reports say, the Germans make every effort to induce them to sign contracts for work, among the inducements being an offer of wages of 6 marks daily. Those failing to sign are told that they will receive only 3 marks and be forced to work in the camps. Married men who sign receive an advance of 40 marks and single men 20 marks and are allowed to go home for two or three days before starting. They also receive a promise that they will be sent to Liége or Longwy if they sign.

Despite strong pressure, most of the Belgians have refused to sign. Those presenting certificates of employment in general are released, but those without certificates are placed on trains and sent to Germany. More than 100 men employed in one factory were sent to Germany in one contingent, some of the workers being more than 50 years of age.

In the provinces the men are placed in single file; those selected are told to go to the right, and those released are told to go to the left. Many were so stunned or bewildered that they failed to obey the directions, but, as their cards contained no indication that they were released, if they happened to turn to the right they went to Germany.

In general, the German soldiers treated the men well, but the rulings in most cases were made arbitrarily, although some were released as a result of intervention by Burgomasters and employers, who gave assurances that the men were regularly employed. The Germans apparently have attempted to confine the deportees to young unmarried or unemployed men, but toward the end of the line, when there was some indication that the total required in a certain district would not be reached, factory workers were taken. When the employers protested, they were told that such action would have been unnecessary if the Burgomasters had turned in lists of unemployed.

Seemingly the Germans are making efforts to obtain skilled labor. In virtually every case in which the relief organization has been compelled to intervene to obtain the release of its workers it has developed that they were skilled. Railroad workers are particularly liable to be ordered deported.

A small number of workers, holding cards showing they are in the service of the Relief Commission, have been taken, and it is reported that these cases have been the subject of a protest by the neutral Ministers at Brussels.

It is reported that it is the intention of Germany to deport 400,000 or 500,000 Belgians, and that up to the end of December nearly 100,000 had been transported.

Official Text of Belgium's Protest Against Deportations

Following is the full text of the Belgian Government's protest to the neutral powers against Germany's forcible deportation of civilians:

THE Belgian Government has already, on several occasions, denounced to the neutral powers the violations of the rights of man and the principles of humanity of which the German authorities in Belgium have been guilty.

The latest information received from the occupied part of Belgium confirms some new facts which the Government of the King had refused to believe. They will prove revolting to the public conscience in any country where right and honor are respected.

A decree, dated from the German General Headquarters on Oct. 3 last, subjected to forced labor all able-bodied Belgians who, either from unemployment or from any other reason, were dependent on others for their maintenance. The individuals to whom this decree applied might be obliged to work outside the locality where they reside—that is to say, deported into Germany in a state of semi-slavery.

The great difficulty of communication with occupied Belgium has prevented the Government of the King from receiving all the information it wished to obtain on the manner in which this order of Oct. 3 was applied.

The Government knows now, however, from a reliable source, that the deportation of the able-bodied men is proceeding en masse. Rich or poor, if they are unoccupied or out of work, they are inexorably seized. On Oct. 24 last more than 15,000 men had already been taken in the two provinces of Belgian Flanders alone. Whole trainloads of these miserable people have been going toward Germany. Others have been sent to the invaded departments of France. The men, crowded in open trucks, exposed to wind and weather, were in a most miserable condition. Their morale, in spite of cold and privation, was not shaken, and even while suffering this new form of oppression they went away singing patriotic songs.

The raids have taken place at Courtrai, Alost, Termonde, Bruges, Ghent, Mons, and in numerous rural and industrial communes. The men were assembled, examined like cattle, and those found strongest sent away to unknown destinations.

At Bruges, the Burgomaster, an old man of 80, who since the beginning of the occupation has given an example of noble patriotism, has been deposed for having refused to help the German military administration in its revolting task. The town was fined 100,000 marks ($25,000) for each day's delay in the enrollment of the victims.

May Extend to All Belgium

Until Oct. 24 the deportations took place, chiefly in the "zone d'étapes," (close to the German front.) In the rest of the country the Civil Government no doubt hesitated before taking a step which violates not only the spirit and the letter of The Hague Convention but also the solemn promise made to the population by means of placards on July 25, 1915, that no acts contrary to their patriotic feelings would be required of them.

However, the Government of the King, having learned that the registration of unemployed is now going on in all the occupied territory, has reason to fear that the horrors of deportation will shortly extend to all the provinces.

The Cologne Gazette, in an article which the newspapers published in Belgium have been ordered to translate, tries to justify this iniquitous measure. It enlarges complacently on the dangers of idleness to which many workmen are exposed, and throws the responsibility for this on England, who prevents the importation of raw materials into Belgium. The organ of the German Government pretends also to legitimize the forced labor on the grounds that Belgians will only be employed in quarries, chalk pits, and other industries having no connection with the war.

This last argument is valueless, as we know what an important part is played by the products of quarries and chalk pits in the strengthening of trenches and fortifications with cement.

To the pretensions of Germany to repudiate all responsibility for the lamentable state of the Belgian working classes we reply that work would not be lacking for them if the invader, primarily responsible for this situation by his aggression, had not disorganized industry, taken away raw materials, oils, and metals for his own use, requisioned a quantity of machinery and tools, threatened to take away even the driving bands, of which a detailed list has already been made. The occupier has besides sworn to consummate the ruin of the Belgian metal and glass industries by prohibitive export taxes on products sold in Holland (the only market still open to Belgium) in order to prevent competition with German goods.

The Belgian workman has always been well known for his hard-working quality. If for two years he has too often been out of work, it is because the only work open to him was that offered by the invader. His patriotism prevented him from accepting it because, in doing so, he would indirectly have helped in the war waged against his own country.

"Objects of the Invader"

The invader, by means of his barbarous system of deportations, has a double object. First, to terrorize the population, to bring families to despair, and to force the workers to lend their aid to the German occpuation. This manoeuvre is facilitated by the announcement that all those who receive public assistance for their maintenance will be subjected to forced labor. The workman who, out of devotion to his country, refuses to serve the enemy will know henceforth that he exposes himself to exile and slavery. Deportation is, thesefore, a coercive measure in order to constrain the workman, against his conscience, to accept the offers of work which he refused.

The second object of the German authorities is to replace by Belgians some German workmen, who thus become available to fill up the gaps at the front. Men are required at any price. If it were not so, if the object were really to prevent idleness among our workmen, why are they not employed on works of public utility near their families and their homes? Not only has this not been done, but we hear from a reliable source that employed men have been taken away and others deliberately thrown out of employment so that an excuse might be made to requisition their labor.

According to the German press itself, a fairly high salary is offered to the workers if they consent to volunteer, and consequently to undertake any kind of work which might be asked of them. The idea, then, is clearly to bring these miserable people to lend a direct help in the war, in the hope of improving their lot. The deported Belgian has to choose between famine and treason.

The Government of the King denounces to all civilized nations these unworthy proceedings, which shamelessly ignore the laws of humanity as well as the rules and conventions of war with regard to the rights of an occupying power.

The Government protests energetically against the application of a system which the vain explanation of the enemy cannot prevent from being branded as a new and worse form of slavery and as the crowning dishonor of the German occupation, which pretends to preserve so jealously the rights of the Flemish population.

An American Reply to General von Bissing

By James Gustavus Whiteley

Secretary General Central Committee of the Belgian Relief Fund

THE brutality of Germany is equaled only by her hypocrisy. Germany's brutality in sending thousands of Belgians into slavery will never be forgiven by the civilized world, but Germany's sanctimonious pretense that she has enslaved these innocent people "for their own good and for the good of Belgium" only adds hypocrisy to crime.

A wolf who lives boldly by his depredations may be entitled to a certain amount of consideration, but a "wolf in sheep's clothing"—a wolf who pretends to act as the shepherd of the flock—receives only contempt.

Germany has invaded and ravaged Belgium. She has massacred men, women, and children. She has wantonly destroyed towns, villages, and farms. She has taken the machinery out of the factories and sequestered the large stocks of raw materials. She has taken possession of the trunk-line railways for military purposes and has dug up and removed small railways which formerly served Belgian internal commerce. She has imposed heavy taxes on the whole country and exacted innumerable additional fines from local communities. She has by force taken large sums out of the Belgian banks. She has paralyzed all Belgian commerce, which is not only deprived of its factories and raw materials but also of its means of communication. Even the telephones are reserved for "military purposes only." Farmers cannot gather their crops without a permit, they can feed their cattle only with a specified quantity of fodder. The goods of the merchant and the farmer are under German control. They can be sold only by permission of the German authorities, and at prices fixed arbitrarily by those authorities. Having destroyed practically all work in Belgium, the German Government asks why the Belgians are idle, and sends them in droves as slaves into Germany to relieve German workmen who may be used as food for powder in the trenches.

Germany is now making a hypocritical and vain attempt to blind the world to this great crime. General von Bissing has caused a long "interview" to be cabled to America, calling his action a "blessing" to the Belgian people. Writers who have visited Belgium under the chaperonage of German officers have been induced to contribute articles telling of the "beneficent rule of Germany" and pretending that the Belgians are a backward people, whom the Germans are trying to uplift by superior Kultur.

These "inspired writers" pretend that the Belgians are idle, illiterate, destitute, dangerous to public safety, and likely to become a charge on public charity. Therefore, they should be sent into slavery in Germany.

That the Belgians are unemployed is due to the action of Germany in destroying the trade of a nation which was recognized as one of the most industrious in the world, and whose port of Antwerp rivaled the German port of Hamburg.

That the Belgians are illiterate is absolutely untrue. In education, Belgium stands high among the nations of Europe. According to statistics at hand, illiterates in Belgium are about 12 per cent. of the population, (approximately the same as in France.) If Germany wishes to be the schoolmaster of the world she might well begin with her friends—for example, Austria—where the illiteracy is over 18 per cent., or Bulgaria, where it is 65 per cent., or Turkey, where nobody seems able to calculate it.

To improve the education of the Belgians, Germany has deliberately destroyed their largest university (Louvain) and has taken from the University of Liége its scientific equipment. On the other hand, the German Government, in a vain effort to win the sympathy of the Flemish population and to cause dissension between the Flemish and the French speaking people, has offered to establish a Flemish university at Ghent. This

proffered bribe has been scorned by the Flemish population; distinguished Belgian scholars like Professor Frederick and Professor Pirenne, who refused to become members of the Faculty, have been deported to Germany.

That many Belgians are destitute is the result of the "blessings" conferred by German rule. Germany "blessed" the Belgians with fire and sword; she "blessed" them by confiscating their property and by paralyzing their industries; she "blessed" the whole country with a war tax at the rate of $96,000,000 a year; she "blessed" towns and villages by additional exactions; she "blessed" individuals by fines for alleged offenses; she "blessed" the Belgian banks by forced loans, the most recent one being about $150,000,000. Had some of these "blessings" been omitted the Belgians would not now be in such destitution.

General von Bissing pretended that the unemployed constituted a danger to public safety. Cardinal Mercier told him that he (von Bissing) well knew that there existed no such danger. Von Bissing then abandoned this excuse and set up another. He claimed that the unemployed had been abandoned by the Belgian Government and would become a burden on public charity. General von Bissing knows well that Germany does not contribute one penny to support the destitute in Belgium. If the Belgians had depended on German charity they would have starved long ago. It has required about $75,000,000 a year to relieve the destitution which Germany has brought upon the Belgians. Of this amount generous Americans and other neutrals, together with natives of the allied countries, have contributed about one-fifth; the remainder (approximately $60,000,000 a year) has been supplied by the Belgian Government.

For two years Germany has tried in vain to break the spirit of the Belgians. She has despoiled and murdered. She now seeks to grind the people to powder and scatter them as slaves.

Will the civilized world stand by and see a brave people perish from the earth?

Robbing Belgium by Means of Fines

A neutral correspondent of The London Times thus describes the method by which Belgian cities and individuals are being robbed by the invaders:

THE announcement that the Aldermen and City Councilors of Brussels and Antwerp have been arrested and fined for not obeying an order of the Governor General indicates to what extremes the oppressors will go in their campaign of terrorism. This arbitrary proceeding has a double object; ostensibly the intention is to obtain a list of poor Belgians of military age with a view to deportation, but the extortion of money from richer citizens of any age is also aimed at. The Germans are determined to extract the life blood of the country to the very last drop.

Since the Burgomaster of Brussels, M. Adolphe Max, was carried off to prison at Celle-Schloss, in Hanover, the duties of First Magistrate have been discharged by M. Maurice Lemonnier, the Senior Sheriff, whose wife a short time ago received notification that she had been fined $200. No particulars of the offense charged against her were given. In these circumstances she refused to pay, whereupon furniture and ornaments to the value of $240 were taken from her house and publicly sold. It was not until after this sale that Mme. Lemonnier was informed that she had been condemned for being in possession of a forbidden publication. Some spy—and the city is swarming with them—had supplied the evidence, and she was not allowed any opportunity of refuting the accusation.

The punishment of Burgomasters and local officials for failing to furnish lists of unemployed workmen is another sample of German "justice." Men of military age are required rather than the mere unemployed, who are so numerous

at the present time that it is difficult to keep count of them. The Belgians have always been such industrious and provident people that there was little poverty before the war; there are no "poor rates" in the country, and workhouses on the English system do not exist. It was not until stages of extreme distress were reached that a Belgian would allow his name to be put upon the list of the "assistance publique."

The Germans have insisted upon the municipal authorities maintaining their usual administration, because it facilitates a scheme of daylight robbery. Not only can they fine Burgomasters and their subordinates for failure to perform impossible tasks, but they can ascertain the financial status of individuals upon whom levies can be made on the slightest provocation or pretense.

In the early days of the war millions of francs were demanded from each town that was entered, and a campaign of plunder and insult has been carried on ever since. The town of Tournai has just been called upon to pay $50,000 for refusing to furnish a list of unemployed.

There is hardly a commune within the occupied territory that has not had its exchequer depleted by iniquitous fines. Brussels, Antwerp, and Ghent have been drained dry; only a few weeks ago the town of Courtrai was fined $60,000 because a telegraph wire was broken by a storm, and the Commissaire of the arrondissement in which the mishap occurred was locked up for ten days. Tradesmen and private individuals are now being picked out for extortion. At Gembloux a rich merchant was fined $30,000 for some offense in connection with the sale of sugar. Several Antwerp firms have been fined $5,000 each, and $500 fines are becoming quite common for most trivial offenses. A market woman who refused to sell vegetables to a German was fined $200. Any one heard singing or whistling "La Brabançonne" or "The Lion of Flanders" is arrested, and if the culprit cannot pay a fine he is put into prison.

The German police in Brussels have been greatly increased since Nov. 3, and on the day of King Albert's fête patronale a raid was made on houses in which it was suspected patriotic celebrations were taking place. Any one found in possession of the Belgian colors, or exhibiting a portrait of the King or Queen, was fined according to his means. Money is being dragged out of the people on the slightest pretense. There is hardly a family some member of which has not been caught in a trap and forced to pay.

Attempts are made to inveigle people who send parcels to prisoners of war, for it is considered that a better use can be found for their money; and permission to send these parcels, which have to go through the Minister of War in Berlin, is now only given to those who avow themselves friendly to the German cause.

I hear that it is no longer permitted to send sick and delicate children into Holland for the benefit of their health. Formerly large parties of these children were conducted to the frontier, where they were met by nuns or benevolent ladies, who took the children to their homes. After a time restrictions were imposed, as it was imagined that the children carried messages from their relatives in Belgium, and it was ordered that they should be housed in institutions approved of by the Germans, where they were under observation. Going and coming back the children were searched at Esschen and often had to submit to harsh interrogations.

The good people of Holland can bear witness to the physical improvement of the children who made these visits; they all arrived with pale and sunken cheeks, but soon became plump and rosy after a course of good food and careful treatment. Now these trips have been stopped and the rate of mortality among children in Belgium is likely to increase rapidly. Tuberculosis is rampant in many parts, and nearly all the babies born this year are sickly and rickety. In the districts where German soldiers are or have been quartered in any number disease is very prevalent among the women and young girls. These afflictions are adding to the horrors of the situation.

The Heroic Battle of the Yser

A Belgian Official Study

The Belgian Government at Havre commemorated the second anniversary of the battle of the Yser on Oct. 30. At the same time the Paris press gave much space to a historic study of that battle written by Commandant Willy Breton, an officer of the Belgian General Staff. The essential passages of that brochure are translated in the course of the subjoined article.

THE battle of the Yser was the most tragic page in the glorious history which the soldiers of King Albert have been making in the last two years and a half. The Yser was an epic, the supreme effort of a people fighting against destiny; it was the gesture of a nation that refused to die.

At Liége, where a few thousand men held in check 125,000 Germans, laying low the Kaiser's battalions in entire ranks in the open spaces between the forts, the fighters were fired by the intoxication of the first encounter, and they knew that those who survived could fall back upon the field army protecting Central Belgium; besides, there was the firm hope of prompt aid from France and England. Even at Antwerp, though the defenders could not long hold out against the heavy German guns, they still fought with confidence in a swift revenge. In spite of the occupation of Brussels, a large part of Belgium still remained free; the kingdom still existed, with its own organization; Belgium was still there, torn and panting, but alive and heroic.

KING ALBERT OF BELGIUM

The Yser, on the contrary, was the sombre battle that one fights with rage in the heart and despair in the soul; a battle in which every soldier had the profound feeling that he must conquer by a miracle of energy or resign himself to die.

From the 16th to the 31st of October, 1914, it was the destiny of Belgium that was at stake on the banks of the little river whose name was then made famous. The Belgian field army had escaped from the perilous trap at Antwerp across the plains of Flanders. In the fogs of Autumn, along roads choked with carriages and transport trucks, harassed by the enemy, the soldiers of King Albert had been marching for days and nights. And all at once, having reached the line of the Yser on the 16th of October, this army, worn out with two and a half months of hard fighting, reduced, isolated, its artillery caissons half empty, made a stand against the enemy and prepared for a supreme struggle. It was a matter of defending the last shred of territory, the poor corner of soil that alone remained of independent Belgium—four old cities and a few humble villages.

What was the strength of that army, and what was its task? Commandant Willy Breton of the Belgian General Staff has given the answer in a historical study supported by official documents.

"The field army," says General Breton, "at the moment when it established itself on the Yser, was reduced to 80,000 men, and had only 48,000 rifles, with 350 cannon of 75-millimeter calibre and 24 mortars of 150-millimeter size. There remained, besides, only such supplies of munitions as had been able to accom-

THE INUNDATED REGION OF THE YSER, WHERE BELGIANS WON THEIR GREATEST VICTORY BY OPENING THE DIKES TWO YEARS AGO

pany the army, just enough to fight a last hard battle, but impossible in any event to replenish.

"Deprived of a great part of their equipment, clad in uniforms covered with clay and mud, the men appeared to have reached the limit of human endurance and to be incapable of making another effort, however brief. It was at this crisis that the King addressed to the army his admirable Order of the Day. Appealing to the tenacity and courage of his soldiers he stated that it was necessary to continue the struggle until they had joined the armies of the Allies, with which connections had just been established.

"'In the positions where I shall place you,' he commanded, 'let your eyes gaze forward alone, and regard as a traitor to his country any one who shall pronounce the word retreat unless the formal order has been given!'

"The King did not disguise the fact that a supreme struggle was at hand. What he demanded of his troops was that they should fight to the death.

"A mass of 150,000 Germans, formed of new troops, and supported by at least 500 cannon of all calibres, including the heavy pieces that had just smashed the defenses of Antwerp, was about to break itself against this Belgian Army, which was clinging to the last shred of its native soil, physically overmatched, but animated by the purest spirit of sacrifice and devotion. Only on Oct. 15 had this army succeeded in reassembling on the Yser. The next day, the 16th, the battle began.

"From the 16th to the 20th of October the German effort steadily increases, the conflict goes on developing. On the 20th Nieuport and Dixmude are in flames. The enemy succeeds in penetrating into Lombaertzyde, but cannot get through. He wishes at any cost to break the line of the Yser before reinforcements can arrive. He redoubles his blows.

"It is at this juncture, in the night of Oct. 21-22, that an event of extreme gravity takes place. Under cover of the darkness the enemy has made a dash across the bridge of Tervaete into the dangerous loop which the Yser throws out toward the east at that place. The hour is agonizing in the extreme, for if the enemy extends his advantage it means that the piercing of the front is inevitable. The Belgian troops, worn out as they are, succeed in holding him; but the next day they have to abandon the bridgehead at Schoorbakke.

"On the 24th the Germans attempt a supreme effort against Dixmude. Fifteen successive assaults rage about the bridgehead, fifteen assaults which be-

come hand-to-hand combats in the black night, and which break themselves against the courage of the French marines and of the Belgians, certain units of which count seventy-two consecutive hours of fighting!

"On the 25th the Belgian command, seeing no other means of prolonging the resistance, plans to inundate the ground between the Yser and the railway. The flood is to serve as a last rampart. The preparatory work is begun. The 27th and 28th are calmer days, though the bombardment continues. Imperceptibly the water has begun its work. The enemy, who does not yet suspect the intervention of this new adversary, is preparing for a last effort. He takes Ramscapelle, from which he is driven out on the 31st, and his retreat is transformed into a rout when he suddenly perceives the flood mounting everywhere around him, cunning and invincible. * * *

"The battle of the Yser is ended. During these 360 hours of desperate combat the Belgian Army has constantly given all its power, without rest or pause. Crouching in their newly dug trenches, or in the mud of ditches, without covering, ill-fed, exposed to all the changes of weather, the men have held fast in spite of all. But in their ragged uniforms they no longer look like human beings. The number wounded in the last thirteen days of October exceeds 9,000; the killed or missing are more than 11,000. The sick and collapsed are numbered by hundreds. Of the military units only fragments remain. The officers have suffered especially; one regiment has only six left.

"But, thanks to its stoical, voluntary sacrifices, the Belgian Army has barred the way to Dunkerque and Calais; the left wing of the Allies has not been turned; the enemy has not gained possession of the coast from which he expected to menace the very heart of England. For the Germans, therefore, the battle ended in total and bloody defeat. It is the name of a glorious victory, on the other hand, which King Albert caused to be embroidered on the banners of his heroic regiments: Yser!"

The day after the battle of the Yser the Germans announced that there was no longer any Belgium or any Belgian Army. In this they were mistaken. In less than two years the shattered remnant of the army so sorely tried on the Yser was reconstituted and reorganized so that it is today a larger and much stronger fighting force than the whole Belgian Army in the first days of the war.

It is guarding the western front from Nieuport on the English Channel to a point about opposite Bixschoote, a total of twenty or twenty-five miles of trenches, through which the Germans have never been able to break.

In the words of a French commentator: "It was at the Yser that the Belgian soul was fully revealed to itself; it was in that great battle at the end of October, 1914, that the Belgians gained a full consciousness of their worth as a nation, that their will to live free and be sole masters of their destiny was affirmed with the most moving grandeur. The soldiers of King Albert who have defended the lines on the Yser have paid with their blood for the right of their country to govern itself."

[HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR]

A Scottish Minister's Touching Stories of the Wounded

The Rev. Lauchlan Maclean Watt, minister of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, is contributing to The Scotsman occasional sketches from the front which combine the emotional quality of the late Ian Maclaren with an exquisite literary art of their own. In the article here presented he tells of instances of courage and pathos among the wounded.

IT is truly a great thing to see that the day of willing devotion to the noblest ideals is not yet gone from the life of our people. Suffering and death are faced without repining, and men say farewell to the promise of their youth ungrudgingly, feeling that the investment for the sake of the future of the world is worth the cost which they are paying. To the greatest life and death are very simple alternatives, lying easily to either hand, accepted without complaining.

One day I was going through a tent of suffering men just after a big "stunt." It was a day of much and great agony for those who were in actual bodily pain and for those of us who had to try to help them to endure it. I saw two men carried in and laid on beds side by side with each other. One was obviously very severely wounded. The other was swathed in bandages over his head and down over his face, apparently blinded. For a moment I hesitated, thinking it might be better to come back when, perhaps, the agonies of the one might be somewhat abated. But I put my hesitation aside. I found that the two men were brothers who, fighting in the same trench, had been struck down by the same shell. Late that evening an ambulance came for me as a man was dying, and I found it was the soldier I had spoken to earlier in the day.

The camp lay beautifully still, for the clouds were heavy and the stars were veiled. I stepped into the tent, into the breathing dark. The beds were swathed in shadow, only one red lamp hanging from a central post.

They had brought the brothers quite closely together, and the man with the bandaged eyes had a hand of the other in his own. The dying man took mine in a grip of ice. "Padre," he whispered, "I am going home. And I wanted you to come again to me. Write tenderly to my people. This will break their hearts. And pray that my brother may be spared." There is no ritual for a moment like that. One could but ask Him who was broken also for others to be near this broken man whose body was pierced unto dying for the sake of those he loved. We whispered together there a few lines of "Jesus, Lover of My Soul," and a verse of the immortally wonderful "Lead, Kindly Light." And then he put his arm about my neck and drew me closer. "I tried to do what was right," said he. "O, Christ, receive my soul. Have mercy upon me." I heard a man near me, in the dark, say "Amen." And I knew the fellows were not sleeping. They were lying there, in their own pain, thinking of him who was passing that night into the great beyond. Then I said, very quietly, the last verse of the hymn he had whispered:

So long Thy power hath blessed me, sure it still
Will lead me on,
O'er moor and fen, o'er crag and torrent, till
The night is gone,
And with the morn those angel faces smile
Which I have loved long since and lost a while.

The silence lay between us for a little, till the dying man asked, "What o'clock is it?" And I told him. "I'm so sorry for disturbing you so late," said he. "Good-bye, padre, till we meet again." And with a sigh he passed away.

I heard a quiet step near me, and I looked around, with the dead man in my arms. I should not have been astonished if I had seen the very Christ, with His wounds shining there, behind me, in that

quiet tent, now so terribly, infinitely still. It was only the woman with the red cross on her breast, the angel of the sick and weary in their pain, seeming always to us, in such a moment, the nearest we can get to Christ, for tenderness and help. And so I laid the dead man down upon his pillow; and had to turn immediately to the living one to comfort him.

As long as I live I shall lift my hat to the red cross. It is, of course, the symbol of the highest sacrifice earth's history ever knew; and it is still the mark of the tenderest devotion and most perfect self-surrender for the sake of others. Every man in khaki, and every man that has been a soldier, and every soul that has a soldier boy to love, should salute that symbol which speaks of love amid the hate and turmoil of war. For it means womanhood consecrated to gentle service, reckoning neither wage nor worry in aught it does, and it takes the sting from broken manhood that has ventured for the sake of honor and of duty, through comradeship in suffering, to the verge of life, and beyond it.

War takes a man in the splendid vigor of his full manhood and flings him out of trench and battlefield a bleeding thing. The devoted women of the hospital tent shrink from no duty when the suffering and mire-stained man is brought to them. There can be no greater self-mastery and no more sublime self-forgetfulness than the washing of the bodies of the stricken and the dressing of the terrible wounds that have broken their murderous way into the fair flesh of the soul's house. And how they work! It has to be seen to be understood, and once seen it can never be forgotten. Faithfulness, tenderness, and loving devotion are the marks of those ministering angels, "when pain and anguish wring the brow." There is no question of adherence to hours. It becomes a question of adherence to duty when a rush is on. There is no strike for shorter hours, or an increased wage, or a war bonus with them or the brave men whom they serve. The men, even to the roughest "grouser," appreciate it fully. "O sister! go to rest now," I have heard them say, pleadingly, to the tired woman with the red cross on her breast and the white cross in her heart.

So, also, with the lads who drive the ambulance cars. I have felt my heart fill as I watched them bringing in the wounded. Gently as a mother carrying a sick child in her bosom, they creep with their agonized burdens over the rough roads, calculating every inequality, thinking through every stage of the journey. I remember, at midnight, standing by one that had just been brought in. The first to be lifted out on a stretcher was a fine fellow, an Irishman, with his right arm blown off. The doctor, with his lantern, leaned over and asked his name. But the suffering man looked up in his face and said, "Sir, before we do anything, please thank that driver. He's a Christian and a gentleman."

The common sorrow of the allied nations binds them very tenderly together. I used to see a fine expression of this in the town where I was first stationed, where some women who had a garden, on the way to the cemetery, were wont to do a very beautiful thing. As, almost daily, the heavy lumbering wagons with the dead came rolling along, those kindly hearts came out and laid on each coffin, above the union jack, a bouquet of exquisite flowers. Then the wagons rumbled on toward the graves. It was a sweet tribute to the brave strangers who are fighting in France, so many of them giving their all in sacrifice for liberty, love, and home in this hideous uprising of all that was monstrous in the dark ages that are past.

One perhaps learns most by unlearning. I used to think of the spirit of pain as intensely, even immensely, vocal. I remember, especially, when I was young, a great gully in the north, beside the sea, up which the waves came dashing in perpetually recurrent warfare, the flood seeking ever higher, only to be drawn away down the sloping shingle again, shrieking, to the main. Often in the daytime I would listen, and, in the dark, would linger near, held by the awe of the unsleeping tragedy of that vast elemental grief which sways about the edges of the world. I told my heart, "This is the spirit of the world pain

finding voice." But now I know otherwise. I have learned better in the school of suffering, in the land of war. The spirit of pain is silent—tholing, at its deepest. It looks at you out of those suffering eyes. There is no cry in it. For the mystery of duty is within its depths. The fifty-third chapter of Isaiah is its truest picture. So it comes to be that the nobility and manliness of the brave combine, with unforgettable splendor of ineffable beauty, the darkness of our times. When they do speak there is a majesty of stillness about their utterance, vast as the mid-deep, far away, out under the stars.

The lads are uplifted by the nearness of the Unseen. I have before me two genuine documents, letters of two fine boys who went godward up the highway of the sun—the way of sacrifice. They speak for themselves. No novelist's imagination could create so fine an utterance. One was scribbled in the trenches, the other in the hospital ward, to those who had the best claim on the best the writers had to give. Said one:

"I am in the trenches, and in half an hour we go over the top. Our artillery is going at it hammer and tongs, the biggest bombardment in English history. It is just like huge express trains rushing through the air in hundreds. All of us are happy in the prospect of a clean fight after so many weary months as passive spectators of anything but warfare, except on rare occasions. If I get through all right I shall add a postscript to this. If not, mother dear, I know you will not be beaten by a Spartan mother who had no heavenly Father revealed to her to look to for comfort, but yet could say, 'Come back with victory, or not at all.' With heaps of love. * * *"

The other is suffused with the same straightforward spirit of fearlessness and faith.

"I was so glad to see your answer this morning, but am sorry I have not enough strength to write much. A good few died of wounds in this hospital through weakness, but I am leaving all doubts with God, as He holds the key of all the Unknown, and I am glad. So if I die before long, and I cannot see anything more sure, I hope to meet you all in God's good time. My wound is numb. It is in my thigh, and I have no pain. * * * I am now at the balance, to live or die. So good day, and God bless all. * * * *"

There was nothing really extraordinary about these boys among their fellows. But one is struck by the frequency with which the men, after a deep emotion, touch literature in their letters. Of course the secret of true style lies in a real experience. Some of them, it is true, tell absolutely false tales, and their letters are sentimental poses. But of the letters of dying men there can be no mistake, and these boys wrote these on the threshold of the eternal mystery. They are types of a large proportion of the army of today, fighting, suffering, and dying as those who have looked in the face of the Invisible, and are inheriting the promise, "Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life." It is surely an incentive to the people at home, for honor and remembrance.

King Alfonso's Aid for War Prisoners

Mme. Gabrielle Réval, writing for La Revue des Deux Mondes, tells this touching story of what the King of Spain is doing to relieve the suspense of relatives of "missing" soldiers.

THERE are hearts that are broken by waiting; hearts that long for certainty, and others that hope against all hope. They look for miracles, or seek, on the earth, some beneficent power to help them to find again the "missing" one, whom they do not wish to lament as dead. A name flies, repeated from mouth to mouth; it is that of the King of Spain. Everywhere you hear: "Apply to King Alfonso XIII.; through him we obtained news; through him prisoners condemned to be shot have been saved; through him the sick and gravely

wounded have been sent home; through him we have been able to send help."

It is thus that, by the voice of the people, I learned the generous and charitable use which his Majesty the King of Spain made of his royal power. The neutrality preserved by his Government forbids him to take part in this war, but it does not forbid him to show himself a man; and this King, who takes upon himself the sufferings of others, spends himself day by day, unwearyingly, in order that the captivity of brave men may be less cruel, and that the grief of French families may be softened by the news which it gives him joy to obtain.

I have seen in the offices of the Palacio Real, which one might now call the Temple of Compassion, 200,000 letters from France, from Belgium, from England, which addressed the same supplication to the King. From this nameless multitude rise great names, that of Maître Theodor, the venerable President of the Brussels bar; that of Mme. Carton de Wiart, of the Countess de Belleville, of Mlle. Thullier, of Nijinsky, the famous Russian dancer, of the journalist Jantchestizky, of the Bohemian professors saved from death or from captivity by the direct intervention of the King, who fights with strokes of the telegraph to save these lives, hurries his Ambassador, presses on the negotiations. * * * Miss Cavell would have been saved, like her two companions, Mlle. Thullier and the Countess de Belleville, if the measures set in motion by the King's pity could have been begun sooner.

Each morning offers a new conflict; but in the evening the young King can sleep well; like the Roman Emperor, his day has not been lost. It is one of Alfonso's days that I would like to record, such as I have seen him live it during my stay at Madrid; but first I wish to evoke the noble and chivalrous figure of this young sovereign, so popular in France. * * *

"I beg of you, Madam, to say that the prayers I offer for peace by no means signify that I wish for peace at any price; that would be an offense for France, and I love France! But my duty as the sovereign of a neutral country is to desire that the sufferings which strike other peoples so cruelly should have ar end."

These are King Alfonso's own words. * * * The King received me in a white silk drawing room, which, in its taste and decoration, reminds one of the lesser rooms at Versailles. * * * The King is 30; he hardly looks 25. His face is surprisingly mobile. If his features recall those of the Princes of the House of Austria, the vivacity of his look, the expression of his face, the charm of the tender and humorous smile are an inheritance from France. His eyes are brown; all at once they sparkle, and then suddenly they cloud over. These youthful eyes are not compelled to the prudent reserve imposed on the words of a King; in their wordless language, they express a soul generous and tender.

"I have admired, in the letters written to me from France," he said, "the self-sacrifice of families struck by the war. Not a complaint. All for their country! What nobility of feeling! What a happiness for me when I can answer these letters by the announcement of good news!"

I know that, by the King's order, good news is telegraphed to French families. But if the answer coming from Berlin is bad, in order to soften the grief which he must cause, it is to the parish priest or the Mayor of the commune that his Majesty's private secretary addresses the letter:

> I regret to bring to your knowledge that, in accordance with a letter which I have just received from his Majesty's Ambassador at Berlin, in spite of the most careful researches undertaken at the Spanish Embassy and the Red Cross, with a view to obtaining information concerning * * * it was only possible to learn that he died while generously giving his life for his country.
>
> I shall be grateful to you, if you will be so good as to transmit, with all possible consideration, this sad news to * * * and I beg you at the same time, in the name of the King, to express to * * * his Majesty's very sincere condolences and sympathy. * * *

Alfonso's Work for Prisoners

His Majesty knew well that I was acquainted with all the details of the work which he has created for prisoners and for those who are repatriated. He expressed his ardent desire to do still more to soften the fate of our captives and to be able to extend to the Russians and

the Portuguese the same investigations, which would extend his work to Mesopotamia and Africa. And his Majesty also spoke to me of the problems which must come after the war for the nations to solve:

"What will be the political and economic situation of Europe with regard to the New World? * * * Gold, torn by the war from the older nations, poured in waves upon the young nations—may not this bring a displacement of wealth, dangerous for the economic future of Europe? * * * The influx of gold into America may, perhaps, bring about a stream of emigration thither which will weaken the older nations. * * * By what policy can Europe defend herself against these dangers of another order, and re-establish the economic equilibrium broken by the war? * * * So many questions which will dominate the future dictate new alliances; questions which affect Spain as well as France and the other nations. * * *"

The soul of the royal work for the discovery of the missing is Don Emilio-Maria de Torres, Minister Plenipotentiary and private secretary to his Majesty. It is in the offices of his secretariat, in the Palacio Real, that this work is installed; it was soon so crowded there that it became necessary to give up to it four halls, and then eight, in order that the collaborators, becoming more and more numerous, might work comfortably. In May, 1916, the work of the King, already a year old, occupied at Madrid twenty-eight persons, who began their day at 8 in the morning and sometimes worked far into the night.

One might say of Don Emilio-Maria de Torres that the functions which his sovereign has confided to him make of him a Minister of Mercy—giving to this word, Merced, all that it implies in the Spanish language, of charity, sweetness, patience, gentleness. * * * I have often seen his eyes grow dim as he read the heart-breaking letters which compose what Don Emilio himself sadly calls "the anthology of sorrow * * *"

The greater part of these very touching letters are written by humble folk, who remember that formerly the Kings of France were called fathers of the people. And were not these Kings the ancestors of Alfonso XIII.? Peasants, workmen, farmers, small tradesmen, people of little education, who have not been willing to have any intermediary between the King and themselves; they have written in their own way, which is a good way, often on the humble paper at a penny a sheet, which the grocer sells, often on sheets with business letterheads, or on a page torn from a schoolboy's exercise book; those best informed have bought large paper and carefully molded their handwriting.

The most simple of these missives of the people are naturally the most touching. I shall quote a few of them, without giving any names, in order simply to reveal this treasure in the hearts of the humble. * * *

Letters to King of Spain

"To his Majesty Alfonso XIII.: Simple working people, at the declaration of war we had two sons who were our joy; one, for the last ten months, had been with his regiment; he went away, happy and proud to do his duty; he never returned. He was at Charleroi, at Guise, and was wounded on Aug. 29, 1914. From that day he disappeared, leaving us in cruel uncertainty of his lot, in anguished waiting for news that never comes. The second was not yet twenty; following his brother's example, he signed a voluntary engagement for four years. Hitherto God has guarded him. If we had had more sons, with pride we should have seen them go forth to defend our France; but to live for eighteen months without knowing anything, each day asking ourselves if the supreme sacrifice has been consummated, is an exceedingly heavy anguish for mothers.

"Her gracious Majesty the Queen, watching her royal children, has, I am convinced, a heart full of sadness and pity for all those mothers whose sons are no more. All our efforts have hitherto been vain. Perhaps through this letter we shall gain some result.

"May your Majesty deign to receive the very humble and very respectful homage of a poor mother who is infinitely grateful."

Another French mother writes:

"I suffer terribly because I do not know what has become of our dear boy, and I think that I should prefer to know for certain that he was dead, to have a tomb to which I could go to pray, rather than to live so long in cruel incertitude, which burns you up like a slow fire. It is horrible, Sire, the more so that the unhappy boy's two brothers have already fallen on the field of honor. If our dear son Charles is dead, we are childless.

"An unhappy mother, who has placed her last hope in you. * * *"

A wife, whose writing is very tremulous, and who addresses the King as if in prayer, writes:

"Sire: I have recourse to your goodness for my husband, who disappeared on Sept. 27, 1915, before Souchez. * * * Your Majesty, receive my most respectful sentiments."

And this very touching letter is from a little girl, who ruled her white paper and wrote in the large writing of a school child:

"Sire: I have the honor to address this letter to you, to ask you for news of my brother. We are all full of anguish and my mother is seriously ill; she can find no consolation. Would you be good enough to give me news? Here is his address. * * * I salute you and thank you."

When it is impossible to find the missing—dead or living—the letter of the relatives is finally filed. Alas! I saw, in one of the halls of the Royal Palace which are given up to them, 150,000 of these letters, which represent the mystery of 150,000 existences concerning which, perhaps, nothing will ever be known. A whole army is contained in this little space, under a cross surrounded with oak and bay leaves. It was the King's wish to set the Christian symbol and the sign of hope over these letters which bear witness that men lived, were loved, and died in the dark to save their country. "Out of death shall come forth life," a pious hand has written on the pediment of this dolorous reliquary of the patriotism of France.

A Canadian's Stirring Battle Picture

By Corporal J. A. Holland

Of the Canadian Division of the British Army in France

This remarkable narrative of personal experience on the Somme was originally written as a letter to Richard Southam of Toronto. The author was formerly advertising manager of the Consolidated Rubber Company in Montreal, and is now a Lieutenant of Artillery at the front. The battle described is that of Sept. 15-16, 1916, which resulted in the capture of Martinpuich and Courcelette, and in which the armored "tank" cars made their début in history. "Canada's day of triumph," as Corporal Holland called it, could not have been more vividly described by Kipling.

I AM to be a Lieutenant of Artillery and I will be sent to England—shortly, I hope—for polishing up and instruction in the miracle of guns and gunnery. I need the rest and change, and no matter how strenuous the training may prove it will seem like a holiday to me, because, believe me, we have been through the deepest depths of hades. Lord, will I ever forget it! It began on the evening of the 15th, when our guns opened up a bombardment which has never been equaled in intensity since the war began. Fritz's batteries were, of course, not idle and shocks of sound simply rocked the air in solid waves, giving one a humming sensation in the head that felt as if one's brain must burst. But that was only the beginning. An attack was preparing all along the line, and our objective was a ridge spanned by one thousand yards of shell-splattered and bullet-swept valley fronting Courcelette, a strongly fortified village 300 yards further back. Our second objective, the ground between our front line and the Huns' wire-protected ridge, had been quarried by high explosive—a mass of chasms in soft, crumpled earth, which would seem impassable to anything without wings.

Orders are orders, however, and in this war English troops are daily doing the seemingly impossible. So why should we worry? We didn't. We simply crouched in our battered burrows—recently Hun trenches—and waited for the word to move. The Hun gunners were scoring uncomfortably frequent hits and stretcher bearers were having a busy and dangerous time. We had about eight hours of this to stick before our final barrage would open up and show us the way to Fritz. At the first blush of dawn our planes came over—flocks of them—and, flying very low, kept a close watch on the enemy's every movement, indifferent to the furious fire concentrated upon them by A. A. guns and M. G.'s. They amused us and kept our minds occupied until we were all startled out of a year's growth by the first blast of our final bombardment. Thousands of guns had been roaring up to now, but tens of thousands were coughing in hoarse earth - and - air - shaking rumbles simultaneously at this moment.

Millions of titanic hammers were beating ceaselessly on steel tanks, so it seemed. Nerve-shaking concussions followed on the heels of hurtling shells in dense waves of stunning sound, stupefying and bewildering. This was the unleashing of all the terrible modern machinery of destruction; the hellish discoveries of war-inspired chemical research controlled by scientists and directed with infallible accuracy. Some one saw the twin green flares burst high on our right —I didn't—and the barrage lifted like a sheet of flame beyond the ridge top. That was the signal for our battalions waiting in the first line.

They were over—a chain of blurred figures against a background of swirling smoke; another and another. A year's back debts of suffering would be paid for today.

I couldn't charge, I had other work to do; but I didn't realize this until I had covered over forty yards of badly pitted earth at racing speed. I came back reluctantly, battling with a fighting craze that was strange to me—an awful hankering to shoot and stab and dabble in blood. It "gets" some people that way and its suppression brings tears. I cried, heart-breakingly.

Out of the bowels of the earth crawled a monster—a quivering, toadlike thing, glistening gray in the half light—an unearthed mammoth—a thousand years old, shaking the caked earth from its scaly sides, but purring in a strangely familiar way.

A "tank," by all that's wonderful!

What a name for this marvel—this weird, weary dinosaur whose bowels are racketing engines, whose teeth are machine guns, and whose hide is two inches of proof steel, which can climb over cliffs and into valleys, and is impervious to all the weaknesses of wheeled things.

A "tank!"—a mocking, ridiculous name given to hide a marvelous invention. Yet there is humor in the beast. Its every movement is funny. Its design is a joke—a flatiron on edge. Its pace is ponderously slow—a wabbling waddle tilting to impossible angles—dipping, rolling, and sliding into and emerging from impossible chasms. Its motions would draw gales of laughter from a circus crowd.

But as one's mind plays with the possibilities of the monstrosity—yet untried —its ability to overcome every obstruction and its punishing gun power, one is filled with an unholy joy that at last we are to go the Huns one better; give them a *clean* reply to poison gas and liquid fire. The "tank" is following hard on the heels of the eager infantry. Hard is the word. Dipping and plunging like a dismasted Dutch lugger in a storm-tossed sea, floundering perilously in the shell wallows, but pursuing an irresistible course through the fire-scorched valley, "Old Faithful" is making a beeline for the Hun trenches. And the infantry have seen and are cheering him furiously, frantically. But even the first rush has caused us lives and wounds. The stretcher bearers are picking up the wounded; the dead must wait. Deliberately they go about their work, though the bullets are droning through the air like hiving bees, and big "crumps" are kicking up earth and stones very near by. Over the rise—our ridge—comes the first batch of prisoners. Two guards with

flashing bayonets walk steadily behind their crouching, hurrying figures. Erstwhile boastful Bavarians frankly frightened of death, singing in the air.

The word comes to me that we have gained our first objective—the rise barely discernible through the smoke-whorls which mercifully veil the dead-incumbered slope. The barrage, which has been maintained with unabated vigor, has lifted again, recording another line of trenches taken. The Hun batteries are firing " into the blue." Our 'planes have done marvelous work today. German artillery observation has been completely destroyed. His guns are " sightless."

The time has come for me to report back—I hate to go, but orders are orders. When I get into the Bapaume Road I am sure to meet some wounded-walking cases. They will have news. Here comes a chap with a bullet-shattered arm swathed in blood-stained, first-dressing bandages. A smile of absolute content overspreads his grimy, stubbled face; the wet, caked trench mud clings to him like a shell. He has a " Blighty." No, he doesn't need any help—a little pain, that's all. Got it at the " sugar factory." A sniper hidden in an old boiler. Four of them paid for it, though. No, the Germans won't fight when they are cornered; some stand or kneel and surrender, others run and are bayoneted or bombed in the dugouts. They don't know how to fight " clean." Treacherous devils if given half a chance. We can go through them till the cows come home. My friendly, wounded hero spoke of them as one would talk of vermin. His was the view of a gentleman fighter discussing things. I left him at the advanced dressing station, a raised patch of dry, sandy earth half a mile behind the front line—a battlefield of yesterday.

Wounded — ours and German — lie everywhere. Every form of flesh mutilation given by shell, bullet, bomb, and bayonet can be seen here; but agonies are endured with stoical calm. The rough ministrations and anointings of raw, torn flesh with iodine are borne without audible whimper, though many are lapsing into unconsciousness from sheer pain. Speed is more essential here than the careful work of the hospital ward. Out on the Bapaume Road, bordered by the grim ruins of battered German trenches, are strings of ambulances and motor lorries waiting for and hurrying away with their pain-racked burdens—Canadian boys who were whole and vigorous an hour ago.

Around and about us everywhere are the tireless batteries roaring deathlike defiances at the German lines. Odd " crumps " from Fritz's " sightless " batteries are kicking up the earth not one hundred yards away. His guns are groping blindly for human targets; his last desperate effort to find our concentration camps ere he is driven back on the tide of defeat. Three hundred yards down the road is the " cage " where the Hun prisoners are arriving in disconsolate, war-weary groups. Before them are the straggling chalk trenches which they held a short month ago, bitter reminders to beaten men.

Our slightly wounded press close to the barbed wire, and in spite of the grinning sentries are doing a lively trade in souvenirs, badges, buttons, shoulder straps, &c., for which they are swapping cigarettes. These Huns are desperately anxious to please, and they are frankly fed up with war. Already they have sensed the kindness of their captors and, despite the fearsome stories of English brutality with which their officers have stuffed them, they seem more than willing to take us on trust. Now orderlies are moving among them with dixies of hot, steaming tea, baskets of bread and cheese, and all the miseries of war are forgotten in the joy of satiated hunger.

There are English cigarettes to follow —our answer to Ruhleben—the British way of retaliating for unnamable tortures inflicted on our soldiers in German prison camps.

Optimism overspreads every grimy face and, warmed with food, these prisoners of war are laughing and chatting like society people at grand opera. All except one man, a German Lieutenant, maddened at being herded with " swine privates." He stands alone at the far corner of the inclosure, the cynosure of all eyes. His venomous protest made in

perfect English, and particularly the part about "swine privates," has been heard by our boys and greeted with smiles of amused contempt. Some officer! It needs no great powers of observation to see that he is both feared and hated by those "swine privates," but the iron discipline that has been driven into their souls is still sufficiently strong to prevent murder. After the war (who knows what will happen?) the smoldering fire which burns in these men's eyes may break forth; freedom may snap the bonds. But what an ill-assorted lot they are—dregs of a nation's manhood sacrificed on the altar of power lust. Every age from 18 to 40 is represented, and physique varies accordingly. There are very few stalwarts; the bullet-headed, thick-necked Huns who set the ruthless iron heel on France and Belgium in 1914—high priests of force and fear. Our tall, slightly built, clean-limbed youngsters standing idly by look, as they are, masters of the herd. A beaten Germany has sent these men to the last sacrifice, and through a miracle they have been spared at the very edge of the abyss.

They realize now to where they have been led; the whole colossal lie is exposed to their still incredulous minds. What will happen in Germany after the war? I leave with that speculation persistently crossing my mind.

The battle still rages. The Canadians have taken Courcelette. The impossible has been accomplished and the advance continues. We have beaten Germany's last troops—the Bavarian Guards Reserve—on ground of their own choosing and the tattered remnants are trickling steadily into the "cage"—the rest will fight no more. It is Canada's day of triumph.

But I have also seen a portion of the price that was paid, and my imagination carries me to the shell pits and battered trenches where our dead lie. Somewhere in the shambles are tried and trusted friends, grand men, endeared to me by the kinship of training days and the harder service of the field. Their going fills me with sadness and a great loneliness. The "old boys" can now be counted on one hand. Since that ever memorable day we have had more victories paid for in lives, but the taking of the ridge and Courcelette will rank as Canada's greatest achievement until perhaps the Hun makes his final stand on the Rhine.

The Fatal Tower of Bovent

A remarkable yet typical example of the conflict waged on the Somme front between big French guns and colossal German defenses of concrete has been placed on record by a war correspondent of The London Morning Post in the interesting story here related regarding a German tower at Bovent.

AT Bovent the Germans decided to construct in a small wood or orchard—in its present state of dilapidation the most expert of gardeners would be puzzled to say which of the two it originally was—an observation post which was to be capable of overlooking a wide extent of the French lines. The position was a good one, and the French would undoubtedly have utilized it by contriving some ingenious outlook place, which would have been completely hidden in the foliage. They would have built in all probability something quite flimsy, which would be destroyed by the first shell which found it and could be as easily set up again.

Not so the Germans; they set to work to build an observation post as if the dismal lines of trenches on the Somme had been dug for all eternity. One can conceive the commander of the German battalion, stationed at that point, telling his men: "We are now going to dig and fortify with reinforced concrete shelters and an observation post such as have never before been seen. The war may last for twenty years, but my officers and I will be quite safe inside them against the heaviest shell ever invented. It is unfor-

tunate that most of you will have to be satisfied with such protection as you can get from the parapet of the trench, but then you will have the immense satisfaction of having dug and armored the most colossal of all shelters."

So the German officer built for himself the Tower of Bovent, and would no doubt have been very incredulous had any fortune teller warned him that he was digging his own grave. The German sappers worked with a zeal that had in it perhaps something of the zeal of the builders of the Pyramids, who were slaves. They burrowed under the earth like moles and built eight roomy shelters thirty feet underground, where no shell could penetrate. These shelters were connected by subterranean passages and provided with a number of exits, so that if by an unlucky chance a bursting shell should block up any one of them the others should be still available. For reasons that will shortly appear, history will never know how many bolt holes the Germans had made for themselves.

The crowning glory of their work was a tower that rose some five or six feet above the ground. So long as Summer lasted it was hidden by the foliage of the trees and undergrowth; no doubt when Winter came it was to be converted into an innocent-looking mound of earth. The tower was constructed of great blocks of reinforced concrete. It resembled the conning tower of a battleship, and at the top of it there were two narrow slits facing the enemy, through which the observer could watch the French lines or a machine gun could fire. The shelters were also protected with lumps of concrete that could be regarded as proof against any artillery.

The Summer foliage was still hiding the tower when one day it struck a French artillery Lieutenant that there was something not quite natural about the corner of a wood or orchard near Bovent. It was certainly an ideal place for a German lookout, so it occurred to him that it might be worth while to send a few salvos of "75" shells on the suspicious point.

His enterprise was rewarded. The "75" shells soon made short work of leaves and branches, and there appeared to view the naked gray concrete of the tower. It was then the affair of the big guns. The moment for the attack on Bovent was drawing near and the gunners were asking for nothing better than a well-defined target. The German officers, who, with their orderlies and the telephonists, were safe thirty feet underground, were in no way disturbed by the discovery of their tower. It was proof against anything but a direct hit from a very big shell, and their shelters they believed could defy anything.

So, quite unconcerned, they passed the time as usual. They had a piano, and two of them began a game of chess. Then the big French shells began to whizz, and the life of the men in the trench below the tower became anything but pleasant. It was this trench that the French poilus had named the "Tranchée de l'inoubliable Grand-père," after General Joffre the Unforgettable. Soon it was difficult to distinguish between original trench and shell holes. The tower got no direct hit, but its appearance became more and more ragged as splinters began to tear off its outer coating of concrete. The steel that reinforced the concrete appeared in hooks and twisted bands, and its once smooth surface grew unkempt and scarred.

Down below, the Germans worried not at all about the appearance of their tower and went on with their games. Then, if the scene is rightly reconstituted, there came an alarm which really affected them. It was announced that the French had begun to fire gas shells on the position. The gas, being heavier than air, is particularly deadly in shelters below ground, and the Germans were not slow to put on their masks, which, with their metal protuberances that suggest a pig's snout, are one of the most hideous productions of a hideous war.

It cannot be long after that there came a terrific explosion, which was the last sound those thirty Germans heard in this life. Their shelters seem to have resisted the shock, but the concussion was more than the human frame could bear. A very large French shell had landed about ten yards to the left of the tower, im-

mediately above the shelters. Its explosion opened a hole in the ground about fifteen feet deep, hurled blocks of concrete about as if they were straws, and blocked the entrances to the shelters.

When the French infantry carried the position an adventurous soldier managed to squeeze his way down through one of the entrances, and saw the extraordinary sight of some thirty Boches, including two Colonels, lying dead with their gas masks on, and apparently not a single wound among them. It was impossible to bring the bodies up, so the French engineers simply blocked up more securely the entrances which the shell had obstructed, and the tower and shelters, built with such an expenditure of labor, have merely become their builders' grave.

The Eagles of the Czar

Most Dreaded of the Cossacks

Ludovic H. Grondijs, author of "The Germans in Belgium" and "Notes of a Dutch Eyewitness," has written an article for L'Illustration, from which this interesting excerpt has been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

YOU must realize what Volhynia is like. The enemy occupies a region which, even before the war, offered few attractions to the inhabitant or the traveler. For whole days you can travel hither and thither throughout the country without seeing anything but forests and marshes. Beeches and birches cover immense spaces, cut by roads which are among the very worst in the world. No roadbed. The road is only a broad strip, borrowed from the fields, whose irregular outline it follows, with mud, or, in dry seasons, terrible dust. After the rain these tracks are deep in water. Carts sink to the axles, or even as deep as the traveler's feet. After a thaw they are impassable.

Suppose now that determined men should slip through the lines and begin to people the forests which the enemy has left behind him. They hide in these dreaded marshes, in these woods which can only be occupied in part. These men are the "Eagles of the Czar," who threaten the lines of communication, of supplies, lying in wait for the invader, following in his tracks, surrounding him with their menace, giving him the coup de grace if he lags, if he wanders, if he flees. To fulfill their mission the Eagles of the Czar must work singly, but they know how to find each other when there is need for it. Separated themselves from any base, isolated like brigands, they "work," animated by the most ferocious determination, with the deepest disdain for death.

Informed that 500 Eagles of the Czar were going to go forth to pierce the enemy lines, I went one morning to a great square where the ceremony of departure was prepared. I saw on the left a troop of cavalrymen and on the right an equal number of Cossacks. The cavalrymen were all very young men; many of them wore the Cross of Saint George. The Cossacks were of all ages. Russia has not called up the reserves of the cavalry of the line; therefore her soldiers are all of the young active classes. The Cossacks, as is well known, are all mobilized, the young and the old alike, and all, old or young, responded eagerly to the appeal when there was a call for the Eagles of the Czar.

I scan these men attentively. Among them there are some who are little more than children. These young fellows, for whom life holds the fullest promise, seem to attach no importance to life. Indeed, it is only with life's decline, at the hour when existence has no more charms for him, that man hugs the earth and refuses to die.

Among the Cossacks I notice the most diverse types: Cossacks of the Don, of the Ural, and others who come from the frontiers of China. Their noses are like the beaks of birds of prey, their heads are shaven, they wear long mustaches. Some are lithe as serpents; others have

the square strength of buffaloes. All wear tall caps of astrakhan or lambskin.

The priest who is to celebrate the religious ceremony has had his assistant place a little table before the troops. They are waiting for the arrival of the General who organized the corps of the Eagles of the Czar. He is signaled. The 500 volunteers range their horses in a half circle. The General arrives, places himself at the centre of the troop, and cries in a loud voice:

"Good health to you, Eagles!" Like thunder his men answer in a single shout: "Good health to you, General!" * * *

The chant of the officiating priest rises, with the gravity of his bass voice; from time to time the responses of the assistant bring a note more musical and lighter. At the end of the ceremony the priest wishes the Eagles of the Czar a safe return, and they answer him with a deeply moving chant:

O God, save Thy people, and bless Thine inheritance. * * *
Give victory to our most Christian Emperor, Nicolai Alexandrovitch,
Over his enemies, and by Thy Holy Cross, save all that liveth. * * *

The General cries, "Long life to the Czar!" And this cry is repeated a dozen times with such ardor that my heart is strained with emotion and with grief. All these young men, in the flower of their age, think only of setting out on their adventure, to their deaths, and their last enthusiasm is for their Emperor. It is an ecstasy which rises like a wave in their hearts and then ebbs; their faces become once more impassive. They will die —the Emperor and Holy Russia will live.

I exchange a few words with their officers, who, in their picturesque uniforms, with their long riding breeches and their short cloaks, seem to spring from the Napoleonic epoch. I shall never forget the features of one of them—the face of a restless child, long, thin, under an enormous cap of gray fur, an elegant young fellow who spoke several languages. He had, under this youthful, even girlish exterior, an eye so resolute, so implacable, that I could not turn my glance from his face. I bid "au revoir" to the officers and to some of the soldiers. One of these last answers: "We shall not see each other again!" And the glances of his companions express their approval.

Is it solely the taste for adventure that inspires such men, or has not the fragrance of sacrifice for a great cause descended into their souls?

Are they really setting forth without hope of return, and do they desire to die, clutching the dead body of a hated enemy, or do they still cherish a hope which continues to beat its feeble wings?

The enemy will show them no mercy, for they themselves will make no prisoners. They go out without taking any food, for to be light as birds they must seek their food in the fields, or in the knapsack of an enemy they have slain. They go without camping kit. They will sleep in the forests, rain or shine, always alone with their horses and their spears. No ambulance accompanies them. When they are wounded no gentle hand will stanch their wounds; they will die in their blood, or a comrade, in pity, will give them the happy dispatch. * * *

A brief order echoes over the plain. The Eagles of the Czar defile before the General, who salutes them; they turn to the right, and disappear in the direction of the enemy.

These men are the heirs of the Cossacks who harried the rear guard of Napoleon's army. But the task of these men is harder. In 1813 they were fighting an army in retreat, therefore they were fighting on their own ground. Today, in order to get close to the invader, they must cut off behind themselves all chance of escape. They will slip, dirty and disfigured, through dark forests and treacherous marshes. They will harass the enemy wherever they can. They are free. They will fight in their own way, alone or in groups. They can choose the form of their death.

The last Cossacks pass before me. They are as proud as Princes, and certain of them are magnificent brigands. One of them carries a harmonica under his arm. His companion carries two spears. The crowd is silent. For a long time we follow with our eyes these faces and these silhouettes marked against the sky and seem to me already to be shades departing toward death.

How German Soldiers View Actual Warfare

LIEUTENANT LOUIS MADELIN, an eminent French historian and soldier, who spent twenty-six months at Verdun and was an eyewitness of the German offensive there, has collected hundreds of letters taken from German prisoners and German dead at that time, and has published a digest of them under the title, "L'Aveu: La Bataille de Verdun et l'Opinion Allemande," ("The Confession: The Battle of Verdun and German Opinion.") His aim has been to present the most striking letters and passages revealing internal discontent in Germany—a growing resentment against the authors of the war.

"After the middle of March," says Lieutenant Madelin, "Germany learned, little by little, that the Verdun drive was a failure; learned it in spite of a shamelessly lying press and of bulletins stupefying in their imposture. It was the most immense deception that a people ever experienced.

"Then all the pent-up feelings of the nation burst forth. * * * I have found in these letters very few cries of hatred against France, such as were raised at the beginning of the war in an enormous concert. For already, in their unanimous desire for peace, (during those five months of anxiety, of hope, of effort, of deceptions, and of rancor, this was the leitmotif—Peace! Peace!) Germany was beginning to understand at last that there were persons in her midst 'who have caused the war,' and who are, besides, 'profiting by it.' 'Criminals' one of these letters called them.

"It was in the light of the battle of Verdun, lost by the German Crown Prince in the august presence of the Emperor, with the best German blood, that the truth gradually appeared. This is why it is worth while to group these documents, which constitute a page of German history and psychology, written by Germany herself, and which I here submit to the judgment of the readers of all countries."

The book, though written in the French language, is documented with facsimile copies of letters in the original German. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE herewith presents English translations of some of the more noteworthy passages.

Beginning of the Battle

Before the attack at Verdun a German soldier of the Eighth Fusilier Regiment (Twenty-first Division) wrote to his mother:

"My Dear Mother: I must tell you that we have come to a great moment: we have received the order to take by assault Hill 344, near Verdun, and Verdun itself. I am writing you this letter on the 21st of February at 2 o'clock in the afternoon. The artillery has already been firing for eight hours with the heaviest guns, mortars of 42, 38, and 30 calibre. There is going to be a fight such as the world has never seen. Our chiefs have instructed us and told us that our dear families are expecting great things from us. * * * We hope that our enterprise is going to succeed, and that God will be with us. We have been chosen for this greatest task, which is going, perhaps, to bring a decision in this frightful struggle. Everybody would be very happy if it were the end, for then we could all go home; but misfortunes come so swiftly, especially when one has to take a fortress like this, the greatest fortress of France."

A letter written from a German home on March 20 to a soldier at the front said: "Concerning the fall of Verdun the people here have two different opinions. One party holds that by the fall of Verdun we shall arrive at a decision between France and Germany. The other says: 'We have Verdun, it is true, [sic,] but we are far from having France.'" From Hanover, on April 14, comes the same note: "We believe that

the war will not last much longer, and the general opinion is that after the fall of Verdun the war will soon end." By the 19th of April, however, a tone of disillusionment and anger begins to be heard: "The men are being dragged by force to butchery."

Bitter Disillusionment

Long before this the fighting around Douaumont and Vaux had convinced the German soldiers of the terrible nature of their task. The notebook of one of them contains this cry of dismay:

"March 24, 1916. Before Fort de Vaux.—I have no need of writing anything further than that. All the rest is implied. Yet I wish to keep on hoping. It is bitter, very bitter! I am still so young! What's the use? What good does it do to pray, to supplicate? The shells! The shells!"

A man who has been in the assault on Hill 265 writes on March 23: "From the first moment the projectiles were whistling over our heads. We received a terrible fire from the machine guns and artillery the instant we leaped forward to attack Hill 265 and carried the first trenches, shouting hurrahs! Unfortunately, we suffered heavy losses. Of my squad, which comprised nineteen men, only three remain. Whoever gets out of this with a wound that merely sends him home (Heimatschuss) can call himself lucky, for many are losing their lives here." Another, who had been in Russia, wrote on April 3: "In Russia it was child's play compared with the artillery fire here."

Le Mort Homme, which the German official bulletin of March 15 announced as captured, continued to offer an impassable barrier to the German assault. Lieutenant Madelin notes that a letter of a German officer "comes to give the lie to the false communiqué." The letter is by Lieutenant R. of the Seventy-first Reserve, who was killed before the Crow's Wood on April 9. On the preceding day he wrote:

"My dear Walter: I am sitting at this moment in my hole, and am thinking of you. Ah! What a difference between my quarters here and life in Germany! For a week I have been living in dirt without a chance to wash myself. Nonowow was not an agreeable place, but this hell before Verdun is a place of mortal sadness. Tomorrow our regiment is to attack between the Bois des Corbeaux and Le Mort Homme, which, moreover, the French have always held, and where they have excellent observatories. The circle is closing a little around Verdun, but my opinion, based on the extreme precision of the French artillery fire and the innumerable array of their heavy guns, is that we shall not take Verdun. It would cost too many men. To capture it would require months of fighting."

Officer's Graphic Letter

Lieutenant H. of the Eighty-first, on the right bank of the Meuse, echoed these sentiments on April 15:

"My dear Parents: Probably you are waiting with impatience for a sign of life from me. I hope that this letter will reach you, but it is not easy to mail letters here.

"My beautiful time as a staff officer of the Fifty-sixth Regiment ended several days ago. Our losses in officers are rather heavy, so that I have had to take the Eighth Company as commandant. At present I am with my company in the very first line, crouched in a small mudhole which is supposed to protect me from the enemy shells dropping ceaselessly. I have already seen many things, but never before have I seen war of a character so frightful and indescribable. I would not describe it for you in detail, even if I could, for I would only give you useless anxiety.

"We are under a frightful artillery fire day and night. The French are making a monstrously stubborn resistance. On the 11th of April we made an attack to take the French trenches. We had begun with a considerable artillery preparation lasting twelve hours, then the infantry attack was loosed; but the French machine guns were absolutely intact, so that the first wave of assault was immediately mowed down by their fire when it left the trenches. Besides, the French in their turn let loose such a barrage fire from their artillery that an attack was no longer to be thought of. Now we are

here in the first-line trenches, about 125 yards from the French.

"The weather is terrible—cold and continual rain. I wish you could see what a state I am in, with boots, trousers, overcoat all soaked and covered with a layer of mud an inch thick.

"All the roads are held ceaselessly under the French cannon fire, so that we cannot even bury our dead. It is pitiful to see these poor fellows lying dead in their mudholes. Every day we have more killed and wounded. Only by risking life can we carry the wounded to safety. We have to go for our meals three kilometers to the rear—to the wheeled kitchens—and even there we are in danger of death. Every day there are men killed and wounded at their meals, so that many prefer to go hungry rather than go and seek food.

"Almost everybody in our company is ill. To be in the rain all day, completely soaked; to sleep in the mud, to be night and day under a frightful bombardment, and that for eight consecutive days and nights, breaks the nerves completely. From the point of view of health I am still fairly well off; but my feet are completely soaked and frozen, and I am frightfully cold up to the knees.

"I hope I shall have the good fortune to come out of here alive; I wish it, for one cannot even be buried properly here. Don't worry uselessly about me. We have to hang on. Good-bye! Let Willie see my letter; he can send it back to you later. Best wishes to all. MAX."

Growing Discontent

These uncensored letters reveal more serious food shortage than was generally known to exist in Germany at that time, and as the fruitless battle dragged on, internal discontent increased. In many of the later letters Lieutenant Madelin found sentiments such as the following, written April 19:

"My Dear Husband: It is frightful; the men are driven by force, as in a slaughterhouse. Naturally, it is only the poor, for the rich do not go so far toward the front. At the beginning of the war one read in the newspapers that such or such a rich man had been killed, but now it is only the poor that fall on the field of honor. Thanks for the honor! You men yonder are getting yourselves blown to pieces, and we at home are dying of anxiety and sorrow for you."

Another woman wrote from Hünfeld about the same time: "Of those who caused the war, no one is dying."

The "war for food" also is the theme of many angry letters. A housewife of Düsseldorf wrote to Soldier Blumenfeld of the Thirty-ninth Reserves on April 23: "Almost every day the general war of women. They fight in the street like tinkers. You poor devils fight at the front, and we women fight for a mouthful to eat." One wife asks to be told the truth, once for all. "Now, my dear," she writes to Soldier K. on April 25, "tell me frankly whether you think Verdun will be taken. It is said here that you will never get Verdun."

A German Banker's Letter

To this disturbing question a sufficient answer is afforded by the letter of Banker S., an officer of the reserve on sick leave. On April 26 this solid citizen, financier, and soldier wrote to another officer at the front as follows:

"The economic situation in Germany unfortunately leaves a painful impression, and if war with America is to be added, the population will end by dying gradually of hunger. Meat, for instance, has not been seen at all for a week in K.; * * * the town furnishes spoiled meat to the indigent, but no one can eat it. Sugar, coffee, tea, &c.—all are confiscated.

"The doctors have already ascertained that the civil population of Germany is suffering from insufficient nourishment. The manufacturers of war supplies alone are making millions, and are well satisfied with the business. All the others are sighing and recriminating. Besides, not a man believes peace is near, and a possible war with the United States even finds much favor here, because the silly people believe that by a more energetic submarine war we could soon finish with England. It seems, too, that in Germany the people still hope for the fall of Verdun. There will be a fine disillusionment at the end."

Lieutenant Madelin remarks that the writer of this letter is no unfortunate, soured by misery. He judges from above, but after having viewed things closely. His letter is in a way a summing up of the whole mass of correspondence. The author adds that a still more forcible summary is found in the words of the German father who wrote to his soldier son: "This war will not be ended with arms. The side that has something to put in its stomach the longer is the one that will win, and that does not mean us."

A German Wife's Letter to Her Husband

The following pathetic letter from a loving wife was found by a Canadian officer on the body of a German soldier after a charge on the Somme battle front:

OH, my dearest, I have almost lost my senses—do write often. I have had no news of you since Sept. 25, though after that I received a letter dated the 23d, for which I thank you with all my heart. Honestly, darling, I fret too much for you, but I know that you are worth it. But, dearest, I fear that when you return I shall look too old for you, for, dear, I look very haggard. There are strange lines around my mouth which were not there before, and I have also grown thin. Yesterday I went to Altdamen and father said, "Good heavens! you are drying up." I am ill, and I'd rather be dead if there were no hope of seeing you again; but the thought of seeing you always cheers me up a little.

As to the war and everything in connection with it, there is nothing more to be said. If I write about it I only make it harder for you. I only say that I am getting gray hair from this war. I could scream with desire for you, dearest, my longing for you is so great. And then I would like my own home—no, nobody can replace it to me here. It was already hoped for certain that the end was coming, and that we could all go to our homes, women as well as men; but now again we shall go through another terrible Winter, and when it comes to an end we shall go through another Summer, and so it is, and so it will continue. What we ought to think we do not know. Some say that the war is only half finished.

Well, dear, when you return our Zotti will go to school. But who knows how everything will be then, for many a heart has ceased beating, and so many mothers and children are left to their fate! * * * Everything is so unjust, just as with the selling of wheat. What isn't worth anything the poor people get, and the rest the gentry receive—they have all the money while the war lasts. Germany is insane. This or that person thinks himself better than another. I would know what to do if I were in the field—but I will say no more about it.

Your little Zotti is still well and cheerful, but he has a great longing for his dear papa. He often says to me: "Papa stays away a long time. Isn't the war over yet?" But if his father should really come back, perhaps on leave, then he would go to the station with a great bunch of flowers. Hoping that this will soon be fulfilled, and with countless kisses, your G. and little Zotti.

[Little Zotti's father fell in action soon after receipt of this letter, and one more woman's broken heart was added to the millions which the war has produced.]

Uncensored Austrian War Letters

DMITRI OBLONSKI IN RUSSKOYE SLOVO, MOSCOW

M. Oblonski, a war correspondent widely known in Russia, came into possession of twenty-seven letters written by Austrian soldiers and meant to be dispatched to their homes through special messengers, without being censored. The letters constitute a valuable addition to the human documents of the war.

AND, my comrades, we are all awaiting with impatience the day when all this will end. How it will end is a matter of indifference to us. One must be here, one must go through all that we are going through, in order to arrive at the stage where it becomes a matter of indifference whose the victory shall be. That does not interest us; all that matters is the question of when we shall be enabled to rest."

This excerpt from an Austrian soldier's letter indicates the degree of spiritual weariness pervading the armies of the Dual Empire. This unexampled weariness of war is the theme of every one of the twenty-seven letters at hand.

"If it should continue like this for another three months I shall not be able to hold out. I shall go insane. Even now I cannot sleep, cannot think, cannot even sit quietly in one place. Constant alarm rends my soul. I cannot even pray. Pray for me. * * *"

This was not written by a youngster, but by a fully matured man, for a little further on in this letter he speaks of the fact that should the war continue for another year his oldest son would also have to live through the same horrors. The author of another letter discusses in detail the question of the victims of nervous prostration in the ranks of the Austrian Army.

"Men go to pieces with unbelievable rapidity," he writes. "They collapse for no apparent cause, even during the weeks when we are kept in the rear as reserves. These victims first cease to eat, rapidly losing weight; their noses become sharpened, their eyes sink deep and light up with a feverish glow; their hands begin to tremble. Gradually the sick man grows less and less communicative; he avoids his comrades, he seeks solitude. Finally he is taken to the hospital. Not long ago one of our soldiers suddenly became insane. It happened at night. We were in the second-line trenches, so that we could sleep restfully. Suddenly, in the middle of the night, I and some of my comrades were awakened by loud singing. We listened. Some one near us was chanting at the top of his voice the same phrase again and again: 'Merciful God, save me, for the sake of my children!' We found the singer and asked him what was the matter with him.

"'Don't you see,' he replied, 'that surrounding us is a sea of blood? Here one tide is coming, there is another, and another still. And so I pray to God to save me. Why, I left several children at home!'

"The poor fellow had to be taken away to the hospital."

The subject next in importance in these Austrian soldiers' letters is that of the increasing disorder in the ranks of the Austro-Hungarian Army. The men are dissatisfied with their commanders. "Our officers altogether lost their heads," says one letter. "Nobody knows anything. Quite frequently it happens during these days like this: We are put aboard a train and told that we are sent to some place. In an hour we discover that we are being dispatched in the opposite direction. Don't imagine that this is done for the sake of keeping military movements secret. No. It is simply that in the last moment a new order has been received from headquarters."

A petty officer, dispatched from the Styr to Tlumach, writes: "Before my departure for here I nearly fell into captivity, exclusively because of the demoralization in our headquarters. The Russians were advancing at a rapid rate.

Our first line was already broken in several places. An order came for us to retreat. This order enumerated the villages through which our route lay. Joseph serves with the staff and read the order himself. And when we began to retreat one of the villages was already in Russian hands. Luckily the force holding it was small. We fought our way out, but were near capture. We all fail to understand what is transpiring with our Generals and officers. They do not at times know what they are doing."

The disorder among the commanders is reflected profoundly in the lack of food and comfort for the rank and file. Almost all the writers complain about the meagreness of the food. "We are far from getting our hot meal every day." "More and more often it is occurring now that we pass the night in one locality, while our kitchens are in another. For the kitchen folk it is, of course, of no consequence, but for us it is far from cheerful to go to bed with empty stomachs." "D——n it! We are beginning to starve formally. You understand that I cannot be pleased with this. I won't be able to stand it very long." The author of this last piece of intelligence did not have to stand it much longer, for he was killed near Tysmennitza.

Here is an excerpt from another letter concerning the movements of detachments:

"You cannot imagine what enormous marches we are forced to make. A march of twenty-five to thirty miles a day is now a mere nothing. This, of course, is a small matter, for we are at war, and war is our business as soldiers. But what is bad about it all is that we are driven about for nothing, i. e., today we are sent in one direction and tomorrow in the opposite. Recently I even began to curse, for we were handled in a really beastly fashion. We walked a whole day along a railroad. Some of us inquired: 'Why are we sent on foot? Why not put us aboard a train?' But the officers and the railway officials at every station told us that there were no trains. At the same time several empty cars passed by us. They were wide open, as if challenging us. Was this not a swinish act?"

Some of the letters discuss the Austro-German relations. The passages devoted to this subject lead to two conclusions. First, the Austrians are beginning to give credit to their German ally for its organizing abilities. "Where the commanders are German, we do not starve," writes one Austrian to his wife. Another takes the question up at more length. "The Germans—this is an altogether different business. They never lose their heads, they work like machines. It won't happen under them as under our staff officers that several companies come to the same place to pass the night. Under their command we are not forced to make any unnecessary marches. Everything is calculated by them with mathematical exactitude." A third writer says: "One ought to give credit to the Germans. They take care of our supply lines and our sleeping quarters better than our own officers."

The second conclusion to be made from these letters is that the hatred felt by the Austrian toward the German has grown much stronger. There are no curses so deep, no ill wishes so black, that the Austrians hesitate to bestow them upon the heads of their allies. The first reason for this hatred is rather universal. The Germans are the real culprits of this war. At least, they are responsible for its prolongation. "They are our real enemies." "The Germans have finished Austria." "If it had not been for Wilhelm, I would have been with you and the dear children long ago." Such are the expressions found in these letters.

The second reason for the hatred of Germany by the Austrians is the cruelty of the Germans. "Are we then considered as human beings in their eyes? We are cattle to be sent to the slaughter if this be necessary to the German commander. They are treating us as cattle. When an attack is to be made, we are sent first. After many of us have been slaughtered, the Germans, under cover of our corpses, continue the offensive. Oh, if you only knew how I hate our dear allies for their cold cruelty!"

Home Life in Europe Under the Shadow of War

THE effect of the war on domestic life, on actual modes of existence, and on social arrangements generally has been to give the great cities in the belligerent countries a quite unusual aspect. The absence of lighting which the authorities have decreed as a precaution against aerial raids or for the sake of economy, the detailed regulation of what people shall eat, the transformation of the occupations and habits of enormous numbers of both men and women, the conversion of hotels and the mansions of the rich into hospitals, the presence everywhere of hundreds of thousands of cripples and invalids—these are only a few of the features which distinguish life today from what it was in the early Summer days of 1914.

For the millions who are not at the front the war has brought a feeling of depression that would be intolerable but for the work they have to do as civilians. There is hardly any one who is not in mourning or is not afflicted by the sight or thought of a wounded relative, or is not anxious about one or more men in the firing line. Work and such amusement as war conditions permit are the only distractions from a state of things that could easily drive people mad. And it is in the home and the social life of which the home is the focus and centre that the war finally makes itself felt. It is there that the human values of the vast conflict are arrived at, values that spell loss and depreciation.

London in Total Darkness

The plunging of London into darkness by night was, perhaps, the first intimation of the ever deepening gloom that has followed in the wake of the war. A typical instance of how the home, with its welcoming windows aglow with light, has now to be blotted out is that of the policeman knocking at the door and calling attention to the fact that a narrow shaft of light is coming through a slit between the blind and the window frame. The officer of the law points out that the householder, more often in these days a woman, is liable to prosecution for having failed to cover the offending aperture not a quarter of an inch wide. To save trouble he himself calls for thick brown paper and a pot of paste and covers the slit through which the light had penetrated into the outer darkness. Numerous householders and shopkeepers who have not acted promptly when warned have been punished by fine for the smallest of luminous patches on the buildings they occupy.

By night London and other great cities are lost in a world of darkness so profound that even an old inhabitant can go astray as easily as if he were in the heart of an African forest on a moonless night. The nocturnal obscurity has increased the dangers of the streets a hundredfold. The driver of a motor bus or car has to feel his way through the mysterious streets like a ship's Captain in a thick fog. And, naturally, no one ventures into the streets unless compelled to. The only fortunate aspect of the situation is that the criminal element has well-nigh disappeared, and with it the likelihood of being held up.

The theatres and vaudeville houses have been affected by the "black-out" regulations, matinées being substituted as far as possible for evening performances. And the gay night life has also felt the change. Imagine the "Great White Way" of New York City plunged in darkness, and you can understand what it is like in and about Piccadilly Circus and Leicester Square in London or on the boulevards of the "ville lumière," as Paris rejoices to be known when she is her own gay self.

Paris Economizing Fuel

The early closing of shops and stores and the rigorous limitation of hours during which alcoholic drink may be sold

have also helped to take the gayety out of the social life of the big cities. One reason for early closing has been the necessity of economizing fuel. The recent official order issued in Paris stated that it was

a matter of urgency to supply all the coal necessary to the factories that are forging arms for France. The Government has decided to restrict the lighting of shops. We invite Parisians to copy this measure by insisting on economy of fire and lights in their homes.

Practically all the big stores are now in consequence closed at 6 o'clock, although smaller places keep open later, but instead of using gas or electricity have had to fall back on candles and oil lamps. It is now no uncommon sight to see the interior of a little store lighted with candles with bottles for candlesticks.

At the beginning of the present Winter the British Government issued a drastic early closing order. In London before the war most of the larger stores and offices closed at 6 o'clock, but for some time past 5 o'clock had become the general closing hour, mainly on account of the lighting restrictions and the difficulties of traveling home to the suburbs after dark. The Government welcomed this voluntary reform because it meant a saving in the consumption of coal. The new order provides that until the end of April, 1917, customers, except at restaurants and drug stores, must not be served after 8 P. M. on Fridays, 9 P. M. on Saturdays, and 7 P. M. every other day.

Workers in munition factories who do not finish till 8 o'clock or later have protested, particularly the women, who said they would not be able to find time to do their shopping. The shopkeepers in the poorer districts also protested, and it was complained that Cabinet Ministers and their wives, accustomed to deal at the better-class stores, which had already fixed their own closing hours, were out of touch with life in the working-class districts. But in this, as in so much else, the people have had to learn to adapt themselves to war conditions.

In France another recent order directs the closing of all stores at 6 P. M., and restaurants and cafés at 9:30 instead of 10:30. Theatres are closed on Mondays, motion-picture shows on Tuesdays, and cabarets and vaudeville houses on Wednesdays. The National Board appointed to supervise war economies may order additional closing days, and also the stoppage of the elevators of many buildings to reduce the consumption of coal. According to M. Sembat, the Minister of Public Works, the price of coal increased from $16.20 a ton in April, 1916, to $28 a ton in May.

Food Scarce Everywhere

The food problem affects domestic and social life most of all. All the belligerent countries are fighting the common enemy, hunger. Even England, where the policy of "starving out Germany" has been so strenuously advocated, is feeling the pinch, and has recently followed the German example and appointed a "food dictator." The banquets and other convivial gatherings which enliven London life have become things of the past. From various sources we have reports from which the gravity of the food problem in the several warring countries may be gathered. D. Thomas Curtin, an American observer who has been in Austria and Germany a good deal during the war, and whose articles in The London Times have attracted much attention, writing of the food situation in Austria, says:

"Food conditions in Austria are much more varied than in Germany. The organization is not so good, so that in certain areas supplies are comparatively abundant, while in others there is a scarcity approaching, though not yet reaching, very real hardship.

"The situation resembles the situation in Germany in this respect, that the great towns act as sponges, absorbing all the nutriment in a zone twenty or thirty miles from the city. In these areas and in the great cities the food conditions are always worse than in the remote districts, where the inhabitants can hoard more effectively and can make use of their own produce.

"Vienna is not so well provisioned as Berlin. The municipal kitchens have not Prussian perfection. The richer classes, however, are not suffering. Money is more powerful. The rich landowners are

living very much their ordinary life, to the extreme dissatisfaction of their poorer brethren. The Germans are docile, but the Austrians, with the exception of the Bohemians and Hungarians, are even more so, and the whole of Austria is dominated by Big Brother Prussia.

Meatless Days in Austria

"In Vienna there are three meatless days a week, in Budapest two; and this state of affairs is worse than it sounds, because, although meat is allowed to be sold on other days, it is often unobtainable. The rise in prices is greater than in Germany; the shortage of fat, if possible, worse. The population are cursed with innumerable taxes and with regulations which annoy and irritate, and to which they do not take so easily as the Germans. Great bitterness is caused by the tyrannical conduct of the German Supply Association, which by agreement compels the Austrians, and particularly the Hungarians, to supply great quantities of eggs, vegetables, lard, and butter each month.

"Austrian and Hungarian newspapers appear with whole columns obliterated by the censor. It is evident from the context that many of these excisions have to do with food problems. From some portions of Lower Austria came the first rumors I have ever heard of anything approaching real starvation. The rivers and lakes are netted night and day for fish, the wheat crop in several places (but not in Hungary) was thrashed and ground at the first moment of ripeness. In general the countless food regulation schemes are in a state of chaos.

"The Austrians, before the war, were almost the greatest coffee drinkers in Europe. Their supplies of real coffee lasted longer than those of the Germans, but they are now complaining bitterly, for they drink either an acorn or burned barley coffee substitute."

Germany's Food Problems

In Germany, according to a report from an anonymous American observer, who speaks with authority and who gave the information to John L. Balderston of the McClure Newspaper Syndicate, the chief trouble is the supply of meat. The shortage of potatoes and other vegetables and of cereals has caused, and still causes, much hardship, but nothing compared with the difficulty of obtaining meat. A meat famine is inevitable, declares Mr. Balderston, who goes on to say:

"The figures have only to be stated in their naked simplicity for the situation to be appreciated at a glance. There were between 23,000,000 and 24,000,000 cattle in Germany when the war began, of which between 5,000,000 and 6,000,000 were calves, according to the estimate of the food experts who tackled the problem later. Shortly before the appointment of Adolf von Batocki as Food Dictator, a census was taken by the Government of all live stock, and this showed that on May 1 this year only 19,800,000 cattle were left. Six million of these were calves, and the Government decided that 8,000,000 must be set aside for breeding and to insure the milk and butter supply. This left only 5,800,000 cattle in the country which could be killed and eaten, and of this number more than one-fifth were two-year-olds.

"The blockade makes impossible the importation of meat, excepting in small quantities and at prohibitive prices, which are constantly increasing. Despite the meatless days and the shortage of beef, the German people consumed in the first twenty-one months of the war about 4,000,000 cattle over and above those bred during that time.

"At the end of the fourth year of the war, if the struggle continues so long, Germany will have no more beef—unless she kills her milk and breeding stock. Even if peace is concluded in the near future, however, the German food experts are vainly trying to figure out how they can replenish their dwindling herds. The task of importing enough beef to feed 60,000,000 people for many years after the war is one that staggers the imagination, and yet that is what must be done.

"Shortage of fodder complicates the meat situation enormously and threatens to result in the destruction of all the hogs in the empire within another year unless von Batocki can find some way

VICE ADMIRAL D'ARTIGE DU FOURNET

Chief Commander of the French Navy in the Mediterranean and a Prominent Figure in the Clash With Greece

(Photo by Bain News Service.)

INTERIOR VIEW OF A GERMAN SUMBARINE, THE DEUTSCHLAND

This Inside View of the Deutschland Shows the Commandant's Post, the Submersion Wheel Being Seen at the Left. The Deutschland Herself Brought the Picture to This Country on Her Second Trip.

out of the difficulty. Germany in peace time imported most of her fodder from neutral markets now closed to her.

Hunger Threatens Millions

"To turn from the meat problem—which will be worse in the future—to the troubles of the present, Herr von Batocki, at a secret conference recently, told a large group of landowners and politicians what the actual position is at the moment. He divided the 60,000,000 people of Germany into four great groups. About 20,000,000, he said, work on the land, and eat what they like of their own produce. Of the remaining 40,000,000, he classed 15,000,000 as soldiers, railway workers, munition laborers, or in some way directly concerned with the carrying on of the war.

"These men and women—for women munition workers are rationed as well as the soldiers at the front—are supposed to eat about the equivalent of 2,400 food calories a day. This figure, Herr Batocki pointed out, is 200 calories more than the minimum upon which life can be maintained without lowering physical and mental efficiency. In the United States the average consumption per capita is about 4,700 calories daily.

"Herr Batocki then pointed out to his very select audience that 5,000,000 people can afford to buy what the law allows them at any prices, but that the remaining 25,000,000 Germans not on the land or in war work had to take what was left, even though the remainder, he said, amounted at the time he spoke to 2,200 food calories, or 200 calories less than the minimum standard for sustaining life. This statement made a sensation, and, needless to say, was not permitted to appear in the German press. Herr Batocki held forth hope that just as soon as the new harvests were in it would be possible to raise the submerged 25,000,000 to or above the sustenance level. There are already indications that this is being done.

"The millions who have thus been forced to consume less than needed to keep them in shape, less than half what the average American eats, are not all of the very lowest social class, but include school teachers, storekeepers, and poorly off doctors and lawyers, who have no claim on war rations and have not enough money to buy the luxuries available at the shops. The poor must live off the cheap staples, for which they require meat, bread, butter, and potato tickets.

"The reason the rich 5,000,000 can live better is that they can afford other foods for which tickets are not required; the richest millionaire is allowed by law no more of the ticketed staples than the poorest laborer, although the public believes that by hook or crook the rich get about all the bread, butter, and meat they want, through collusion with the grocers, who reap huge profits by this illegitimate trade at enormous prices.

"To sum up the food situation, Germany cannot be starved out—unless the war lasts four years, when her meat will be gone—though with a bad harvest one-third of her population may be reduced to the verge of famine. She is, however, living on her capital stock in meats, and how that stock is to be replenished when peace comes worries her statesmen, and even has a strong influence in moderating the terms on which she is willing to stop fighting."

Food Dictator in England

The British Government's proposals for handling the food problem were outlined in the House of Commons on Nov. 15, 1916, by Walter Runciman, the President of the Board of Trade, who announced that a Food Controller was to be appointed, with full power over all departments concerned in food supplies, and that immediate steps were to be taken to restrict the luxurious use of sugar, to prevent waste and the making of large profits in milk and potatoes, and to forbid the milling of pure white flour. In regard to wheat, the Government had taken advantage of the abundant harvests of Canada and Australia, which had been augmented by supplies from the United States, but the following year Great Britain would have to depend largely on Australia. If necessary, a system of food tickets would be adopted.

A few days after this announcement Mr. Runciman discussed food economies with representatives of the leading London hotels. He said that the Christmas

bill of fare advertised by one establishment was scandalously wasteful and extravagant, and that the catering trade must set its house in order. Menus must be cut down drastically, and there must be one or two meatless days a week. A "meatless" day might mean neither meat nor fish. There was also too lavish expenditure on rich cakes and candy. As a result of this discussion the management of the Savoy Hotel withdrew its circular, in which it had advertised a Christmas dinner to cost, exclusive of wines but including light refreshments at the buffet during the Christmas entertainment, from $5.25 to $6.25 a head.

Luxuries for Wage Earners

One of the most extraordinary features of the war in the great centres of population is the enormous amount of money being spent, due to the fact that the huge loan expenditures have put unusual amounts of cash into circulation in the form of workers' wages or as business profits. There is no unemployment problem in any of the belligerent countries, and wages are high, although purchasing power has been reduced by inflated prices.

Among the poorer classes there is an almost riotous profusion of luxuries they only dreamed of before the war. The phenomenon is most marked in London. Storekeepers in the most fashionable part of the city tell of such cases as that of the coster woman—the London 'Arriet—who ordered a sealskin coat with collar and cuffs of sable and a wide border of the same fur around the bottom of the coat to be made specially for her; also a large velour hat trimmed with the largest feather obtainable. A girl making better money in a munition plant than she had ever made before insisted on paying an extravagant sum for a necklet of real ermine, for it had always been her ambition to have "a bit of real ermine," and now war conditions had put it in her reach. She was wearing one of the latest velour hats with an expensive osprey.

The stores were never so crowded, nor has money changed hands more freely than in these days in London. The businesses chiefly benefiting by the trade boom are the dry goods stores, dressmakers, milliners, piano dealers, middle-class jewelers, and shoemakers. Thousands of households are enjoying increased incomes because daughters who previously did not make much money, or did not go to work at all, are now earning high wages. Women who formerly made their own clothes are now buying them. The increased number of marriages owing to the war is another factor; while large sums are spent on sending comforts and gifts to "the boys at the front."

German Women and Fashion

Even in Germany, where Government control is a stern reality, the temptation to indulge in luxury cannot be suppressed. To quote Mr. Curtin again:

"It must not be supposed that the life of feminine Germany is entirely a gloomy round of duty and suffering. Among the women of the poor things are as bad as they can be. They are getting higher wages than ever, but the food usury and the blockade rob them of the increase

"The middle and upper classes still devote a good deal of time to the feminine pursuits of shopping and dressing. The outbreak of war hit the fashions at a curious moment. Paris had just abandoned the tight skirt, and a comical struggle took place between the Government and those women who desired to be correctly gowned.

"The Government said, 'In order to avoid waste of material, you must stick to the tight skirt,' and the amount of cloth allowed was carefully prescribed. Women's desire to be in the mode was, however, too powerful for even Prussianism. Copies of French fashion magazines were smuggled in from Paris through Switzerland, passed from dressmaker to dressmaker, and house to house, and, despite the military instructions and the leather shortage, wide skirts and high boots began to appear everywhere."

Social life in Germany is particularly interesting as regards the position of women; and Mr. Curtin has much of interest to tell us of how it has been affected by the war:

"German authorities are utilizing every kind of woman. The social evil, against which the Bishop of London and

others are agitating here, [in England,] was effectively dealt with by the German authorities, not only for the sake of the health of the troops, but in the interests of munitions. Women of doubtful character were first told that if found in the neighborhood of barracks they were liable to be arrested, and when so found were immediately removed to their native places and put into the nearest cartridge filling or other shop. The double effect has been an increased output of munitions for the army and improved health for the soldier, and such scenes as one may witness in Piccadilly or other London streets at night have been effectively squelched by the strong Prussian hand, with benefit to all concerned.

Burden of Food Problem

"The lot of the German woman has been much more difficult than the lot of the woman in the allied countries, for upon her has fallen the great and increasing burden of the struggle to get enough to eat for her household. In practically all classes of Germany it has been the custom of the German to come home from his work, whether in a Government office, bank, or factory, for his midday meal, usually followed by an hour's sleep.

"For him special food is always provided, and the wife and children sit round patiently watching him eat it. He expects special food today. The soldier, of course, is getting it, and properly, but the stay-at-homes, who are all men over 45 or lads under 19, still get the best of such food as can be got. National work in Germany means war work pure and simple, and now, as we have read, the women are to be treated exactly as the men in this respect, except that they will not be sent to the front.

"The feeling of German women of the lower classes seems to rise and fall in curves, changing apparently about every three months. There was a great curve of rebellious talk, food talk, and peace talk in July. Immediately following the Somme offensive, the losses in which were not known for some weeks, but which trickled through gradually, there began the agitation for the great munition strike which was to have taken place on Aug. 1. The dimensions of this proposed rising seem to have been effectually concealed by the German censorship. I found very little about it in the English newspapers which reached Berlin, but what I did read were isolated fragments, such as the Kaiser's appeal to the people on Aug. 1, which, if it be referred to, will be found to include a special appeal to the workers. No one in England seems to know about this important movement.

"What happened was that there was a significant movement of machine guns to all points of danger, such as the Moabit district of Berlin, and Spandau, together with countless warnings against so-called 'anarchists.' The German Government went through a period of anxiety, and the story, if I had space here to tell it, is one of intense dramatic interest.

"Casual visitors to Berlin hotels knew nothing of the subject. The interned American and other neutral correspondents dare not say a word about it, and this great suppressed upheaval has passed away for a time with other incidents of the war that have been so effectively gagged."

These glimpses of social and domestic conditions show that the war has wrought great changes; and it is certain that after the war European life will have a new color and a new tone. At present the effect of the war on social life is to eliminate practically all ideas except those of waging war and solving the serious household problem of sufficient food. The war, too, has had its effect upon customs and manners. The social castes, which are alien to American ideas, have been subjected to a process of disintegration; and, though it is too much to hope that the result will be a real advance toward democracy in sentiment or social relations, the effect of the war cannot be obliterated.

But the chief impression that life under war conditions produces is one of depression. So many things that in normal times lend spice and savor to life have disappeared. A thousand social and intellectual activities have been paralyzed; and, though the prosperity that has come into the homes of many poor people is a

new sensation, it is accompanied in almost every case by bereavement, by the affliction of seeing relatives and friends the wrecks of their former selves, or by the gnawing anxieties which haunt those whose men are still unscathed on the battle fronts. The chief fact, the overwhelming fact, in the homes of the warring people is to be found in the countless names of the killed and wounded. In those cities where the authorities have decreed black nights the darkness of the streets and public places is but a symbol of the gloom in which millions of homes and centres of social life have been plunged by the war.

[French Cartoon on the Berlin Food Riots]

Hunger über Alles

—Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.

GERMAN WOMAN RIOTER: "They eat! Those Frenchwomen eat!"

Edison Foresees the Downfall of Kings

Thomas A. Edison, who predicted at the beginning that the war would last three years, has recently told an interviewer that the war means the approaching end of autocratic Kings in Europe. He said:

Only three existing European Governments will endure, I think—the British, the French, and the Swiss. Britain is as republican as our own United States. The King is its social head, but Parliament makes its laws. A new order is coming everywhere, and it will be the republican order.

The non-republican Governments will die. They will die hard, perhaps, but they will die ere long. The people of the world undoubtedly have willed that they shall be their own masters, and what the people will is sure to come to pass.

That same modern science which is making this great war so terrible, those same developments of modern thought which have been used so cleverly by sophists to bolster up the German theories, are working toward this end.

This war was planned by the masters of two nations of Europe as a means with which to thrust upon the shoulders of great masses new burdens, but it will work out to be an instrument through which the people will get rid of some of the burdens which they have borne in the past. The world, I think, now is throwing a rider which for a thousand years has bestridden it.

Hindenburg's Letter on the Food Situation in Germany

Field Marshal von Hindenburg sent the following important letter to Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg on Sept. 27, 1916:

YOUR EXCELLENCY is aware of the magnitude of the task confronting our war industries if the war is to be brought to a successful issue. The solution of the labor question is at the same time a crucial matter, not only on account of the number of the workers but more particularly because of the individual productivity realized by means of sufficient nourishment. In the most praiseworthy way the War Food Department (Kriegsernährungsamt) has devoted especial attention to the feeding of the munition workers. Nevertheless, while this department was able to exercise some slight influence in the carrying out of the necessary measures, it lacked the unanimous and devoted co-operation of the central authorities of the country and that of the subordinate and communal administrations. Among these bodies it does not seem to me to be sufficiently clearly realized that this is a matter of the existence or the nonexistence of our people and our empire.

It is impossible for our workers to continue productive unless means are found to provide them with an equitably distributed quantity of fat. It is reported to me from the Ruhr coal fields and other districts that it has never been possible to provide anything like an adequate and proper fat supply. In our victorious land (Siegerland) the provision of food of this description has for the last two months been quite insignificant.

It would appear that in the purely agricultural districts of Germany, and also among our leading agriculturists themselves, these things are not sufficiently understood. What the agriculturist is called upon to do is not only to look—as, of course, he is bound to look—after the increase of produce, but also to see that this produce, especially fat, should be freely supplied for use in amplest measure. State compulsion is an empiric means promising but little result, but I can undertake to guarantee success if there is organized among the leaders of agriculture a complete and thoroughgoing propaganda in favor of the proper feeding of our war industry workers. All State regulation of consumption must fail unless the intelligent, voluntary co-operation of all classes in town and country be forthcoming, and unless every German is fully convinced that this co-operation is just as much a patriotic duty (vaterländische Pflicht) as is the sacrifice of body and life by our troops on the battlefields at the front.

I beg your Excellency in the most emphatic manner to bring before the notice of all authorities, bodies, and administrations, communal or otherwise, the gravity of the situation, that they may by all the means available secure the plentiful feeding of our war munition workers, that the leading personalities of all parties may enroll themselves as leaders of the great home army working at plow and lathe, and so arouse the furor teutonicus among peasantry and town workmen alike. I am convinced that our official departments—with all their unsurpassed capacity and purity of motive, all their energy and good-will—have become atrophied amid all these prolonged and wearisome discussions as to what is to be done for the best. Irresolution is the result. Your Excellency will not fail to recognize the danger that lies therein. The people want to see strong and resolute officials; then they themselves will become strong also, and will uncomplainingly submit to many a measure, however inconvenient.

Germany Under Civil Conscription

An Unprecedented War Measure

THE German Reichstag on Dec. 2, 1916, adopted a compulsory civilian service bill by a vote of 235 to 19. This is the most drastic step ever undertaken by any Government to mobilize all the man power of a nation by force. It represents the apotheosis of organization in war, and confirms the absolute confidence of the German people in the invincibility of their organizing talent. The execution of this measure is in the hands of General Gröner, chief of the newly created Kriegsamt, (War Emergency Office,) who formerly was chief of the Military Railway Service.

All men of the whole of Germany from 16 to 60 are to be enrolled and controlled from one central organization called the Office of War.

General Gröner thus describes the organization:

"The new War Office represents Germany as a colossal firm which includes all production of every kind, and is indifferent to the kind of coat, civil or military, which its employes wear. The new measures are intended to mobilize all effective labor, whereas up to the present we have only mobilized the army and industry. The whole war is becoming more and more a question of labor, and in order to give the army a firm basis for its operations the domestic army must also be mobilized. All the labor, women's as well as men's, must be extracted from the population, so far as possible voluntarily. But if voluntary enlistment does not suffice we shall not be able to avoid the introduction of compulsion."

Text of the New Law

The measure is called the Patriotic Auxiliary Service law, and it contains four clauses, as follows:

1. Every male German, from the completion of his seventeenth to the completion of his sixtieth year, is, in so far as he has not been summoned to service with the armed forces, liable to Patriotic Auxiliary Service during the period of the war.

2. Patriotic Auxiliary Service consists, apart from service in Government offices and official institutions, in particular in service in war industry, in agriculture, in the nursing of the sick, and in organizations of every kind of an economic character connected with the war, as well as in other undertakings which are immediately or indirectly of importance for purposes of the conduct of the war or the provision of the requirements of the people.

The control of the Patriotic Auxiliary Service belongs to the War Office (Kriegsamt) set up in the Prussian Ministry of War.

3. The Federal Council issues the provisions required for the carrying out of this law. The Federal Council can make contraventions of the law punishable by imprisonment for not more than one year and by fines to the amount of not more than $2,500 or by one of these penalties or by arrest.

4. The law enters into force on the day of its proclamation. The Federal Council decides the date at which it ceases to be in force.

A series of six "rules" appended to the law provides for the complex system under which the law is to be administered. These rules place the power fully in military hands and are so worded as to make it impossible for the Reichstag to tamper with them.

Provision for Appeals

Appeals will go before a central committee, set up by the War Office and consisting of two officers of the War Office, one of whom will preside; two officials nominated by the Imperial Government, and one official nominated by the State concerned in the case. Appeals may be made by employers, by employed, or by the President of the local committee.

It is provided that people who come under the law can be called up at any time. "As a rule," there will, in the first place, be a call for volunteers. If this call is not answered "in sufficient measure," a written call will be issued by a committee consisting of an officer as

President and with a casting vote, a senior official, a representative of employers and a representative of employed. Every man who receives a written call must seek work in one of the various categories of work designated in the bill. If he does not actually enter upon such work within a fortnight of receiving the written call, he will be allotted work by the committee last mentioned.

Appeals against the findings of these committees can be made to the military authority of the district, but the laying of an appeal will not justify any postponement of the obligation to begin work. "Respect is to be paid as far as possible to the age, family circumstances, place of residence, health, and previous occupation of the man liable for service."

Another clause provides that nobody shall employ a workman who is engaged, or who has during the preceding fortnight been engaged, in any of the specified kinds of "Patriotic Auxiliary Service," unless the man produces a certificate that he has left his work with the consent of his employer. Provision is made against unjust refusal on the part of employers to grant such certificates.

An Official Explanation

An official explanatory statement appended to the law calls attention to the importance of Clause 3 of the law, which leaves all provisions for carrying out the measure to the Federal Council:

Only the Federal Council can issue the necessary regulations, because the endlessly manifold and constantly changing conditions to which the bill must apply can be met only by movable regulations, easily capable of alteration, and not by rigid statutory prescription.

As regards the exclusion of women, the explanatory statement says:

It seems possible to do without the establishment of an equal compulsion for women, because it is considered that it will be possible, without a special stimulus, to provide in abundant measure the labor of German women which has proved itself so well in the war.

The explanatory statement also contains the following general observations of interest:

Notwithstanding all the successes already won, the German people must still hold firm against the storm of a world of enemies, relying singly and alone upon its own strength and the support of its allies. In order to make victory sure, it is desirable to place the strength of the whole people at the service of the Fatherland. * * *

The home army can still be increased considerably, and hitherto war work has lacked the rigid uniformity and regulation which can alone raise achievement to the maximum, and which alone can guarantee complete success. The object of the establishment, by the Emperor's Cabinet Order of Nov. 1, of the War Office is to embrace the whole population which has not been drawn into army service, and to make appropriate use of this population for the great purpose of defending the Fatherland. * * *

He who is capable of any work has in this great and grievous time no further right to be idle. Thus far every man who is not called to the colors is free to choose whether, to what extent, and in what way, he shall employ his power of work, in so far as he is not bound by official obligations or contracts. This must henceforward no longer be the case to the same extent in the people's war which we are fighting. At home as well as in the field every German man must give his whole strength at the point where the Fatherland needs it most and at the point where, according to his physical and intellectual qualifications, he can render the Fatherland the best service. In deciding what work can be continued at all during the period of the war and what work shall be done by individual persons the only decisive consideration must be whether and to what extent a man's work is of use for the purposes of the conduct of the war and of the provision for the needs of the people, which is closely connected with the conduct of the war.

In such fashion it will be possible to increase, in accordance with requirements, the capacity of the branches of business and the establishments which are peculiarly important for the conduct of the war and for war economy, and yet at the same time to free for military service a larger number of suitable persons. Both at home and in the occupied territories it will be possible at many points to substitute men liable for auxiliary service for men liable for military service.

As in service with the army, so in this whole proceeding, no respect must be paid to social distinctions. For the service of the Fatherland, of whatever kind it may be, there can be only citizens, not ranks and classes.

When such an appeal is made for general participation in the service for the conduct of the war, it may be expected that wide circles of the people will not desire to be backward in love of country and cheerful sacrifice, as compared with those who voluntarily flocked to the colors immediately after the outbreak of war. Beyond doubt many of them at present lack only a suitable opportunity to perform voluntary auxiliary service. If this home service is regulated in a determined and

appropriate fashion, assuredly so many people will gladly take their place in the ranks that compulsion, although it is impossible to do without it as a last resource, will be necessary only in comparatively rare cases.

The provision in the bill that the Federal Council must be left to decide how long it shall remain in force is explained by the remark that "it is impossible to judge the duration of the war, for which, at longest, the bill has a meaning."

A Complex Organization

Large Berlin hotels are being taken over for offices of various departments. General von Gröner has two chiefs of staff, one a military chief, who will control such matters as concern the freeing of men for actual service with the colors and also urgent and immediate requirements of strictly military character. Equal in rank with him is the "technical chief of staff." The latter is not an officer, but a German industrial magnate—namely, Dr. Kurt Sorge, Director of the Gruson works at Magdeburg. Under Dr. Sorge come subordinate groups dealing with different departments, including mines, iron and steel works, chemical works, powder factories, agriculture, and labor.

The actual munitions department, which comes under the military section, has been given a new chief in General Coupette. His office is known as "Wumba," from the first letters of its full official title, Waffen-und-Munitions-Beschaffungsamt. Parallel with "Wumba" is the War Labor and Labor Substitute Department under Colonel Marquardt, hitherto Chief of the General Staff of one of the western armies.

The War Labor Department in turn includes two departments—namely, labor and substitutes. A further subsection is the Raw Material Department, with a division for import and export, under Lieut. Col. Häusler, and another division for popular economic questions under Colonel Wilke. The subsections are already working, dealing with a number of individual features, such as industries, various branches of agriculture, &c.

This Central Office for War will have provincial offices in various industrial districts, and will have representatives attached to every army staff in the field, and also a large number of travelers. There will also be representatives attached to the staff of every inland army corps district. There will be special provincial branches of the Office for War at Düsseldorf and at Metz, in view of the importance of the industrial provinces of the Rhineland, Westphalia and Alsace-Lorraine.

The travelers will be intrusted with the examination of such questions as to whether, in this factory or in that, production can be increased or better methods employed. They will include both practical experts and professional students. Thus students of the technical high schools will be employed as travelers, as subdirectors in industrial factories, and in other ways for which their studies have specially qualified them. By arrangement with the Ministry of Education and the universities this practical experience will be counted as student work and will qualify for routine public examinations, degrees, &c.

Under the Kriegsamt is also a department for feeding the population engaged on war work. It appears that Germany's Food Dictator, Herr von Batocki, will in future have his functions restricted to that of apportioning among old and infirm, young children, and non-working mothers so much of Germany's food supplies as happen to be left over when the needs of the working population have been satisfied.

General Groener's Explanation

In explaining more in detail the operation of the measure General Gröner addressed the Reichstag on Nov. 30, laying stress on the assertion that the law would be executed with common sense. It was far from the Kriegsamt's purpose to use irrational, much less violent, means in execution of the law, he said. Germany needed men, who gladly entered the nation's service; men who must be tied down were of no use. It was desired to cover the whole empire's industry with a tremendous network so that all its efforts might be turned into one channel leading to a victorious end of the war.

Much had been said about closing up industrial establishments of a certain

kind, he continued. The people seemed to think that after Dec. 1 some such orders would be issued as "You shut up your place; you close down your factory." That was ridiculous. The speaker hoped that proprietors of such establishments would go themselves to the Kriegsamt to see how they could be usefully employed in the great war machinery behind the lines. No cast-iron rules could be laid down; every case would be treated on its own merits. The one-man shop certainly would be spared wherever possible.

Again, the Kriegsamt did not dream of issuing such orders as "So many shoemakers will leave Pirmasens today and proceed to Winkeltown," or "So many textile workers will leave Plauen for Winkeltown." Such severe measures would only come as an ultimate step. The Kriegsamt would begin by taking work to laborers. Only where question of machines made this impossible would it transplant the necessary laborers, and then the State would see that their families lacked nothing.

Fearful stories had been told also of intended recruiting for civil service, but the Reichstag might rest assured that the Kriegsamt did not dream of taking the artist from the theatre to place him in the foundry, where the only thing he could do was to amuse other workers. Nor would it ask professors, no matter how learned, to bore guns or make ordnance bags. Not even a registry of civil service recruits would be kept, because it prevented too many men from doing work more profitable to the nation.

One of the principal purposes of the Kriegsamt, as outlined by General Gröner, would be to replace as far as possible soldiers, or men who might be soldiers, now employed behind the lines and throughout the country, with men of the civil service. Many people were shuddering at what they considered a violent incision into the nation's economic organism, but it was just this that enabled Germany to conduct the war with such splendid success. He said he could assure the Reichstag that no violent disturbances were necessary, but of course sacrifices would have to be made here and there. He did not know what the future might bring or what new sinister plans the enemy might lay to defame Germany in the world; therefore this thing must be done on gigantic lines.

He declared that it was intended to increase material efforts, increase resources of men, arms, and ammunition, and strengthen the moral power of the German people and their will to win. Such an organization would have the effect of a splendid tonic on the brave men in the trenches when they realized that the people at home were uniting with them in their efforts to win "a glorious peace."

German Organization at the Beginning of the War

DR. WALTER RATHENAU, who at the beginning of the war was appointed to superintend the supplying of the War Office with raw materials, has issued a brochure describing the measures he took to carry out this purpose. It throws a further light on German efficiency methods. Dr. Rathenau says:

On Aug. 4, 1914, when England declared war, the terrible event which has never happened before occurred, and our country became a beleaguered fortress. Shut in by land and by sea, it was now thrown on its own resources, and war lay before us immeasurable in time and space, in danger and sacrifice. Three days after the declaration of war I could not bear the uncertainty of the position any longer, and I announced myself at the War Office, where Colonel Scheuch received me in a friendly manner. I told him that our country was only provided with the necessary material of war for a limited number of months. He agreed as to my calculation of the duration of the war, and so I put this question to him: "What is being done, what can be done, to prevent a shortage of supplies?"

Dr. Rathenau then went to see the Minister of War, von Falkenhayn, and

it was decided to found a war organization for supplies. He was given a Colonel to assist him, with a secretary, and the bureau started in four small rooms. Finally he got his friend, Professor Klingenberg, the head of the greatest electrical company in Berlin, and another business man, von Moellendorff, to assist in the work:

The first question which met us was a question of discovery. We had to know for how many months the necessary supplies would last. On this hung every measure that we took. The reports of various industries were contradictory to the extent of 10 per cent. in most cases. I was told that I could get the statistics in six months. But I had to get them in a fortnight. * * * A daring conception, a hypothesis was necessary, and this plan succeeded. It was assumed that the average output of German industry would be in the same proportion as in any given large group of firms. The War Office had 900 to 1,000 contractors. If we sent around inquiries to these firms and gathered what their power of production was in their various industries, we should be able to arrive at with some probability the total capacity of the country. It was a question of big figures, and the experiment succeeded. In a fortnight light began to come, and in three weeks we had accurate information. In a few materials the supply was more than sufficient for the war demands at that time, which have since been greatly exceeded. But in the great majority of instances it was much less.

Dr. Rathenau then describes the steps which he took to meet the difficulty:

There were four possible methods to establish industry on a firm basis and to guarantee our capacity for defense. In the first place, all raw stuff in the country had to be put into a position that could be commandeered, and voluntary courses and private desires could no longer be consulted. Every material and every half-manufactured product had to be disposed of in such a way that nothing might be devoted to luxury or its relative needs. The flow of things had to be forcibly restricted, so that they were automatically diverted to those final products and means of manufacture which the army needed. That was the first and most difficult task.

Secondly. [Here the censor has made a complete cut.]

The third source of supply which offered itself to us was manufactures. We had to see that everything that was produced in the country was necessary and essential. We had also to see that new methods of production were discovered and developed where former technical means were insufficient.

And now for the fourth plan. We had to find a substitute for stuff that was in excessive demand in other and more easily made things. Where it was prescribed that this or that object had to be made out of copper or aluminium, it could be made out of something else. Something different had to be found, and old-fashioned methods of manufacture had to be put on a new basis.

When the old methods became troublesome, owing to the need of material, prejudices had to be broken down, and products had to be made, which was more easily done in view of our means of supply.

These were the methods which came under survey. They were not the solutions of the difficulties, but they showed the way, possible means of solution, and the hope of attaining our ends.

But on the other hand were the obstacles which we could not foresee. We knew that this war industry had to be newly created; we knew that in some new way or other its material would have to be distributed and held in readiness. How could that be done? A new conception was needed of the war industries. Today that is an affair which is now regarded as quite ancient history. Many of these war industries are in every one's mouth. They are known to be well established.

But the paradox of their creation seemed so great that even in our narrow circle, which so clearly thought out the measures to be taken, there was a doubt about the possibility of seeing our plans through. Even the industrials did not give an absolutely warm welcome to the new raw stuffs companies. The metal industries were some of them willing enough. But they asked, indeed, "What use is a company which is nobody's servant; what shall we do with it? We have so far looked after our business, and can do it in the future." Yet they fell into line, partly to please me, and also, perhaps, because, as they said, nothing was lost by doing so.

Is was a very different story with the chemical industry. It possesses great captains of industry from the Rhineland, very independent men who carry great responsibilities, chiefs of countless battalions of workmen. There was nothing very uncanny about the new departure to them. An influential gentleman went around the Rhineland with a warning of the new experiment. Finally there was a great meeting, and when the masters realized that an unlimited amount of saltpetre could no longer be given to them, there was a scene which reminded one of the Ball House in Paris in the year 1789.

In spite of that, matters were arranged, and today we are as deeply grateful to the chemical industry for its co-operation as for its output. If this admirable German industry found it difficult to accommodate itself to the first measures which had to be taken, it has perhaps achieved the highest place among our war industries for boldness, initiative, and inventive power.

Nearly every week produced new arrangements. We began with metals, and after that

came chemicals, jute, wool, worsted goods, India rubber, cotton, leather, skins, flax, linen, and horsehair. These industries were arranged partly on the basis of limited companies, partly on the basis of discount companies, (Abrechnungstellen.)

All these proceedings required weeks of preparation, agreement in the industries, understandings about conditions of work, and the creation of new powers, directors, buyers, and warehouses. Our aim was to see that the whole responsible strength of an industry was used for more and more economical production.

Today the official personnel of the companies, subsidiary concerns, and branch organizations of the parent companies numbers thousands, and their turn-over is reckoned by hundreds of millions. This organization has certainly served Germany well.

French and British Food Economy Measures

BOTH France and Great Britain have adopted drastic measures to conserve the food supply. Late in November the French Council of Ministers decided to create an Under Secretaryship of State for Civil and Military Food Supplies, which will be centralized in the hands of M. Joseph Thierry. The department is to be attached to the Presidency of the Council.

The measures with a view to restricting and economizing food and other supplies include:

The rationing of motor spirit.

No fresh pastry.

No fancy bread.

No refined sugar.

Butchers and slaughter houses to be closed one or two days a week.

The Minister of Finance, the Budget Committee, and the Fiscal Legislation Committee are agreed upon the ways and means of the proposed fresh taxation, which is estimated to produce an additional revenue of $120,000,000:

Mining dues and the tax on horses, carriages, billiards, clubs, and gamekeepers are to be doubled.

There is to be a State dog tax.

The general income tax from 1917 is to be raised from 2 to 5 per cent., with an exemption limit of $600 instead of $1,000.

An increase in the wine, cider, beer, and tobacco duties.

Letter postage is to be 3 cents instead of 2 cents.

There is to be a home consumption tax on coffee, cocoa, tea, spices, patent medicines, and mineral waters.

A war tax of $2.50, plus the percentage of income tax, on all non-mobilized men irrespective of age.

Great Britain has appointed a Food Controller, Baron Devonport, under the provisions of the new law. The Board of Trade and Food Controller are given power:

(1) For a return of milk contracts, sales, purchases, and prices, the object being to limit the increase in the cost of milk.

(2) For a return of stocks of potatoes exceeding twenty tons and of the purchasers of potatoes where the sales exceed twenty tons.

(a) To proceed against any person who wastes or unnecessarily destroys any article of food.

(b) To prescribe the purposes for which an article of food may or may not be used. (For instance, whole milk is not to be given to pigs.)

(c) To prevent the milling of pure white flour from which some of the nutritive properties of the wheat have been abstracted, and to require millers to produce only a " straight grade " flour, which will raise the yield by about 8½ per cent.

(d) To provide for the proper distribution of food—by the use of food tickets, should this become necessary.

(e) To prevent the " cornering " of articles of food.

(f) To fix maximum prices. (It is not intended to fix prices generally, but it may be done in regard to milk and other articles.)

(g) To take over the whole of the wheat crops should the Government so decide.

(h) To secure returns of stocks of commodities held by individuals of contracts entered into for the sale and purchase of such commodities and of the cost of production.

The consumption of sugar has been reduced, its use in certain forms of confectionery is forbidden. These new measures were taken in consequence of the rapid increase in food prices, which rose 5 per cent. in the month of November and averaged 27 per cent. above the prevailing prices in November, 1915, and over 75 per cent. above the average in July, 1914.

Economy in food has become the order of the day all over England. In the dining rooms of the House of Commons pressed nut food is substituted for meats, and vegetable luncheons are served. A

sample vegetarian dinner at 62 cents is as follows:

Cream of Celery.
Mock Sole.
Curry Nuttoria or Mock Veal Cutlets and Stuffing.
Brussel Sprouts or Cabbage. Potatoes.
Hot Apple and Cranberry Tart or Cold Figs and Rice.
Bread, Cheddar or Cheshire Cheese, One Pat of Butter.

The nut dishes are made from a large assortment of different kinds of nuts, including Barcelona, cashew, cocoanut, chestnut, hazelnut, pecan nut, (from Texas,) pistachios, peanuts, and pine kernels.

The price of milk at retail is limited to 4 cents excess over the pre-war prices. All the London hotels have abandoned the Christmas and New Year's dinner functions.

Cap'n Storm-Along

ALFRED NOYES IN LONDON CHRONICLE

Mr. Noyes, foremost of living English poets, has written a series of sea songs inspired by the war. In this one he glorifies the British trawlers, former fishing boats that now fish for German submarines.

They are buffeting out in the bitter gray weather:
Blow the man down, bullies, blow the man down!
Sea-lark singing to Golden Feather,
And burly blue waters all swelling aroun'.
There's Thunderstone butting ahead as they wallow,
With death in the mesh of their deep-sea trawl.
There's Night-hawk swooping by wild Sea-swallow,
And old Cap'n Storm-along leading 'em all.

Bashing the seas to a welter of white,
Look at the fleet that he leads to the fight.
O, they're dancing like witches to open the ball;
And old Cap'n Storm-along's lord of 'em all.

Now where have you seen such a bully old sailor?
His eyes are as blue as the scarf at his throat;
And he rolls on the bridge of his rusty black whaler
In yellow sou'wester and oilskin coat.
In trawler and drifter, in dinghy and dory,
Wherever he signals, they leap to his call.
They batter the seas to a lather of glory,
With old Cap'n Storm-along leading 'em all.

You'll find he's from Devon, the sailor I mean.
Look at his whaler now, shipping it green.
O Fritz and his "U-boat" must crab it and crawl,
When old Cap'n Storm-along sails to the ball.

Ay, there is the skipper that knows how to scare 'em,
Blow the man down, bullies, blow the man down!
Look at the sea-wives he keeps in his harem,
Wicked young merry-maids, buxom and brown.
There's Peggy, the sea-witch, and Gipsy, so lissom,
All dancing like ducks in the teeth of the squall,
With a bright eye for Huns, and a Hotchkiss to kiss 'em;
For old Cap'n Storm-along's lord of 'em all.

Look at him, battering darkness to light.
Look at the fleet that he leads to the fight.
O, hearts that are mighty, in ships that are small,
Your old Cap'n Storm-along's king of us all.

The Story of the Möwe's Exploits

Told by an Officer of the German Raider

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Herewith is presented the first full story of the deeds of the Möwe, the famous German sea raider which stole into the Atlantic last January and captured fifteen merchant ships of the Allies. One of these vessels, the Appam, was sent to Norfolk, Va., in charge of Lieutenant Berg and a German prize crew; it was later declared by an American court to be the property of its British owners, though it remains at present in American waters pending an appeal to the Supreme Court. The dramatic account of the Möwe's operations given below is from the log of an officer of the German sea raider.

ROUGH weather and complete darkness enabled the Möwe, in command of Count Dohna-Schlodien, to leave port and reach the North Sea undiscovered. Heavy seas tossed the ship as if she were a nutshell. Many of the crew, old sailors, paid tribute to Neptune. The Möwe's disguise was a clever piece of work. None of the British ships which we passed while breaking through the patrol ever thought of hailing us, believing, of course, that we were on our way to some English port.

COUNT DOHNA-SCHLODIEN
Captain of the Moewe

It certainly required not a little of nerve to lay mines almost under the noses of the British warships, but favorable, stormy weather with low visibility aided the work, which we carried on all night with feverish haste, every man working to the end of his strength. High seas continually washed over the ship, and made our task more difficult. Below decks everything that had not been fastened securely was smashed to pieces, and in the crew's quarters the water was standing a foot deep. It seemed as if Neptune was in his worst rage and bent on our destruction. Finally, the weather became milder and we could lay the second and third cordon of mines in still better time. With the quiet sea and excellent weather showing, the danger of being discovered was naturally much greater, but John Bull thought the German rats safely bottled up—never dreaming they would dare to come out to disturb his leisure.

Those first were our worst hours. Everywhere we could see lights of the British patrol ships. The searchlight of one of them even played on the Möwe for some time. Our commander then had the deck cleared for action, thinking that now the first encounter with the enemy was on hand. But, with true British carelessness, they never thought of coming nearer and investigating the certainly suspicious craft. We went ahead sowing the sea with mines full of sudden death and hell for the ships that stepped on these snakes of the deep. The calmness of Count Dohna-Schlodien had taken possession of every one of us on board. And our work went on with smooth regularity until the last mine, at the end of the third night in the Channel, went overboard with three "Hurrahs."

Count Dohna-Schlodien assembled officers and crew amidships to tell them that his further orders included a cruiser warfare. He intended to search the steamer lanes in the Atlantic and go as far as South America in order to do as much damage as possible to British shipping, and then return to port at the beginning of March. This announcement was greeted with great enthusiasm by all on

board. The following day, Jan. 11, we discovered at some distance signs of the first ship prey, and we quickly were in pursuit. In the meantime another steamer was sighted, which laid a course toward us. However, our Captain managed to come between both of them, and soon the German flag of war as well as the signal "Stop" went up on our mast. To make sure, a shot was fired across the bow of both steamers.

We had come so close we could observe the great confusion that prevailed on both ships. They could not have dreamed of being halted so near their destination by a warship of the German Navy, all of which the British claimed they had driven off the sea. In wild haste lifeboats were swung out, and every member of the crew went after his belongings. The second ship was told to stand by and hold its crew on board while we were making preparations to sink the first steamer—the Farrington, 3,146 tons, hailing from Sunderland. The crew had taken to the boats in complete disorder, but performed the task without accident, except one sailor receiving a fracture of the leg. Their boats were alongside us when our prize crew left to search the Farrington before sinking her. The cargo, consisting largely of copper, was of great value. A few good shots then sent the steamer to the bottom.

A thick fog had come up in the meantime and our second prize had taken advantage of this to make an attempt to escape. The Captain must have thought his chances good for a clean getaway in the thickening weather, because we still had some of our boats out, but he had not figured on the skill of German sailors. In a remarkably short time we had all our boats on board and the chase began.

Our first shot, coming very close to the steamer, did not disturb the Captain. But a second shot, from a distance of about 13,000 meters, went over the bridge and soon brought him to his senses. After half an hour we had reached the steamer and a prize crew went aboard. It was the Corbridge, 3,687 tons, with a cargo of Cardiff coal from Barry on the way to Rosario. It was the Corbridge's maiden voyage, and this induced our commander not to sink our fine catch—also we would need a part of the coal aboard later on for ourselves. The crew of the steamer was taken over, and she was manned by some of our men with orders to meet the Möwe on a certain day at a fixed place.

Great enthusiasm stirred us all that very evening by the wireless message that the British dreadnought King Edward VII. had struck one of the mines laid by the Möwe and was blown up.

Twenty-four hours of rest gave us an opportunity to overhaul the Möwe thoroughly. The very next day (Jan. 13) we sighted the British steamer Dromonby, in the service of the Royal British Navy, known as No. 526, and on her way from Cardiff to St. Vincent with 5,000 tons of coal. Closing in on her was difficult, and at one time a collision was narrowly averted. But a well-aimed shot and a sharp watch of the manoeuvres of the enemy prevented an accident. The steamer was blown up and sank within two hours.

We had hardly finished this prize when another came in sight. Full speed ahead, we reached her at 3 o'clock that afternoon, but the usual warning had to be given before she stopped and heaved to. It was the Author, with a cargo of 5,000 tons of merchandise from London to Natal. In her cargo we picked out many a good thing for ourselves, a few sheep and large quantities of rice, the latter a welcome addition to the menu of the natives of India we had as prisoners on board. Seven full-bred horses had to be shot, to our deep regret, and as little use we could find for a number of brand-new automobiles on board. This steamer was blown up, but before she sank and we had got away we came into a very dangerous position.

The wind had shifted and the wreck of the steamer was drifting toward us, coming closer every minute. A number of boats loaded with members of the crew and quantities of the seized cargo were still out and prevented our commander from starting the Möwe's engines. These few minutes—hours they seemed to us—would have ended our cruise right

there had it not been for the skill of Count Dohna-Schlodien, who manoeuvred the Möwe out of the course of this dangerous wreck when the steamer had come within a few meters of us. The wreck thus drifted by us and sank while we were still taking natives of India on board. Stern first she disappeared beneath the waves. Night lifebelts of the Author sent their phosphorescent light about as they touched the water, giving a brilliant exhibition of fireworks, which lit up the sky, but they almost scared away a third steamer that had come up in the meantime. Count Dohna went closer to the field of wreckage, had boats lowered again, and the fire was extinguished.

Now the moon had risen, showing the way to the third steamer, which promptly and with supreme confidence signaled her British nationality. We had been accustomed to observe astonished expressions on the faces of the men on every steamer we had captured so far, but the crew of the Trader, for that was the name of our latest victim, seemed to have the surprise of their lives when they learned of our heavy armament. This steamer, of 3,608 tons, with a cargo of sugar of 5,000 tons, was also blown up. While the moon was shining she disappeared like the rest. It was a beautiful sight. She also sank stern first, but capsized in her last moments in a sort of death writhing. The number of prisoners on board the Möwe had now reached more than a hundred, and besides them we had a zoo of monkeys, dogs, cats, and chickens.

The southern course we were traveling brought better weather every day. The nights were cool and refreshing, giving us relief from the heat of the day.

Twenty-four hours were spent establishing quarters for the prisoners below decks, and we had hardly finished this work when the next steamer appeared on the horizon. It was Jan. 15 when we encountered the Ariadne, 3,035 tons, from Rosario to Nantes with a cargo of grain. We had quickly come nearer and stopped her in the usual way. Several well-aimed shots fired into her hull beneath the water line, after the crew had safely got away, finished her. After this work breakfast was greatly enjoyed, but only to be interrupted by the command, "All hands on deck!" when a large steamer was sighted several miles away.

We soon found out that unusual luck had come across our course. This steamer was of large size and great value. She carried wireless, which made it still more difficult to go near her without disclosing our identity. Her feelers were working. Count Dohna took great care not to let this fine prize slip by him. We all knew that the Appam, with her greater speed, could easily have escaped us. But our commander managed to get so close that she had nothing to do but to take notice of our signals.

Again the German flag of war and the signal "Stop" went up; also the order to cut off her wireless station. But, on board of the steamer, our signals did not seem to be heeded until the first shot was fired across the bow of the Appam. Then the Captain apparently understood what we meant. He slowed up, but did not stop altogether. We manoeuvred to follow in the course of the Appam, and soon had her stern before us. There we discovered a gun on her deck and British soldiers in the act of making preparations to fire on us. Well-aimed rifle shots from the Möwe drove the soldiers from their post and a panic broke loose on the Appam.

Men, women, and children were in wild confusion. We saw that the Appam had a large number of passengers on board, who were putting on lifebelts and preparing to leap into boats or into the sea until the arrival of our prize crew. Their assurances that life and personal property would, of course, be spared calmed them.

We had captured an ocean liner of 7,781 tons on the way from Duala to Liverpool with oil, rubber, and cocoa. Among those on board were four British officers and thirty men of the Royal British Navy, who were taken prisoners and brought to the Möwe.

To our greatest pleasure, we discovered twenty Germans, among them three women. Their surprise was great

when we released them from their cabins. With tears rolling down their cheeks, they thanked us and could not understand that their countrymen had come to the rescue in the middle of the ocean when they had given up all hope of seeing the Fatherland for some years to come. The Germans were taken over to the Möwe and given a great ovation by her crew. Count Dohna welcomed them in warm words, and all joined in three cheers for the Kaiser and for Germany. It was a remarkable and touching scene to observe the joy of these liberated Germans.

While searching the ship our prize crew had discovered boxes of gold which represented a value of about one million marks.

The Möwe was now filled to her capacity with prisoners, and we had to find a way to make room for others. The Appam solved this problem. A crew of our men went aboard to stay until we had decided what the fate of the Appam would be. We knew that warships would be near such a valuable steamer, and we did not intend to jeopardize the safety of the Möwe and her fine prize. During the night the gold was taken aboard the Möwe, also the ammunition and the gun of the Appam. Our countrymen we had to send back to the Appam because we could not guarantee their safety on our future cruise. Two of them, however, insisted on staying aboard the Möwe and joining our crew.

On the 16th of January we were making preparations to put all of our prisoners on board of the Appam when another steamer came in sight.

A fast ship it was, equipped with wireless. We immediately started in pursuit and had reached her at sunset. With Morse signals we asked: "What ship are you?" The Captain sent back the same question, but did not obey our order to stop. To prevent her escape the Möwe crossed the course of the ship and again signaled the Captain to stop, adding this time the signal, "Here German cruiser." In the meantime both ships were dashing ahead in a parallel direction. We could observe that the ship was trying her best to get out of our dangerous company, although her Captain sent us the signal: "I have stopped."

At the same time it was noticed that the wireless of the ship was working at a great rate. We were now near the Canary Islands and Madeira. Wireless calls would have warned the British, and no doubt all the ships at Dakar have been armed. When another shot of warning did not bring the Captain to reason a shrapnel hit the ship's wireless station, silencing it.

The Clan MacTavish—as we later found out the ship was named—had cleared her afterdeck for action and was aiming a heavy gunfire at us, of course, without any result. This was sufficient for Count Dohna to proceed again parallel to the steamer and rake her, not caring now where our shots landed. Every salvo hit its mark. Soon we heard explosions on board and the ship was in a helpless position. Then her Captain Morsed, "We stop," at the same time ceasing fire. The Möwe's guns were also silenced, and our prize crew went aboard the ship. The men were taken off her, and a Captain and two sailors of the British Navy, who were in civilian clothes, added to the number of our prisoners of war.

The value of this prize was more than eleven million marks because the cargo consisted of skins, cotton, and meat. The steamer had been on the way from Sydney to London. Here in the middle of the ocean her trip was unexpectedly halted. At 9 o'clock that evening the Clan MacTavish, 4,693 tons, was under the Atlantic. Of the seventy natives of India on board the ship, some had been killed by gunfire, to our regret, and four others died shortly afterward. The night was quiet, and the natives buried their countrymen in the ocean. We had now more than five hundred people on board, and it was high time to transfer them to the Appam.

On Jan. 17 this was accomplished in a short time, and Lieutenant Berg received the order to bring the Appam to Newport News as a German prize of war, which he accomplished so well.

The Möwe then went in search of a new field of operations, taking a south-

ALL THAT WAS LEFT OF THE "WOODS OF CHAULNES" AFTER THE BATTLE

A View of the Beautiful Woods Near Chaulnes, on the Somme Front, as They Looked by the Time the French Artillery Had Driven Out the Germans.

(Photo Press Illustrating Co.)

LIBRARY

FRENCH VILLAGE OF BOVENT AFTER THE STORM OF HIGH EXPLOSIVES

This Quiet Hamlet on the Somme Was Strongly Fortified by the Germans and Was Captured Only After Extraordinary Bombardment.

(Photo Press Publishing Co.)

easterly course. This brought us out of reach of the German wireless, and we were now left to our fate. It may be remembered that the Corbridge, after her capture, had been manned by our prize crew on Jan. 11 and told to meet us on Jan. 30 at a fixed position. At 11 o'clock that morning she arrived and we had her follow us at a distance to take coal from her when the opportunity should offer.

By this time our cruise on the ocean had become more and more hazardous. From all sides warships of the enemy were closing in on us, vainly trying to locate our position. Jan. 23 brought a fine three-masted schooner, the Edinburgh of Glasgow, 1,437 tons, in sight. She had been on her way from India for over four months and was waiting in the Atlantic for better weather conditions. She didn't get them from us. Before the crew of the schooner recognized our flag of war they were signaling greetings over to us, because they had not passed a ship so near them for several months. And much greater was their surprise when told that they would be made prisoners. But the men did not seem to mind this at all. Their food had been so bad for many weeks that a change was readily welcomed. The Edinburgh was on her way from Rangoon to London with 2,000 tons of rice flour, of which we took over large quantities. The sinking of the schooner was a great spectacle. Dynamite, fastened on bags of flour, caused a high barb of fire to shoot out of her deck. The moon was sending its rays on the sinking ship—silence was all around us—and quietly the crew of the schooner watched their ship go to the bottom.

We were now nearing the day which we intended to celebrate as our first military holiday—the birthday of the Kaiser. Special arrangements were made for the feast, and an exceptional treat was promised in coffee, cakes, and cigars. Beer we had not tasted for a long time. Until this day our prisoners had always seen us in our fighting clothes. They had the surprise of their lives when, on the morning of the Kaiser's birthday, we assembled on deck in full parade uniform, not forgetting our white gloves.

In a short and enthusiastic address Count Dohna remarked that we were the only ship flying the German flag on the ocean, and that we had all reason to do honor to this flag and our German Fatherland by more heroic deeds, whatever the sacrifices might be. Three cheers for the Kaiser ended the ceremony.

On that afternoon the Corbridge came nearer, and Count Dohna decided to give all his men a few hours of rest and anchor at some favorable spot. This was done despite the dangers that were constantly hovering about us. The Corbridge was only a few hundred meters away. Coaling in the middle of the ocean under conditions not at all favorable was a task which took forty-eight hours. We had to cut loose from the Corbridge at times when the swell became too high. At last we had our bunkers filled and had also taken over what provisions still remained on the Corbridge. The ship was then blown up and sank in a short time.

The Möwe, in a cleverly designed new disguise, again laid her course for the steamer lanes, but the first prey was not sighted for several days. It was a Belgian ship, the Luxembourg, 4,322 tons, with a cargo of coal on her way to La Plata.

Our ship's register showed that we had now sent ten vessels to the bottom. The next few days were rather quiet for us. We feared that British cruisers had warned all trading vessels of our presence and were close on our heels. Dynamite and torpedoes were always in readiness. It was the determination of every one on board to defend our ship to the last man, and rather to blow it up and sink with her than have her captured by the enemy.

Not before Feb. 6 did we sight the next steamer, which was the Flamenco, of 4,629 tons, a fine ship. Her Captain tried to call for help, but a shrapnel near the bridge changed his mind, and he was seen standing with raised hands, indicating his willingness to surrender. While the prize crew was taking to the boat, the Flamenco, through some unknown circumstances, came into a dangerous position, and had almost rammed the Möwe.

Only the presence of mind and quickness of our commander averted the danger.

The great number of people on board the Möwe caused us some inconvenience. Fresh water began to run short, but our crew did with less in order to let the prisoners have their full measure. Again our engine rooms were completely overhauled and everything put in fine order to get the best possible speed out of our ship. This work was hardly finished when the next steamer appeared on the horizon. As soon as we came nearer, the Captain, with true British impudence, asked our name without disclosing his identity. Great excitement seemed to prevail on board. Some of the crew took to their boats and tried to escape in them. This was a dangerous undertaking in the middle of the ocean. When our prize crew went aboard they found only the Captain and the first engineer, the rest of the ship's company having left them to their fate. The Captain was a fine old gentleman. We found that it was the steamer Westburn of 3,300 tons. Our prize crew manned the ship, having orders to follow in our course. At the same time we sighted another steamer, which we chased all night, to be hailed in the morning as the Horace, 3,335 tons, with a valuable cargo of oil, cotton, alcohol, and benzine from Buenos Aires to Liverpool.

The Westburn reached us within a few hours, and Count Dohna decided to transfer all our prisoners to her. This was interesting work and lasted for some time. That afternoon the Westburn, with a few men of our crew and under the command of Lieutenant Badewitz, was directed to take a course toward Santa Cruz on Teneriffe. The Horace was blown up.

When the Westburn was out of sight we again laid a course toward the coast of Africa, and met a large liner filled with passengers. Count Dohna did not think it advisable to sink this ship, because of the difficulty of taking so large a number of passengers on board, which would have filled the Möwe above her capacity. And to send these passengers away in another steamer would have weakened our crew considerably.

Until we again reached the Canary Islands we had nothing to do, and Count Dohna was now more than ever before bent on going straight home. We spent one night taking the most important parts of the ship's engine down, and we were during this time, of course, absolutely helpless—an undertaking that manifested some nerve on our part. Had a cruiser of the enemy found us at this critical time we would have been lost beyond a doubt.

Many days had passed and no ship was sighted. One morning the well-known alarm bell sounded throughout the ship, and every man rushed to his post. A heavy sea was rolling the Möwe from one side to the other and causing much suffering among those on board. We had now captured thirteen steamers and were determined to get beyond this unlucky number. It was written our wish should be fulfilled. A Frenchman, the Maroni, 3,109 tons, from Bordeaux to New York, had crossed our course, making the fourteenth ship. She had wine, oil, cork, and seeds aboard, making a valuable prize. The sinking of this steamer was a fine spectacle. It took several hours before she went down, and, with her, went great quantities of wine, of which we had not had a taste for some time. It seemed a shame to see it go into the Atlantic. The next day luck was again with us, sending the British steamer Saxon Prince, 3,471 tons, our way.

Shortly after this work was done we heard good news from home. The Westburn had reached Santa Cruz, and the Appam was safely at Norfolk. The world had been astonished by our deeds, not knowing our name nor our strength and armament. Later we found out that the Westburn had left Santa Cruz under the noses of British cruisers and had sunk through an explosion of her boilers.

We had now reached the English coast, and all precautions were taken not to fall into the hands of the enemy at the very end of the raiding voyage. Our prisoners did not attempt to conceal their belief that we soon would exchange parts. Careful preparations and another complete alteration of the appearance of the Möwe were made before our dash through the British blockade was again undertaken. Most unfavorable weather

helped. We met ships of the enemy at a distance, but none halted us.

That very night, for we ran through under cover of darkness, before our arrival in a German port we were dangerously close to a flotilla of British torpedo boat destroyers and could not understand why they let us pass without even asking our nationality. We did not hesitate to send their position by wireless to the German naval base.

On the 4th of March we were in wireless communication with German torpedo boats. We were at home, or at least near the home coast. Several hours later we were to be rewarded for all our endurance by the most enthusiastic welcome we ever saw.

It was 10 o'clock in the morning and the sun had broken through the clouds. In the distance, still far away, we saw our own great fleet. German ships they were, and they had set out to greet us on our home coming. One by one they passed with hundreds of flags hoisted and their crews lined on deck to welcome us. With bands playing "Heil Dir im Siegerkranz!" and "Deutschland, Deutschland über Alles!" two large cruisers passed us a short distance away, covered with flags and signals. We acknowledged this honor by hoisting the flags of all the ships we had sunk during our cruise. Soon we reached our home port, where the heartiest and warmest welcome came from the Kaiser, who conferred on every man on board the Iron Cross.

The Submarine

By CHART PITT

A shadow drifts through the sea-floor waves,
Where the old armada sleeps,
Breaking the hush of those ancient graves,
Where the war-god his lone watch keeps.
For them there was sunshine aglint on the sea,
The heave of the flood-tide swells;
In their white-winged ships they wandered free,
With the memory of last farewells.

Gladly and gayly they went to their doom,
With the flutter of banners bright;
Voiceless they sank in the battle-gloom,
With the wreckage adrift from the fight.
A bugle sounded its "Charge" through the night—
Their battle-songs answered its call.
With a banner aflutter before their sight—
Can you measure the bliss of their fall?

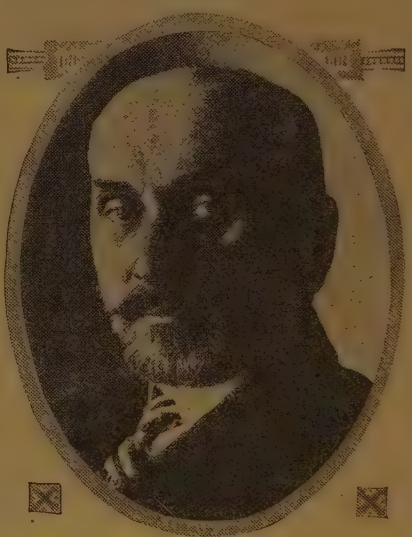
So their curses they heap on the gray submarine,
When that shadowy ship glides by—
An assassin that lurks in the seaweed green,
And hides from the light of the sky.
They met the foe in a fair open fight,
In the dauntless days of the yore—
Now wolf-ships wait in the shadows of the night,
When the battle fleet sails from the shore.

Sazonoff and Russian Imperial Intrigues Before the War

V. Vodovozoff, a distinguished Russian Liberal, recently contributed the subjoined article on Sazonoff's resignation to the monthly magazine Lyetopis of Petrograd. The accuracy of the translation is vouched for by Professor William G. Hastings of the Law College of the University of Nebraska. The article throws light on some of the dark places of diplomacy in the years leading up to the war.

THE liberal press and the liberal elements of society generally commented upon Sazonoff's resignation with sympathy and compassion; the black hundred and the nationalists for the most part, with some marked exceptions, however, followed him with malicious outcries. * * *

That the moderate-liberal elements of our society were on the whole very little inclined to be satisfieed with Sazonoff is entirely intelligible. * * * [Censored.] * * * At the present time an important part of our liberal society is not so far estranged from nationalistic strivings as it was twenty or thirty years ago. But the malicious outcry of the "True Russians" is none the less, if even not the more for that, lawful and intelligible. * * * Sazonoff * * * [censored] * * * at all events understood why the Zemschina reproached him so.



COUNT SERGIUS SAZONOFF
Former Russian Foreign Minister
(© *American Press Ass'n.*)

D. S. Sazonoff stood at the head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for six years, (1910-1916.) It was a notable epoch. It included the Italian-Turkish war, 1911-12; the war of the Balkan alliance against Turkey, 1912-13; the second Balkan war between yesterday's allies of 1913, and, finally, the great world war in 1914 and following years, in comparison with which the former three were like heat lightning far from a storm.

Six years ago there were already assembled against each other two rival combinations of Governments, and Russia's place in one of them was already defined with entire clearness. A triple alliance of Russia, England, and France was the work of Edward Grey in England and of Lamsdorf and Izvolsky in Russia. Sazonoff received it as an inheritance, fully prepared, and his task could only consist in fortifying and strengthening it.

It is impossible, however, to say that Sazonoff with complete firmness and consistency held to one and the same course. The financial dependence of Russia upon France, which country had advanced to Russia several billions in loans, already creating a concord of the interests of Russian and English imperialism, had led Russia into the channel of the Triple Entente. * * * [Censored.] * * * It is impossible to forget that he held his post in the time of Premier P. A. Stolypin, that with Stolypin he was in close relationship, (they married sisters,) and that the two men were of a sufficiently near spiritual kinship; also that Sazonoff, at the beginning of his Ministerial career, made use of his recognized reputation as a "nationalist."

Favored Germany at First

The German sympathies of Sazonoff are shown in the Potsdam agreement concluded by him with Kinderlen Wechter at the beginning of his Ministerial career. Striving to strengthen peaceful and friendly relations with Germany, Sazonoff underwent important sacrifices. He checked opposition to the carrying through of the Bagdad railway by the Germans; and consequently gave up all Asia Minor into economic dependence upon Germany; more than that: Russia not only permitted the uniting of the Bagdad line with Teheran, but bound herself to finish an indispensable part of that section of the railway. In such a way Russia opened a Persian market for German goods, and to the altar of political friendship they brought as a sacrifice the interests of Russian business and industry, counting Northern Persia as their indefeasible inheritance. At the present time, when friendship has changed to animosity, the Potsdam agreement appears as a fine trump card for Sazonoff's enemies of the nationalistic press. In its time the black hundred and the nationalists were very well satisfied with it.

But general conditions, pushing Russia into the channel of the Entente, were stronger than German sympathies. * * * [Censored.] * * * Soon Sazonoff decisively drew off from them and busied himself with cultivating an Anglo-French friendship.

Sazonoff Ousted Shuster

Already in Izvolsky's time friendliness had delimited the spheres of influence of England and Russia in Persia. Sazonoff continued the policy, by degrees, according to possibility, of full subjection to use of the northern half of Persia. For that aim [censored] he accomplished the removal from Persia of the American, W. Morgan Shuster, who, in the capacity of Secretary of the Treasury, was assisting in straightening up Persian finances. Finally, in 1912, Sazonoff presented an ultimatum which required Persia to submit to all his demands. In his policy of gradually subduing Persia, Sazonoff all the time went hand in hand with Grey, who, in his turn in the same way, brought Southern Persia under English sovereignty.

Also with Grey—but precisely, too, as with Japan—Sazonoff went hand in hand in his policy regarding China. Here Russia stepped forward, and in 1911 presented China with a decisive ultimatum, a demand of full subjection, and in 1912 accomplished the autonomy of Mongolia, and that country found itself from that time in the sphere of exclusive Russian political and economic influence.

The first attempts to unite with Japan after the unfortunate war with her had already been made in Izvolsky's time; but only in Sazonoff's recent past was that war finally forgotten. At the same time the coming together of Japan and England quickly took place, and finally, by a difficult experiment, Japan showed herself an inseparable supporter in upholding the Triple Entente. England's aim was to try to isolate Germany. It was achieved here.

His Policy in the Balkans

Far more important, however, than the politics of Dalny and the Eastern centre were the politics in the Balkans. Sazonoff's predecessor, Izvolsky, throughout his whole Ministry, found himself heavily handicapped by the effect of Russia's defeat in the war with Japan and by the necessity of clearing up the war's results; it was, therefore, perfectly natural, perhaps, that extreme carefulness lay at the base of his policy, especially in the Balkans, where the danger of lighting a terrible fire was always particularly great. Therefore Izvolsky did not resist the annexation of Bosnia to Austria; but even previous to that, on a visit to Buchlay, (Sept. 15, 1908,) he frankly informed Aehrenthal that Russia would not fight for Bosnia, thus leaving Aehrenthal's hands free. This was something more than caution.

Sazonoff, on the contrary, reckoned undoubtedly that Russia was already fully recovered and strong enough not to fear a new war. This explains his aggressive tone to China and Persia. In accordance with that idea he conducted himself in the Balkans. In the beginning, Sazonoff was a supporter of the

integrity of the Ottoman Porte: Our [Russian] Consul in Constantinople was N. V. Charikov, a believer in the capacity of the Young Turkish Government to renew the organization of the Turkish Empire. He strove to support and strengthen its tie to Russia. But Feb. 27, 1912, Charikov was led to resign, and that resignation signified a sharp turn in our Balkan policy. In the course of two days, ending the 29th of February, 1912, the Serbo-Bulgarian agreement was signed. It served as a noose to hold together the Balkan combine.

The Balkan Alliance

That alliance, with Sazonoff standing at its cradle, was expected by its Balkan creators to serve as a citadel against Austria, as well as against Turkey. The first act of the alliance was to declare war on Turkey. By the same act of the 29th of February, besides underscoring its purposes of liberation, the alliance put out manifests on the occasion of declaring war. These denominated the war as one of deliverance. But immediately after the victory there began between the powers of deliverance a war over the division of the spoils.

Did Sazonoff wish for war with Turkey? According to the scanty information which the press has it may be said, "No, at that moment he did not wish it." He did not foresee, and could not prevent it. He did not comprehend the fact that the Balkan Governments, with constant rivalry of their dynastic claims and small imperial tendencies, were not ready for a broad imperialistic plan, useful for a Government with an older and sounder culture. Not understanding this, Sazonoff did not foresee the second Balkan war, and was not able to prevent it, though at the last moment he made a useless effort in that direction. The Balkan Ministers did not accept his invitation to a conference at Petrograd and preferred to decide their quarrel with the gun.

Thus Austria and Germany again had against them not a solid Balkan alliance but a divided one, with the separated Balkan States hating one another more bitterly than ever. As a result, one of these States—precisely that one in which Russia enjoyed special prestige—turned against Russia. The fact is that Russia supported the claim of Rumania to a portion of Bulgarian territory, although she had opposed the entrance of the Rumanian soldiers into Sofia, thus saving Bulgaria from final destruction. The attitude of Russia toward the Rumanian claim produced terrible irritation on the part of Bulgaria. From that time Bulgaria was lost to Russia.

In that way the policy of Sazonoff in the Balkans reached a melancholy fiasco, which is explained, perhaps, by the boldness and breadth of the imperialistic task he had laid upon himself, but also by the fact that his foresight and diplomatic art were not equal to the height of his task.

Austro-Serbian Friction

A conflict began between Serbia and Austria which had remained inevitable ever since the annexation of Macedonia to Serbia. In reference to that conflict Sazonoff held a clearly defined position, which he had determined upon beforehand. Firmness and strength he drew from his belief in English support, and he evidently had for this belief full and sufficient grounds. As a result, the conflict between Austria and the little Balkan Government became an overture to a world catastrophe.

Now the task of Sazonoff as a diplomat was to drag, as far as possible, all neutral Governments into the alliance. England dragged in Japan, Germany pushed Belgium into the arms of the Entente. There was already driven into the Triple Alliance the wedge of events of the preceding years. These events were skillfully employed by English diplomacy, so that the neutrality of Italy might be considered as secured. But it was important that this neutrality be turned into active support. Sazonoff had little to do with that remote movement of events which has caused Italy, yesterday a firm member of the Triple Alliance, to be found today in our war camp. That change of alliance was bought at the price of a full agreement, by which Italy was guaranteed the lands along Istria, Croatia,

and part of the Dalmatian coast on the Adriatic Sea; that is to say, lands almost to a man inhabited by Serbs or families of Serbian Slovenians. These lands Serbia had for a long time looked upon as her own natural possessions, and in their assimilation had seen her own national task.

In the concession of those lands to Italy Serbia saw an outrage to her nationality and a harsh transgression of those principles in the name of which she went to war. Therefore to break the opposition of the Serbs to the agreement with Italy was not easy, but here Sazonoff manifested a great diplomatic skill, which was crowned with success.

Aside from that, in relation to other Balkan Governments, he made some gross mistakes. For a long time he believed that he was going to succeed, finally, in dragging Bulgaria into the contest on the Entente side. For the sake of that unfeasible purpose he thrust aside Greece, which (not only under Venizelos, but also under Gounaris) was ready to enter into an agreement on certain conditions. Sazonoff would not agree to the conditions Gounaris proposed—a guarantee of the inviolability of Greece's territory—for fear of offending Bulgaria. In the end, while not obtaining Greece, he lost Bulgaria.

Special interest is presented by Sazonoff's rôle in the development of our relations with the neighboring allies. At the present moment, however, we are deprived of the possibility of giving the necessary valuation of that side of his activity.

Hardships of Campaigning Near Kut-el-Amara

Lieutenant Ralph E. Smith, formerly a Canadian Baptist missionary, is now in the Indian army that is fighting the Turks in Mesopotamia. The following letter from him, written last Summer near Kut-el-Amara, gives some idea of the suffering endured by the British soldiers in the Euphrates Valley:

I am right up at the front in sight of Kut, within sound of the guns and sight of the aeroplanes. I have often roughed it before, but have never been through anything like the present conditions. I heard many fellows in Rawalpindi and Sialkot who had been up here talk about the conditions in extravagant language and say that it had taken so many years off their lives, &c., and I thought they must be exaggerating. But they were not. You cannot exaggerate in describing things here. Every day since I came a tempestuous gale has blown out of the north. They call it the shamal, and it carries with it blinding clouds of dust. The third day I was here it began at 7:30 A. M. and kept it up till 6 P. M. Often it was impossible to see the tent in front of mine—about ten yards away. My hair turned white and became clogged with gray clay. I picked chunks of clay out of my nose. My hands and face and lips became caked with it. I breathed it at every breath. My ears filled up. My papers, cot, table, and everything in the room took on a thick layer. Our meals were half sand. The streams of perspiration made channels in the dust upon my face and no fireman coming out of a bad fire at home could have looked worse than I did when the day was over. The temperature was 113, and my tent is not a big double fly like the ones we use in India, but a little pent roofed one, and there was no escape. Yesterday's official report gave the average temperature at 2 P. M. for the week at 113.9, and the maximum at 117 degrees in the observation tent. Fortunately the nights are clear and cool, and in this respect much better than India. Of course I intend to stick at it till my duty is done. But when the time comes to go home I think I shall be gladder than I have ever been before.

The "Scrap of Paper" Episode

Official Narrative of British Ambassador to Germany Viewed by a Mid-Westerner in the Light of Events

By Richard Dobson

THE Franco-Prussian war was a blessing to France and a curse to Prussia. France became a republic, paid her debt of honor, and entered upon a course of prosperity that far excelled her former condition during the Napoleonic glory, wars, and empires. Prussia became a confederated Germany —an empire in the hands of Bismarck. But the success of Prussia in the war of 1870-71 has been a curse to Germany herself and also to Europe and to the whole world.

With the German Empire there was also born a monster of ambition for conquest which today astounds and confounds the student of history. The magnitude of the plot to capture the whole world, its business, its commerce, its wealth, and its resources, and to convert them all to the special benefit of the super-German and the super-German Empire, exceeds the wildest dream of an Alexander, a Caesar, or a Napoleon.

In inducing Great Britain to exchange Zanzibar for Heligoland, Germany showed her hand at an early date, but it was with a glib assurance that this transaction was without any kind of naval or military significance; that it was a domestic arrangement pure and simple. Yet, when Kaiser Wilhelm took possession of Heligoland, he told the people that their island had been chosen as Germany's bulwark in the sea, a central point for Germany's ships of war; and up to the commencement of the war Germany had spent $120,000,000 in fortifying Heligoland.

Germany talked and wrote honeyed words to neighbor nations, while at the same time she was maturing a plot for world power. She developed a system of spying and deceit that has never been equaled in the history of the world, in order that she might, under cover, create an invincible army and a navy to rival Britain's, and yet with a smiling, deceitful front say to the world, " Peace, peace! Let us have peace! "

First Signs of Trouble

In 1904 the British Government began to be alarmed at the difference between Germany's words and Germany's deeds. English representatives went to King Edward VII. and asked him to go and see the Kaiser, as Germany's activities were causing alarm throughout the United Kingdom. Edward of England went forthwith to interview the Kaiser, his own blood nephew. What King Edward said to his headstrong and haughty nephew is not known, but there was an immediate lull in the German activities. Perhaps if King Edward had lived the great war might have been averted, for no one in all Europe had so much influence over the Kaiser as did the Kaiser's beloved uncle.

Later the Kaiser, with his military and naval commanders, visited his uncle in London. It was there that he suggested to Andrew Carnegie, " that he (Andrew Carnegie) should build the World's Palace of Peace at The Hague." The Kaiser also remarked at the time "that in case of a war there should be no asphyxiating gas used and that there should be no submarine attacks on merchant or passenger ships." In the light of present-day history these suggestions seem like rather sinister jokes.

Great events were now happening, leading up to the Agadir crisis in 1911, which was quickly settled through the mediation of King Edward. In 1912 English politicians again became alarmed at the naval and military activities of Germany, and Lord Haldane was sent over there to investigate. His report to the British Government was in sub-

stance about as follows: "I have been to Germany, seen the Kaiser, and found everything all right and lovely." The Kaiser had pulled the wool over Lord Haldane's eyes, and the British Government and Englishmen in general were again lulled to sleep over a slumbering volcano.

In 1913 England was again deceived by Germany to such an extent that all over England there was much talk of peace delegates from Germany going to each country that had become especially interested in the peace movement in Europe, and the German delegates actually went to promote international peace in those countries. Did Germany know, or didn't she, that she was playing false? With one hand she was holding up the lure of peace to those she was about to attack, while with the other she was secretly rushing the warlike preparations and equipments which, a year later, astounded the world and involved Europe and Asia and the furthest islands of the sea in a colossal war.

In 1914, less than six months before the war, England was entertaining as her honored guests those very Germans who were taking part in the completing of Germany's war operations, and who were also taking stock of England's arrangement and management of things in general. Spies!

And yet we have it stated now by many German authorities that England started the war. Perfidious Albion's treachery brought on all these horrors and is responsible for the awful holocaust of human lives. These statements have been made by Germany in face of the official correspondence printed below, which took place after war had been declared between Germany, Russia, and France.

On Aug. 2, 1914, the German Army started on its march toward Paris by way of the little Duchy of Luxemburg and the little Kingdom of Belgium, both of which had been granted neutrality by all the great powers of Europe. Six days after that fateful Sunday, when the German Army had started on its mission of conquest, the following official report was made by the recent British Ambassador in Berlin to Sir Edward Grey, Foreign Secretary for Great Britain:

Text of Sir Edward Goschen's Famous Report

"*Sir William Edward Goschen, British Ambassador in Berlin, to Sir Edward Grey, London, Aug.* 8, 1914.

"Sir: In accordance with the instructions contained in your telegram of the 4th inst., I called upon the Secretary of State that afternoon and inquired in the name of his Majesty's Government whether the Imperial Government would refrain from violating Belgian neutrality.

"Herr von Jagow at once replied that he was sorry to say that his answer must be no, as, in consequence of the German troops having crossed the frontier that morning, Belgium's neutrality had already been violated. Herr von Jagow again went into the reasons why the Imperial Government had been obliged to take this step, namely, that they had to advance into France by the quickest and easiest way, so as to be able to get well ahead with their operations and endeavor to strike some decisive blow as early as possible.

"It was a matter of life and death for them, as, if they had gone by the more southern route, they could not have hoped, in view of the paucity of roads and strength of the fortresses, to have gone through without formidable opposition, entailing great loss of time. This loss of time would have meant time gained by the Russians for bringing up their troops to the German frontier. Rapidity of action was the great German asset, while that of Russia was an inexhaustible supply of troops.

"I pointed out to Herr von Jagow that this 'fait accompli' of the violation of the Belgian frontier rendered, as he would readily understand, the situation exceedingly grave, and I asked whether there was not still time to draw back and avoid possible consequences which both he and I would deplore.

"He replied that, for reasons he had given me, it was now impossible for them to draw back. During the afternoon I received your further telegram of the

same date, and, in compliance with the instructions therein contained, I again proceeded to the Imperial Foreign Office and informed the Secretary of State that unless the Imperial Government could give the assurance by 12 o'clock that night that they would proceed no further with their violation of the Belgian frontier and stop their advance, I had been instructed to demand my passports and inform the Imperial Government that his Majesty's Government would have to take all steps in their power to uphold the neutrality of Belgium and the observance of a treaty to which Germany was as much a party as themselves.

"Herr von Jagow replied that, to his regret, he could give no other answer then than that which he had given me earlier in the day, namely, that the safety of the empire rendered it absolutely necessary that the imperial troops should advance through Belgium.

"I gave his Excellency a written summary of your telegram, and, pointing out that you had mentioned 12 o'clock as the time when his Majesty's Government would expect an answer, asked him whether, in view of the terrible consequences which would necessarily ensue, it were not possible, even at the last moment, that their answer should be reconsidered. He replied that if the time given were even twenty-four hours or more, his answer must be the same. I said that in that case I should have to demand my passports.

"This interview took place at about 7 o'clock. In a short conversation which ensued, Herr von Jagow expressed his poignant regret at the crumbling of his entire policy and that of the Chancellor, which had been to make friends with Great Britain, and then through Great Britain to get closer to France.

"I said that this sudden end to my work in Berlin was to me also a matter of deep regret and disappointment, but he must understand that, under the circumstances and in view of our engagements, his Majesty's Government could not possibly have acted otherwise than they had done.

"I then said that I should like to go and see the Chancellor, as it might be, perhaps, the last time I should have an opportunity of seeing him. He begged me to do so. I found the Chancellor very agitated. His Excellency at once began a harangue, which lasted for about twenty minutes. He said that the step taken by his Majesty's Government was terrible to a degree; just for a word, 'Neutrality'—a word which in war time had so often been disregarded; just for a scrap of paper—Great Britain was going to make war on a kindred nation who desired nothing better than to be friends with her.

"All his efforts in that direction had been rendered useless by this last terrible step, and the policy, to which, as I knew, he had devoted himself since his accession to office, had tumbled down like a house of cards. What we had done was unthinkable; it was like striking a man from behind while he was fighting for his life against two assailants. He held Great Britain responsible for all the terrible events that might happen.

"I protested strongly against that statement, and said that in the same way as he and Herr von Jagow wished me to understand that for strategical reasons it was a matter of life and death to Germany to advance through Belgium and violate the latter's neutrality, so I would wish him to understand that it was, so to speak, a matter of 'life and death' for the honor of Great Britain that she should keep her solemn engagements to defend Belgium's neutrality if attacked.

"That solemn compact simply had to be kept, or what confidence could any one have in engagements given by Great Britain in the future? The Chancellor said, 'But at what price will that compact have been kept? Has the British Government thought of that?'

"I hinted to his Excellency as plainly as I could that fear of consequences could hardly be regarded as an excuse for breaking solemn engagements, but his Excellency was so excited, so evidently overcome by the news of our action, and so little disposed to hear reason that I refrained from adding fuel to the flame by further argument.

"As I was leaving he said that the blow of Great Britain joining Germany's enemies was all the greater in that almost up to the last moment he and his Government had been working with us and supporting our efforts to maintain peace between Russia and Austria. I said that this was part of the tragedy which saw the two nations fall apart, just at the moment when the relations between them had been more friendly and cordial than they had been for years. Unfortunately, notwithstanding our efforts to maintain peace between Russia and Austria, the war had spread and had brought us face to face with a situation which, if we held to our engagements, we could not possibly avoid, and which unfortunately entailed our separation from our late fellow-workers. He would readily understand that no one regretted this more than I.

"After this somewhat painful interview I returned to the embassy and drew up a telegraphic report of what had passed. This telegram was handed in at the Central Telegraph Office a little before 9 P. M. It was accepted by that office, but apparently never dispatched.

Interview With Zimmermann

"At about 9:30 P. M. Herr von Zimmermann, the Under Secretary of State, came to see me. After expressing his deep regret that the very friendly official and personal relations between us were about to cease, he asked me casually whether a demand for passports was equivalent to a declaration of war.

"I said that such an authority on international law as he was known to be must know as well or better than I what was usual in such cases. I added that there were many cases where diplomatic relations had been broken off and, nevertheless, war had not ensued, but that in this case he would have seen that from my instructions, of which I had given Herr von Jagow a written summary, that his Majesty's Government expected an answer to a definite question by 12 o'clock that night, and that in default of a satisfactory answer they would be forced to take such steps as their engagements required. Herr Zimmermann said that that was, in fact, a declaration of war, as the Imperial Government could not possibly give the assurance required, either that night or any other night.

"In the meantime, after Herr Zimmermann left me, a flying sheet of the Berliner Tageblatt was circulated stating that Great Britain had declared war against Germany. The immediate result of this news was the assemblage of an exceedingly excited and unruly mob before his Majesty's embassy. The small force of police which had been sent to guard the embassy was soon overpowered, and the attitude of the mob became threatening.

"We took no notice of this demonstration as long as it was confined to noise, but when the crash of glass and the landing of cobblestones in the drawing room, where we were all sitting, warned us that the situation was getting unpleasant, I telephoned to the Foreign Office an account of what was happening. Herr von Jagow at once informed the Chief of Police, and an adequate force of mounted police, sent with great promptness, very soon cleared the street.

"From that moment on we were well guarded and no more direct unpleasantness ensued. After order had been restored, Herr von Jagow came to see me, and expressed his most heartfelt regrets at what had occurred. He said that the behavior of his countrymen had made him feel more ashamed than he had words to express. It was an indelible stain on the reputation of Berlin.

"He said that the flying sheet circulated in the streets had not been authorized by the Government; in fact, the Chancellor had asked him by telephone whether he thought that such a statement should be issued, and he had replied, 'Certainly not until the morning.' It was in consequence of his decision to that effect that only a small force of police had been sent to the neighborhood of the embassy, as he had thought that the presence of a large force would inevitably attract attention and perhaps lead to disturbances.

"It was the pestilential Tageblatt which had somehow got hold of the news

that had upset his calculations. He had heard rumors that the mob had been excited to violence by gestures made and missiles thrown from the embassy, but he felt sure that was not true, and, even if it was, it was no excuse for the disgraceful scenes which had taken place. (I was able soon to assure him that the report had no foundation whatever.)

Message From the Kaiser

"He feared that I would take home with me a sorry impression of Berlin manners in moments of excitement. In fact, no apology could have been more full and complete. On the following morning, the 5th of August, the Emperor sent one of his Majesty's Aides de Camp to me with the following message:

"'The Emperor has charged me to express to your Excellency his regret for the occurrences of last night, but to tell you at the same time that you will gather from these occurrences an idea of the feeling of his people respecting the action of Great Britain in joining with other nations against her old allies of Waterloo. His Majesty also begs that you will tell the King that he has been proud of the titles of British Field Marshal and British Admiral, but that in consequence of what has occurred he must now at once divest himself of those titles.'

"I would add that the above message lost none of its acerbity by the manner of its delivery. On the other hand, I should like to state that I received all through this trying ordeal nothing but courtesy at the hands of Herr von Jagow and the officials of the Imperial Foreign Office.

"The night passed quietly without any incident. In the morning a strong force of police was posted along the usual route to the Lehrter Station, while the embassy was smuggled away in taxicabs to the station by side streets. We there suffered no molestation whatever, and avoided the treatment meted out by the crowd to my Russian and French colleagues. Count Wedel met us at the station to say good-bye on behalf of Herr von Jagow and to see that all the arrangements ordered for our comfort had been properly carried out. A retired Colonel of the Guards accompanied the train to the Dutch frontier and was exceedingly kind in his efforts to prevent the great crowds which thronged the platforms at every station where we stopped from insulting us; but beyond the yelling of patriotic songs and a few jeers and insulting gestures we had really nothing to complain of during our tedious journey to the Dutch frontier.

"Before closing this long account of our last days in Berlin I should like to place on record and bring to your notice the quite admirable behavior of my staff under the most trying circumstances possible, * * * [He gives further praise to his staff and proceeds:] I should also like to mention the great assistance rendered to us all by my American colleague, Mr. Gerard, and his staff, [American Ambassador in Berlin,] undeterred by the hooting and hissing with which he was often greeted by the mob on entering and leaving the embassy; his Excellency came repeatedly to see me to ask how he could help us and to make arrangements for the safety of stranded British subjects. He extricated many of these from extremely difficult situations at some personal risk to himself, and his calmness and savoir faire and his firmness in dealing with the imperial authorities gave full assurance that the protection of British subjects and interests could not have been left in more efficient and able hands. I have, &c., "W. E. GOSCHEN."

Ultimatum to Belgium

Sir Edward Grey, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, before the House of Commons on Aug. 3, 1914, said:

"I want to give the House some information which I have received and which was not in my possession when I made my statement this afternoon. It is information I have received from the Belgian Legation in London, and is to the following effect:

"Germany sent yesterday evening at 7 o'clock a note proposing to Belgium friendly neutrality, covering free passage on Belgian territory and promising maintenance of independence of the

kingdom and possession at the conclusion of peace and threatening in case of refusal to treat Belgium as an enemy. A time limit of twelve hours was fixed for the reply.

"The Belgians have answered that an attack on their neutrality would be a flagrant violation of the rights of nations, and that to accept the German proposal would be to sacrifice the honor of a nation. Conscious of its duty, Belgium is firmly resolved to repel aggression by all possible means.

"Of course, I can only say that the Government is prepared to take into grave consideration the information which it has received. I make no further comment upon it."

A bully is a bully, whether it be a nation or an individual. Germany played the part of a bully when she threatened destruction to little Belgium unless Belgium obeyed her behests. A bully is detestable under any conditions. A little over two years ago, with the best equipped, best disciplined, best munitioned, and mightiest army the world had ever seen, Germany started out—for what? For the conquest of Europe! And what has she done? Whipped a few of the little fellows, that is all.

She devastated and cleaned out little Belgium, a part of Poland, all of Serbia, and is now undertaking to scourge Rumania. But what of the big fellows? She has made little impression on Russia, simply aroused the British lion, and ruffled the feathers of the French eagle.

If Germany had not been a bully, with five millions of the best trained and equipped soldiers in the world at her command, Europe would now be at her feet. But she was only a bully, and she has spent her force and sacrificed the very flower of German manhood—for what? For a wicked ambition to foist Prussian feudal militarism on all Europe, if not on the whole earth.

Germany's methods of warfare have been of such a ruthless, barbaric, inhuman character all through the last two years that she has justly received the detestation of the civilized world. These are some of the reasons why the Entente Allies should and will win.

Was the War Forced Upon Germany?

A Terse French Reply

When the German Chancellor's address of Nov. 9 was made public it called forth this pithy reply in the form of a leading article in Le Temps of Paris.

WITH all doors closed, having dismissed the Reichstag, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg has just reproduced for the ninth or tenth time his well-known brief on the responsibility for the war. Each edition is revised and considerably augmented, but the main text does not change—and it is this which is most faulty.

The wretched chicanery upon which most of the sophistry of the section chiefs of Wilhelmstrasse is expended, and which they have not even dared to carry before the Reichstag in open session, has for its object to demonstrate that Germany was the one attacked, and that it was the enemies of Germany who long meditated against her a policy of aggression and conquest. Journalism has its duties, which oblige it to comment upon the facts of the day. It will be understood, however, that only with repugnance can one pause to discuss once more this monument of impudence and untruth.

The central argument of the Chancellor is the Russian mobilization. He would have had Russia refrain from mobilizing, in spite of the Austrian mobilization, in spite of the declaration of war against Serbia, in spite of the military preparations of Germany indicated by all the Consuls from July 26 onward. He would have wished that the occupation of Belgrade should not be considered an act of war, but a simple guarantee. This

would have meant that, England and France remaining neutral, the conflict would have been "localized," that is to say, it would have allowed Germany to attain its eastern objective at once, and to turn then against its western objective. Thus, by the force of circumstances, the confession is included in the public prosecutor's own address to the court. Let us consider once more the facts which confirm the confession:

1. *Premeditation of the War.* If one does not wish to invoke the innumerable publications through which, in the last twenty-five years, Germany has affirmed her right to extend her boundaries to the east and to the west, one can at least cite two official documents. The first is the speech of Signor Giolitti [former Italian Premier]—a witness not likely to be suspected of anti-Germanism —affirming that as far back as 1913 Germany and Austria solicited the cooperation of Italy in an aggression against Serbia. The second is the conversation of November, 1913, held by the King of the Belgians, the German Emperor, and General von Moltke: "This time we must finish it up. Your Majesty cannot doubt the irresistible enthusiasm that will carry away the whole German Nation in a war against France." That conversation has never been authoritatively denied, and cannot be, any more than the speech of Signor Giolitti.

2. *Preparation for the War.* From 1883 to 1913 the war expenditures increased in France 70 per cent., in Russia 114 per cent., in Germany 229 per cent. From 1902 to 1913 France spent for armament $196,000,000, Germany $440,000,000. In 1905 France reduced the term of service in the active army. In 1907 she reduced the periods of instruction in the reserve force. In 1911, 1912, 1913, Germany passed three military laws which could not be explained, in view of their cost, except as a deliberate and officially sanctioned determination to make war. In 1914 Germany had 150 divisions (3,000,000 men) ready to march; England had six divisions, (120,000 men.) In 1914 France had 104 pieces of heavy rapid-fire artillery; Germany had 3,500. Since 1905 Russia had been painfully repairing the ruins left by the Russo-Japanese war. She had neither enough rifles nor enough cannons, nor yet enough railways; Germany had carried her military power in all these respects to the highest point. This comparison requires no comment.

3. *The Attitude of Russia.* When the war broke out, Austria, the agent of Germany, had complete satisfaction from Serbia on all the points inscribed in her ultimatum. The cause of the war had then disappeared. But Austria, having mobilized on July 29, demanded to be allowed besides to occupy Belgrade and Northern Serbia. In the ensuing days Germany refused all offers of conference or of direct negotiations of any kind. On July 29, at 8 o'clock in the evening, the Czar proposed to Emperor William that the question be submitted to arbitration at The Hague Tribunal. William II. did not reply. And it was only on the 30th of July, in the presence of this silence and of the Austrian mobilization, that Russia mobilized the four regions of Kazan, Kieff, Moscow, and Odessa.

4. *Attitude of France and England.* Up to the last minute France kept her protecting troops five miles from the frontier in order to avoid a clash. This measure of prudence and moderation allowed Germany to violate French territory in the morning of Aug. 2—before any declaration of war—in the region of Cirey, Longwy, and Delle. As for England, she did not decide for war until the day, Aug. 4, when the violation of Belgian territory by German troops was consummated. On July 31 she was still reminding France that no engagement bound the two countries together. On Aug. 2, after the entrance of the German vanguard upon French territory, she was still limiting her promise to the protection of our coasts.

5. *Declaration of War.* All the declarations of war came from Berlin and Vienna—from Vienna against Serbia on July 28, from Berlin against Russia on Aug. 1, from Berlin against France on Aug. 3, from Berlin against Belgium on Aug. 4. England's declaration of war against Germany appeared only in the evening of the 4th of August. The declaration of war against France was so im-

possible to justify that it could only be based—in the official note presented by Herr von Schoen—upon a lying invention that has since been recognized as false by the German military authorities themselves, (the throwing of bombs on Nuremberg by French aviators.) It has taken Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg twenty-eight months to find other pretexts, which are worth no more than the old ones. Here again the texts are decisive.

Our reply is shorter than the Chancellor's speech—and for cause. The debate on the responsibility for the war is so completely settled that Dr. Hollweg no longer dares broach it even before his own Reichstag. To stiffen his explanation he stated that he had never intended to annex Belgium. Doubtless this means that he was reserving for it the sort of autonomy offered to Poland. The Belgians had satisfied themselves long ago as to the meaning of the oft-repeated words, "guarantees on the east and on the west." France and her allies are no less clear regarding the origin of the drama, and the saying of Jaurès [French Socialist leader] on the day of his death sums up their conviction, which is also that of the neutrals: "If we were in the place of the French Government, I do not see how we could do more to avoid war."

Who Began the War?

THE ever-recurring question of who mobilized first in the European war arose again when the German Chancellor said in a recent speech in the Reichstag: "Only after general mobilization had taken place in Russia did Austria-Hungary on the morning of July 31, 1914, also proceed with general mobilization."

H. T. Weeks of London replies as follows:

"Notice that he says 'morning' of July 31. The Russian Ambassador in Vienna sent on July 28 the following telegram:

Telegram: No. 47. Vienna, July 28, 1914.
"The decree of *general* mobilization has been signed."—Schébéko. (Russian Ambassador in Vienna.)
(Orange Book: No. 47.)

"This is confirmed by a report from M. Dumaine, French Ambassador in Vienna, to M. Viviani:

(Yellow Book: No. 115.)
Vienna, July 31, 1914.
"*General* mobilization affecting all men from nineteen to forty-two years of age was decreed at an *early hour* this morning by the Austro-Hungarian Government.

"This is also confirmed by the English Ambassador's report that the Austrian *general* mobilization took place about 1 o'clock A. M. on the morning of July 31.

"The Russian *general* mobilization was ordered at the earliest toward mid-day on July 31, *after* the Austrian mobilization, and was the necessary sequence of that event, as we see from the report of M. Paléologue, French Ambassador in St. Petersburg, to M. Viviani:

(Yellow Book: No. 118.)
St. Petersburg, July 31, 1914.
"In view of the *general* mobilization of Austria and of the measures of mobilization taken secretly but continuously by Germany during the last six days, *general* mobilization of the Russian Army has been ordered.

"The German Chancellor is incorrect as to his facts. Again, he is reported to have said: 'But to the news of the Russian mobilization we at first replied only with the announcement of a state of affairs threatening danger of war which did not yet signify mobilization.' It is true that on the 31st, the same eventful day—the exact hour is not known—the 'threatening danger of war' was proclaimed in Germany. In the evening, about 7 o'clock, the ulimatum to *France* was delivered in Paris, and about midnight the ultimatum to Russia was delivered in Petrograd. Note that Germany, not Austria, delivers an ultimatum to *France* on account of Russia's mobilization against Austria's mobilization. Bethmann Hollweg also attempts to prove that Russia's mobilization was aggressive against Germany, and not defensive against Austria, by quoting a general instruction of the Russian Government issued in 1912: 'It is ordered

that the announcement of mobilization is at the same time an announcement of war against Germany.'

"He ignores that the Czar, in his telegram of July 31, 1914, to the Emperor William, while announcing that the discontinuance of military preparations 'made necessary by the Austrian mobilization was "technically impossible," gave his solemn word that no provocative action would be taken so long as negotiations continued. The Emperor William again demanded unconditional discontinuance of the military preparations of Russia, whereupon the Czar submitted that *he*, the German Emperor, might take the same *measures without war necessarily* following. The Emperor William, however, mobilized and declared war. In the face of these facts and of many others too numerous to unfold in this letter I am afraid the Chancellor's boast, "We need fear no tribunal," would look very foolish.'"

"Before Verdun"

By FRANCES FENWICK WILLIAMS

No prayer can help, no agony atone,
As I came into life I go—alone!

Another man is lying by my side,
Another, caught in death's fast-brimming tide.

Mine was the hand that struck his life away,
And his the hand that laid me low today.

Yet now, as nearer draws the dreadful end,
He seems to me a brother and a friend.

What is he thinking as his life ebbs fast?
(How lonely each poor soul is at the last!)

If I could hear him speak before he dies
I should not feel so desolate—but he lies,

Silent and spent. His lips grow slowly white—
I hate to look upon the piteous sight!

I have some water here. If I could crawl
Close to his death-place he should have it all.

Ah, I have reached him—but he shrinks. Poor friend!
My wish is but to share your bitter end.

He smiles—he drinks! Ah, me, how eagerly
He laps the water and leans back to die.

Oh, while the death-guns shriek, the madmen fight,
Speak to me, brother! Darker grows the night,

And I am friendless, and my life ebbs fast—
(How lonely each poor soul is at the last!)

He smiles. He speaks. Oh, brother, louder pray!
I'm growing deaf. (That means death's near, they say.)

"No war where we are going?" Friend, your hand!
Together let us seek that longed-for land.

"No war!"—how white he is, how cold a thing!
But his dead face has robbed death of her sting.

The Modern Machine Gun

Captain Henri Carre of the French Army has contributed to La Revue des Deux Mondes an unusually well-informed article on machine guns, the essential portions of which are here translated.

A MITRAILLEUSE is defined as a firearm with a single barrel, firing with great velocity the infantry cartridge and acting automatically, that is to say, requiring no other energy than a part of that produced by the explosion of the gases of the powder at each shot fired.

Applied to our present weapon, the word mitrailleuse is incorrect; its true name should be machine gun, as in English. The word "mitraille," ("grapeshot,") which is very old, was applied to the pieces of scrap iron with which cannon were formerly charged. Besides irregularity in firing, it caused considerable wastage to the bronze guns. To correct this, the suggestion was made, as soon as guns mounted on movable carriages appeared in the fourteenth century, that several light guns might be fastened together parallel to each other, and the name *traits à feu* was given to them. These were *ribaudequins, or* "organs," so called because their appearance recalled that of a group of organ pipes; but, because of the difficulty of firing them all at once, their effectiveness remained very moderate. Also in the sixteenth century, Leonardo da Vinci, the universal genius who touched every science and every art, set himself to invent a gun firing grapeshot, and several of his designs have come down to us.

About the same epoch "grapeshot cases" made their appearance; in these a cylindrical envelope inclosed broken pieces of metal, which in firing only opened after leaving the mouth of the gun; thus the deterioration of the barrel was prevented. Later, Jean-Baptiste de Gribauval, Inspector General of Artillery, perfected the case shot by substituting regular round bullets for the pieces of scrap iron.

But the idea of a weapon with several barrels was only taken up again two centuries later, about 1830, in Belgium, where a former officer of the Grand Army, Falschamp, thought out a mitrailleuse, composed of barrels assembled parallel to each other in a prismatic bundle, and loaded at the breech with cartridges fired by percussion caps; his most perfect model, completed in 1857, had the appearance and the weight of a cannon, and was made up of fifty barrels about the calibre of rifle barrels, and firing a hundred bullets a minute, with a range of 2,000 meters, (1¼ miles,) a fairly long range for that period.

The Old Gatling Gun

In America, the war of the secession brought about the creation of new mitrailleuses; the best known was the Gatling, with six or ten barrels. A crank worked by hand provided the motive power. The rapidity of firing was theoretically 300 a minute, but the results were mediocre.

In France, during the closing years of the Empire, appeared the Reffye system of mitrailleuse, called the "bullet cannon." It consisted of a bundle of twenty-five barrels loaded by means of a loading block carrying twenty-five cartridges; these were struck by twenty-five gun-hammers released by the operation of a hand lever. The rapidity of fire reached 150 a minute, and the bullets carried one and a half miles. Hauled and served by the artillery, these engines had as their purpose to carry grapeshot fire to a distance. In spite of the hopes based on them, and of their impressive name, these mitrailleuses caused nothing but disillusionments.

At the same epoch, Bavaria adopted an analogous weapon, known as the Feld mitrailleuse, a single battery of which, consisting of four guns, was used, without brilliant results, in the war of 1870.

None of these weapons was automatic, since they were driven by hand power.

A few years later the English and the Russians adopted the Gatling gun in

one of its forms; but it was found to be too heavy, and there arose a demand for a lighter weapon, not harnessed at the moment of fighting, suited to accompany the infantry everywhere, and in using which the work of the gunners should be reduced to a minimum. The Maxim was the first to realize these conditions; the automatic machine gun was created. The first type was established by Hiram Maxim after an outlay of seven millions in studies, contracts, and experiments. A practical model was realized as early as 1882, and immediately adopted by the English Army, which tried it in its frontier wars.

Guns Now Used by France

In France, the principal models actually in use are: The Saint-Etienne or machine gun of 1907, the Puteaux, the 1914 Hotchkiss. Let us begin with a brief account of the characteristics of the Saint-Etienne.

The principal driving power is obtained by drawing gas from the barrel through a hole 4.8 millimeters in diameter, this gas entering a cylinder called the gas chamber and later escaping into the air by appropriate apertures; the piston at the end of its movement is driven back by a spring. It is a to-and-fro movement which automatically brings about the complete action of the weapon, namely, the opening and closing of the breech, with extraction and ejection of the cartridge case; the percussion and release of the cartridge; the feeding of the gun. The weapon can be fired at any rate, either at rapid fire or at a rate regulated by a special apparatus which permits all rates, from ten to about 500 a minute. The feeding is carried on by stiff strips of nickel steel carrying twenty-five cartridges.

This machine gun does not, like its German rival, carry a water jacket; consequently the barrel gets exceedingly hot when fired at a high rate; in an intensive fire it may reach the temperature of dull red, about 800 degrees Centigrade; but this heating does not in the least injure the weapon's ballistic qualities; the barrel, thanks to its being made of special manganese steel, does not lose its shape, or, rather, recovers it as it cools, and returns to its condition before firing. The machine gun, fixed to a tripod carriage, can be fired in two positions—normal or lying down. In the former the gunner seats himself on a saddle carried by the pole; in the second he lies on his back beside his gun.

The problem of transporting the machine gun is most important. In order to make it an infantry weapon, fit to accompany the infantry everywhere, efforts have been made to find the best possible solution for it. Along roads, on long marches, the machine guns are carried on pack saddles or on carts. Under fire, or under threat of fire, the pack saddles or carts are abandoned, and the parts of the machine gun are carried on men's backs or by hand. The guns have to be assembled in order to be ready for firing.

Seven Shots a Second

The ultra-rapid rate of firing is a characteristic of the machine gun. Following the models, the theoretical rate varied from 400 to 700 shots a minute. But these enormously rapid rates apply only to the actual firing of a cartridge strip which has been put in position; we must deduct the time for the change from one strip to another.

In reality, when a machine gun fires 400 shots within a minute this would seem to be a maximum; it is, besides, a prestissimo movement, which we may try to represent to ourselves by a rate of seven shots a second. From the tactical point of view there is nothing to be gained by increasing this rate, and it is rarely justifiable to fire longer than a minute without stopping at the same target.

Theoretically, a weapon on a fixed support should send all its shots along the same path; in reality, as a consequence of the vibrations of the gun and the play of the parts of the aiming machinery, it is not so; each of the bullets describes its own curve, and their ensemble makes a sheaf, closely packed but very narrow, which may be compared to the stream of water sent out by the nozzle of a hose. In the mowing fire, which is the normal fire, a certain number of sheaves are juxtaposed along the whole front of the objective. From this it re-

sults that at the point where they strike the earth the density of the bullets is terrible and an extraordinary effect of destruction of the unsheltered men is obtained.

The effect of machine-gun fire on armor plate or obstacles is the same as that of gun fire. On barbed-wire entanglements a serious but very localized destruction is obtained by firing several thousand cartridges close together.

To sum up, the machine gun is a light weapon, half portable, extremely deadly, demanding only a small number of men to work it; therefore it allows an economy of men on a given front, and this is one of the reasons for the extraordinary favor it enjoys in the German Army.

In position, the machine gun is inconspicuous and easy to hide completely; on the other hand, it betrays itself by the noise it makes when in action; even the firing of heavy volleys can never be confused with the cadenced fire, very rapid and regular, of the terrible "tac-tac." Even more, the dry crackle, brutal, angry, and headlong, of the rapidly fired machine gun sometimes succeeds in dominating the noise of heavy shells. If you compare the calibre of a machine gun of eight millimeters with that of a simple mortar of medium weight, say, 105 milimeters, (4 inches,) the fact appears surprising, but it has often been verified.

Despite its mechanism, the present machine gun is pretty robust. Certain delicate parts may be broken in firing, but, since substitute pieces are used, every repair can be made by skillful men within a few minutes; it is a simple question of training the men.

The German Machine Gun

Let us now study the German machine gun. This gun, following one of Maxim's models, is distinguished by the cooling system, the method of transport, and the rate of fire.

The barrel of the weapon is surrounded along its whole length by a metal sleeve filled with water to cool it; at the end of 600 or 800 shots the liquid begins to boil, causing an escape of steam which interferes with the firing and reveals the presence of the gun, unless directed toward the earth or into a vessel of water. During the mobile period of the war, and by one of the ruses they are so fond of, the Germans sometimes made use of this peculiarity to make us think imaginary machine guns were at certain points; they generated steam by burning damp grass.

The Maxim uses a loading ribbon of pliable cloth carrying 250 cartridges. The rapidity of fire is unrivaled, reaching nearly 400 shots a minute.

The method of transport is different from ours, as it does not use pack animals; all the material is carted; the machine gun, already mounted, rests on a foot which slides into a socket in a caisson or in an automobile. In the German Mercedes automobiles, manufactured in time of peace, no one could explain the purpose of certain nuts fixed in the chassis; it has since been recognized that they were constructed so that the cars might be fitted with Maxim guns.

The machine-gun companies consist of mounted officers and under officers; further, the caissons drawn by horses can advance at a trot, while carrying the gunners and temporarily leaving behind the extra men. This makes clear that one of the aims of the German command has been to bring the machine guns very rapidly into action, and when necessary to make them go ahead of their infantry.

Stories of Chained Gunners

In the fire zone, the machine gun, already mounted on its carriage, is transported either by one man, on his shoulders, (the weight being 55 kilograms,) or by two men carrying it on a stretcher, or by three dragging it along the ground, the curved front of the carriage, which makes it look like a huge insect, lending itself to this way of advancing even over rough ground. Some machine guns are supplied with chains to aid in carrying by hand; somewhat hasty conclusions as to the gunner chained to his gun have been drawn from them; the reality is simpler and less dramatic.

Nevertheless, there have been several examples of this brutal custom. In the Wood of Fricourt, carried by the English during the combined offensive, a German machine gunner was found fastened to his gun by the foot and by the waist,

dying of exhaustion and thirst, having been completely without water for three days. And at the bottom of a dugout, in the region of Gommecourt, the Tommies discovered the body of a gunner fixed to his gun by a chain around his wrist.

The Maxim fires only in one position, the low position, at about fifty centimeters (twenty inches) high, in order to obtain a mowing fire close to the ground.

At the mobilization the very numerous units of German machine guns were completely organized, whether in regimental or divisional companies. The teaching of the Balkan wars, which in France had not been sufficiently harvested, had shown that the presence of machine guns in battle was, for infantry, not only a powerful material help but also a considerable moral support. Thus the Germans began the war with thousands of machine guns. This weapon exactly fits their temperament; an automatic weapon responds to their immoderate love of mechanism and to the mechanical training of their soldiers. * * *

German Gunners Past Masters

All these things contribute to give the German machine gunners, picked soldiers, a peculiar mentality and pride. They show in battle real bravery, and often extraordinary ferocity. Numbers of them have taken an oath to be killed rather than surrender, and do not hesitate to massacre pitilessly the "kamarades" who try to break their oath.

During the English attack on Mametz, the German machine gunners fought to the last minute; their trench carried, they refused to surrender. On the other hand, these same soldiers showed that they were as ferocious as they are brave by pouring their fire on the wounded who lay on the ground before them.

It has also been noticed that the bravery, the coolness, the daring and skill of the German machine gunners contrasts with the timidity and often the awkwardness of their bomb throwers. The French and English grenadiers show themselves in general very superior to the Teuton bomb throwers, without doubt because the use of the machine gun is especially suitable to machine soldiers, that of hand weapons, on the contrary, appealing to the individual valor of the combatants. But it must be recognized that, as machine gunners, the Germans are past masters in their brutal art.

Bullets That Travel Faster Than Sound

BY CHARLES NORDMANN

[Translated from La Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris, for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

EVEN if our senses and instruments were sufficiently perfect exactly to define the direction from which the sound of a cannot shot comes, it often happens that this would not at all give us the direction in which the cannon itself is. It is a question of a phenomenon, very subtle, but of so great importance in war, in which it has led the combatants into errors that entailed the gravest consequences, that my readers will forgive me, in spite of the dryness of the subject, for setting it forth with a certain detail.

It is an astonishing thing that this phenomenon of acoustic illusion has hitherto been almost entirely unknown to the physicists, and many of the latest treatises on physics and acoustics do not even mention it. On the other hand, it was by no means unknown to the student of ballistics and the specialist in firearms, and it had been discovered and expounded by them almost thirty years ago.

We refer to what we shall call, for simplicity's sake, the false detonation of projectiles. Noted as early as 1888, in the experiments of the French Captains Journée and Sabouret, and the Austrian Mach, they were known to specialists, especially thanks to a series of articles which appeared in the Revue d'Artillerie, and the remarkable pamphlet of Captain

Mach, "Smokeless Powder and Tactics." When, on the shooting ranges, one studies firearms (rifles or cannon) firing projectiles of high initial velocity, one often notes discrepancies between the distances measured on the ground and those deduced from the difference between the velocity of light and the velocity of sound. It is noted that these discrepancies correspond to a velocity of sound in air very much greater than 330 meters (1,090 feet) a second, and that, other things being equal, these discrepancies increase with each increase in the initial velocity of the projectile. Especially with rifle bullets of the 1886 model, we have, by experiment, initial velocities of 2,300 feet a second, and, with the shells of certain long naval guns, an initial velocity reaching 4,000 feet a second.

It often happens that, on the rifle ranges, an observer stationed behind the target hears simultaneously the noise of the detonation and the shock of the bullet against the target, when the firer is not very far away—as if the sound traveled as fast as the bullet. To explain the results thus obtained, it would be necessary to admit that sound in air may have velocities exceeding 1,300 to 1,600 feet a second.

The idea that the bullet is able to modify the surrounding air sufficiently for the detonation to be propagated with a velocity very much greater than the normal velocity (1,090 feet a second) would conflict so strongly with all that we know of physics that it cannot be accepted for a moment; and, further, it was immediately ascertained, by establishing suitable conditions, that, in these experiments, the sound of the detonation of departure has not ceased to exist, and continues to be propagated at the classical velocity of 1,090 feet a second. It is heard, though more faintly, a certain time after the very rapid detonation of which we have just spoken, and which has been called the snap (claquement) of the projectile.

The departure of bullets or shells with high initial velocity is, therefore, signalized by two successive detonations—the first, very sharp and very dry, (from which comes its name claquement,) and which is propagated more rapidly than sound in still air; the other, weaker, which is propagated according to the ordinary laws of acoustics. Whence comes this parallel detonation, which often preponderates in intensity to such a degree that the detonation of departure has seemed to be eclipsed by it? What is the nature of this "snap"? What are its deceptive effects, in the work of scouting and range finding on the battlefield? This is our problem.

It was Mach who exactly explained the nature of this phenomenon, so that the very peculiar sound-bearing waves which produce the "snap" of the projectile are often called Mach waves. A comparison will explain their nature: When a ship advances in calm water its cutwater traces on either side a long, double furrow which is visible for a great distance and is formed by two straight lines diverging from the ship and meeting at its cutwater. Well, the Mach wave is an analogous wave formed in air by the very violent shock of the projectile. In striking against the layers of still air which it meets, the bullet causes a condensation in these layers, a sort of pointed and divergent furrow forming a cone, whose apex is occupied by the point of the projectile, and which is carried along with the velocity of the projectile. When a boat is at some distance to the right or left of an advancing ship, it is lightly rocked at the moment when it is reached by the angular furrow which comes from the ship's bow. In the same way, when the conical wave of condensation, which the high velocity projectile carries along with it, reaches the ear of an observer, the air is struck by a sound, (for a sound wave is only a condensation followed by a rarefaction of the air,) the ear hears the "snap" of the shell, and only a moment later hears the detonation of departure, which was at first wrongly confused with this "snap." Experiment shows further that the shell or bullet produces the "snap" only when its velocity in the air is greater than that of sound. * * *

Many guns, all the mortars, all short guns, many of the shell throwers, all trench guns, throw their projectiles with

a low initial velocity, less than 1,090 feet a second. For all these weapons the "snap" phenomenon does not exist, and only the single detonation of departure is heard. With the long guns of high initial velocity, on the contrary, one can hear two detonations, and this fact entails several curious consequences. [By an ingenious device the Mach wave has been photographed.]

All that we have just said only applies to projectiles of high initial velocities in the first part of their flight, when their mean velocity is greater than that of sound in air; but this mean velocity diminishes as the flight continues, since the projectile gradually slows down; a moment comes when, in case of very long ranges, it has a velocity less than that of sound in air. From this point the sound waves of the detonation of departure are gaining little by little on the shock wave, and a point of the trajectory is reached when they overtake it; at distances beyond this, however great the initial velocity may have been, the shell is once more preceded at the point of arrival by the sound of the gunshot and its own warning hiss.

Very different sounds are produced, which only long experience and good judgment can properly interpret.

[M. Nordmann points out that those meteors which are called bolides produce Mach waves, because they enter the upper layers of the atmosphere with velocities very much greater than that of sound in air. The "snap" rushes forward with them, like the furrow made by the advancing ship; and, as this shock wave may simultaneously reach observers scattered over a considerable space (just as the ship's furrow may simultaneously reach boats far from each other) at the exact time when they see the bolide explode, they interpret the "snap" as the noise of that explosion, and each is ready to declare that the bolide exploded directly over his head. The real noise of the explosion may come several seconds later and may be overlooked altogether.]

Removing Projectiles From the Brain by Electromagnet

Dr. Louis Rocher, Professor in the University of Bordeaux, has contributed a noteworthy article on this subject to the Bulletin de l'Académie de Médecine, Paris, from which the subjoined extracts have been translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE surgery of this war shows us the frequency of wounds in the skull and of projectiles within the brain. It reveals to us the difficulty of removing these, not only because their location is more or less deep, but because in instrumental exploration there is danger of further injury to the brain tissue already much bruised by the projectile. Besides, there are the difficulties of capturing a foreign body which flees before the forceps. On the other hand, rare indeed are the metallic foreign bodies which eliminate themselves spontaneously, unless they are quite superficial.

The presence in the brain of war projectiles presents a situation of gravity either immediate or mediate; in the first place there are the infectious complications. Still, the wound of the brain may heal, the projectile remain encysted, and operation be indicated only at a later date by brain disorders varying according to the location of the projectile, (epilepsy, paralysis, abscess.) Hence, it seems to the surgeon more and more that he ought to remove at the beginning every foreign body within the brain, (projectile or bony splinters.) It may be that some such bodies have been left at the start, either because it seemed as if their presence might be tolerated, or because their extraction was impossible. Still, there arise in actual practice a certain number of cases in which it is necessary to interfere at a later date and to extract the projectile.

Up to the present time it has been

conceded as a general rule that one should not remove balls lodged in the brain, (uncertainty and danger of operative procedures, risk of false routes, and of augmenting the injuries to the brain.) To us it now seems that with the method of extraction by the electromagnet, the technic is simplified to the point of presenting the maximum of safety, being, as it is, more sure and less destructive than the methods hitherto employed.

Consequently, it seems as if the extraction of balls from within the brain were restricted only by the progress of operative technic.

Knowing the service rendered to ophthalmologists by the large electromagnet as a means of removing metallic bodies from the eye, we conceived the idea of adopting this method for removing foreign bodies from the brain, after having located them by means of the X-ray. In fact, a splinter of shell the size of a twenty-centime piece and two millimeters thick was so removed in June, 1915, from the front of a soldier's brain, and that without anaesthesia, and with recovery.

Because of the success of this operation further experiments were made, and the reports were presented to the army medical men in February, 1916. The technic used in manipulating the electromagnet was similar to that adopted by ophthalmologists. In fact, the one we actually used belonged to a Paris oculist.

Experiments were made on human brains obtained at autopsies, and in these brains were buried at different depths various metallic splinters, (shell, torpedoes, grenades, and also the German ball.) In these cases we knew the location of the projectile in advance of attempting the extraction. In the living, of course, before undertaking extraction with the electromagnet an accurate X-ray examination is made.

The cases are of two classes—either recent wounds of the skull with penetration by the projectile, or late extraction of the projectile. A small body superficially located is readily removed. A larger body which has penetrated deeply requires more method. Prudent exploration and X-ray examination are needed in order to determine the route and location of the projectile, and to avoid fresh injury to the brain by directing erroneously the lines in which the electromagnet exerts attraction. When the circuit is closed the brain rises over the spot where the foreign body is located. Hence, when it is a question of primary search for a foreign body in a recent wound, the rising of the brain localizes it with relation to the orifice where it entered. The electromagnet should be so placed by the surgeon as to withdraw the body along the route by which it penetrated the brain. At every closing of the circuit will be seen an undulation produced on the brain along the path of the projectile, and becoming more and more evident as it approaches the magnet before brusquely leaving the orifice and sticking to the pole of the magnet.

In a case of late extraction of a foreign body it may be found encysted aseptically (if one may say that) in the brain, or situated inside of an abscess. In the latter case after X-ray examination and the opening of the skull, incision may be made at the point of the typical rising of the surface which occurs when the circuit is closed, and the body extracted through the incision. In the case of a ball or a splinter of shell encysted in the brain, the surgeon will need to calculate the best route of access to the projectile without preoccupying himself with the original orifice of entrance or the path followed. He will need to seek the best path to make it traverse in order to reduce to a minimum the traumatism of the nervous centres. Experimentally a ball was drawn by the magnet from the internal surface of the frontal lobe to its external surface. The projectile itself under the influence of the powerful magnet makes its own path just large enough for it to pass through. The bistoury makes a larger wound, and available information as to location of the foreign body is not always accurate. In extracting balls, regard must also be had to giving the ball the least deadly direction in leaving the brain; that is, it should come out point first and not base first. A

chance presentation of the magnet may result in a pirouetting of the ball ending in a presentation by its base.

This experimentation was done at the Hôpital Notre Dame, Epernay. It is to be desired that patients with skull wounds operated on at the front in the ambulances, but without removal of the projectile, should be sent to centres possessing an electromagnet, by means of which the brain could be quickly relieved of the foreign body.

Night Blindness Among the Soldiers

DR. L. WEEKERS IN BULLETIN DE L'ACADEMIE DE MEDICINE, PARIS

Dr. Weekers is a professor in the University of Liége and assistant physician in the Belgian Army. The most interesting portions of his article are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

THE present war, fertile in novelties of all sorts, has witnessed an affection of the eyes, which, as far as I know, has never been mentioned in previous wars; I mean the night blindness of which some soldiers complain. Although in the daytime their vision is good, toward evening, and especially at night, they are blind to the point of being completely bewildered; they never succeed in changing their location except with the greatest difficulties; they fall into the trenches, into the shell holes frequently filled with water, and would be quite incapable of finding their way again if they were not aided by their companions. Some of them have at times been compelled to wait a very long while in the same place, until their comrades came to find them, not daring to risk themselves alone for fear of an accident or for fear of drowning.

These men, even if very courageous, dread to be on sentinel duty because of the responsibility which they incur as regards their officers and companions in arms, if they are incapable of warning at the approach of danger. I know of errors which have been caused by men smitten with night blindness (hemeralopia) who strayed and were lost in the course of a patrol. The soldiers stricken with night blindness give the utmost detail concerning the troubles which they feel, and so demonstrate their good faith. One of them described to me how in the night marches he always sought to place himself behind one of his companions who carried a shining bowl on his knapsack; for him it was the only guiding point which permitted him to follow the column, and without it he would have been completely disabled. The drivers of vehicles are at night quite incapable of directing their horses, and are obliged to abandon themselves to their teams.

This symptom is frequent. Out of 3,977 patients whose eyes were examined at the front 409, or 10 per cent., presented very marked symptoms of hemeralopia.

These men have no other functional trouble than an insufficiency of retinal adaptation. The objective examination reveals no lesion of the deep ocular membranes. They often have an anomaly of refraction, (in 73 per cent. of the cases.) Most frequently the general condition is satisfactory, but sometimes one notes signs of nervous depression.

The explanation of the cause of these cases of night blindness found among the soldiers is particularly complicated, inasmuch as but little is known regarding the normal physiology of retinal adaptation. There is one distinction to be made. Some soldiers are affected with a congenital hemeralopia whose manifestations may be accentuated by the life in the trenches. It is probable that those afflicted with this congenital form are themselves quite unconscious of the fact, and hence are tempted to attribute their troubles exclusively to their new life. Independently of congenital hemeralopia, there is an acquired form which individuals previously exempt develop. It seems that it may be

the resultant, not of a single cause but of the co-working of a whole series of factors.

The principal cause of night blindness is nervous exhaustion, the overtaxing which is explained only too well by the fatigues and dangers of war, by the monotony and unphysiological character of the life in the trenches, by the irregular sleep, by the rude shocks to which the nervous system is subjected, and perhaps, above all, by the homesickness and anxieties concerning the family left behind in the country occupied by the enemy.

Similar troubles are found among colliers, whose distressing conditions of life at the bottom of the mine have many analogies to those of soldiers in the trenches. In the course of the piercing of the St. Gothard, among the workmen overtaxed by that titanic task numerous cases of night blindness were noted. Here again, as among soldiers and colliers, this symptom betrays an exhaustion of the nervous system. To my mind there exists a clinical form of night blindness which should be called the hemeralopia of exhaustion.

Work in the dark, contrary to what one might think, does not produce night blindness; the darkness gives the evidence of the insufficiency of the retinal adaptation, but is not the cause of it. The ocular fatigue resulting from an error of refraction, or from an inflammation of the external ocular membranes, acts as an auxiliary factor by increasing the fatigue.

A clinical form of night blindness which is well known is that found in endemic form in certain groups by reason of insufficient or defective nutrition, for example, in penitentiaries, in orphan asylums, on ships. In Russia, during the seven weeks of fasting which precede the feasts of Easter, cases of night blindness occur in great number. But I think that this causal factor intervenes but little in the development of night blindness among soldiers. Their nutrition is the object of very special care, it is abundant and healthful. The only grievance against the regimen of our soldiers is one made inevitable by circumstances, and that is, that it is too uniform, and that canned goods form too large a part of it.

The present-day treatment of night blindness includes the wearing of smoked glasses during prolonged exposure to bright light, the correction of errors of refraction, (using round frames and lenses at the front,) strengthening and varied food, rest in the hospital for exceptional cases. The number of catastrophies on the field from this cause is to be lessened by eliminating the congenital cases of night blindness by tests at the recruiting stations. Men who are so affected need not be excluded from military service, but can be assigned to duty not requiring night work.

Endless Chain of Motor Cars That Saved Verdun

France may truly be said to have won the battle of Verdun by means of automobiles. Certainly the battle would have been lost without them. The road from Bar-le-Duc to Verdun, over which the machines traveled, is still called La Voie Sacrée (The Sacred Way) by French writers. The historical facts are thus summarized by Henry Wood, a special correspondent with the French armies.

IT is not improbable that some future poet will sing the song of "The Four Thousand Automobiles of Verdun." When the Germans began their big drive last February the nearest railhead from which the French could bring up their munitions and supplies was at Bar-le-Duc, some thirty miles away and connected with Verdun by a single roadway capable of sustaining heavy motor truck traffic. It was over this one roadway that France immediately established its endless chain of 4,000 automobiles. They maintained a uniform distance from each other of twenty yards and moved at a uniform rate of one yard a second. There was only one order to be observed, and that was that never for a single second

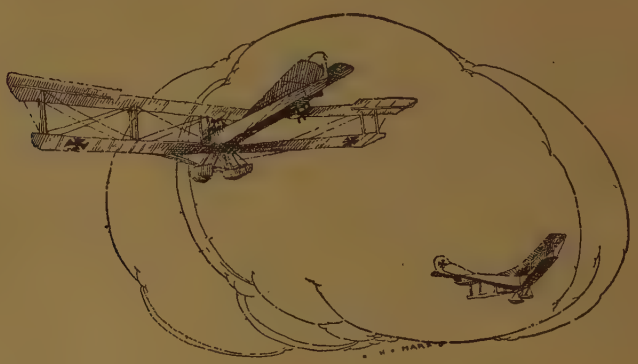
of the night or day must anything stop or slacken this endless, ever-rolling chain. If a chauffeur discovered something going wrong with his machine, his duty was to run the automobile into the ditch before he should be obliged to stop in the roadway and clog the chain.

At all hours there passed up and down the side of the roadway gangs of repair men. They hastily examined each machine as it had been run into the ditch. If it was found it could be quickly repaired it was repaired and thrust back into line. If it was found the accident was serious the auto was ruthlessly cast aside, the repair gang merely carrying away the more essential parts for use in making other repairs. The cost of a single auto at that time was not worth the loss of a second to France.

No road in the world could have sustained this chain of heavy traffic without constant repairs, and here again French genius solved the problem. A stone was found for macadamizing the road sufficiently soft to be crushed under the wheels of the autos themselves without the need of the roller. This stone was distributed along both sides of the roadway for the entire thirty miles, as were also gangs of road repairers. The instant a worn place appeared, a workman rushed in between two automobiles and deposited a shovel full of the soft stone on the spot. He leaped back in time to permit the approaching auto to pass over it, crushing it into the roadbed, and as this auto cleared it a second man leaped in between it and the next machine with another shovel full of stone, this continuing till the weakened spot was again perfectly macadamized.

For fully three months, until railways could be built, France kept up this endless chain of 4,000 autos, 2,000 moving up one side of the roadway from Bar-le-Duc as the other 2,000 moved on in the opposite side from Verdun. The 4,000 automobiles included also the ambulance autos that brought back the wounded. Many of these were urgent cases, and yet these ambulances could only move at the established rate of one yard per second.

Hundreds of lives would have been lost had it not been for the field sections of the American ambulance stationed at Verdun. Equipped with small, light, speedy cars capable of going almost anywhere and everywhere that the heavy French auto-ambulances could not go, the "rush" surgical cases were given to these American drivers. They were not given a place in the endless chain, but were allowed to dart into the intervening space of sixty feet maintained between the cars, and then make their way forward as best they could. When an open field offered, they left the road entirely, and, driving across, would come back into line when they could go no further, and await another chance for getting ahead. They were able to bring the wounded down from Verdun often twice as fast as those who came in the regular ambulances, and always without ever committing the one great error on which the life of France depended—the tying up for a single instant of the endless chain of the 4,000 automobiles of Verdun.

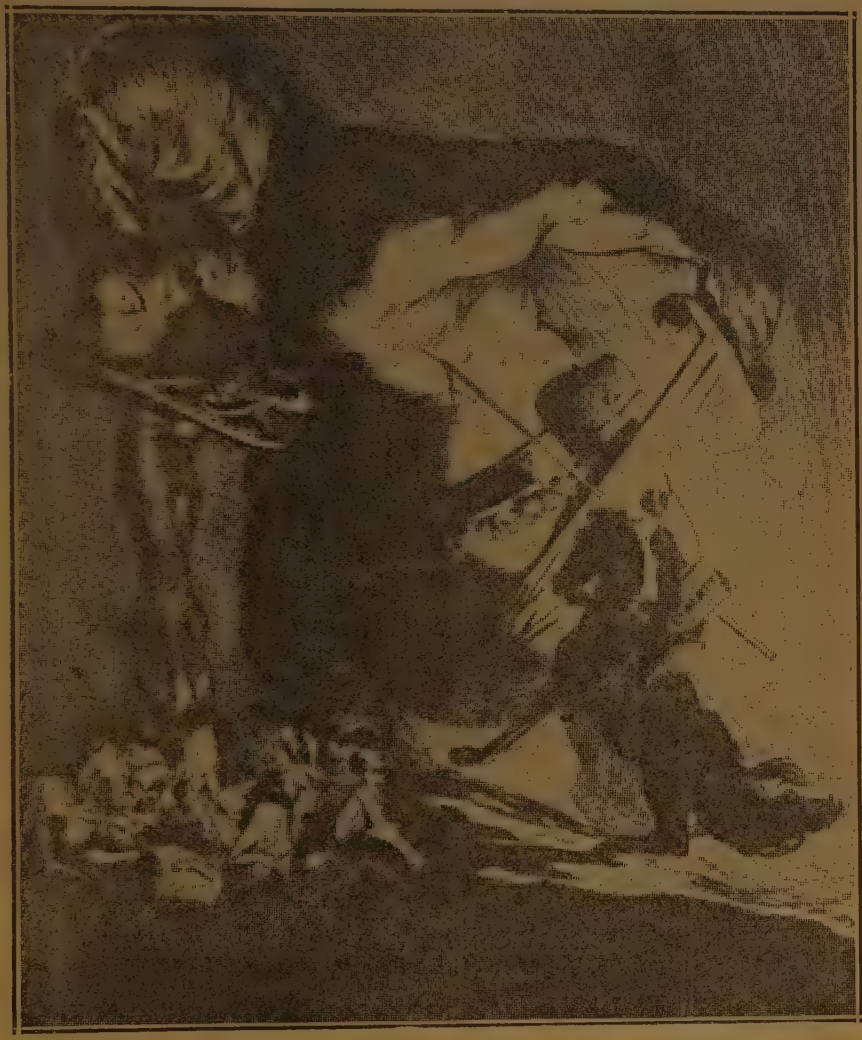


THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

NOTE.—Owing to the seizure of all German periodicals by the British blockade patrols, CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE has been unable to obtain for this issue an equal representation of the latest German cartoons.

[Australian Cartoon]

St. George and the Dragon



—Flanagan in Sydney Bulletin.

Liberty fighting the worst of the dragon brood—Militarism.

[Russian Cartoon]

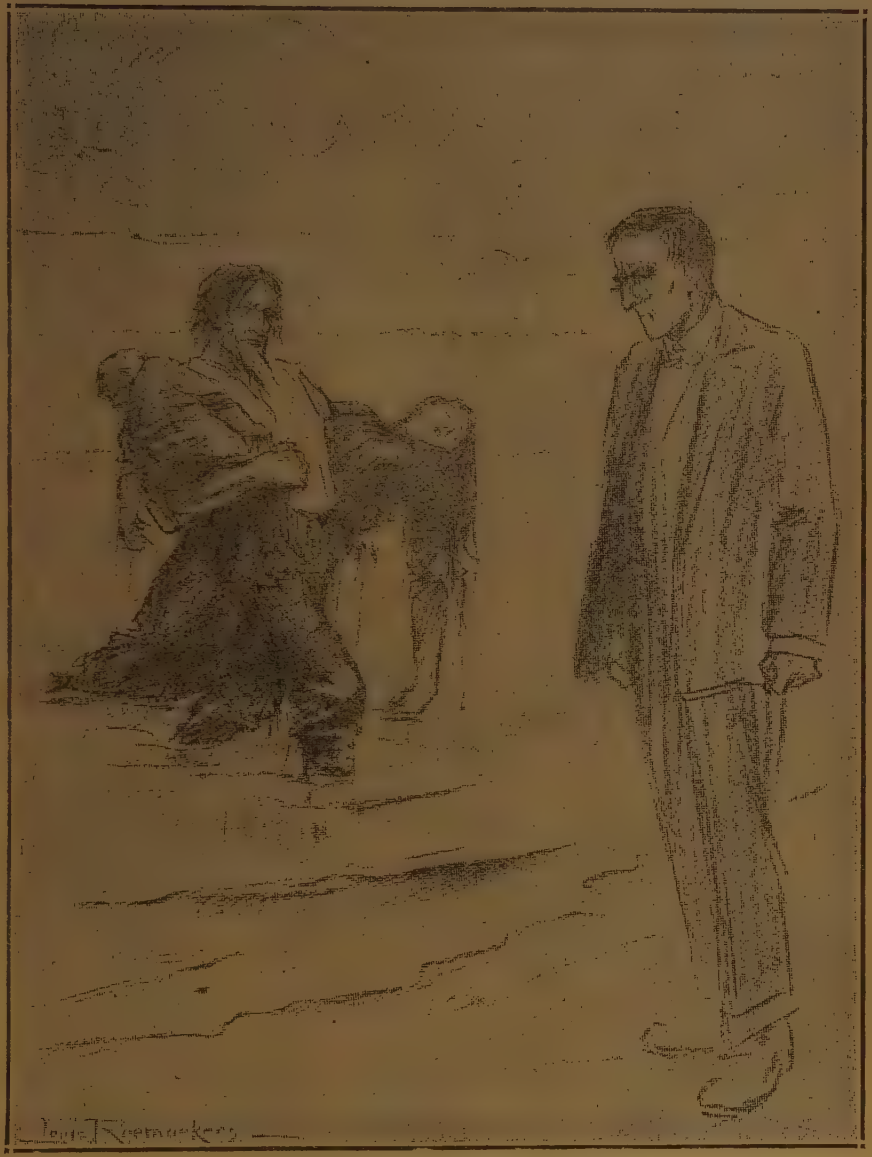
The Busy American

—From the Novi Satirikon, Petrograd.

The clink of the shoveled coin deafens him to the cries of those who are perishing at sea.

[English Cartoon]

U-Boat 53 at Nantucket



—Raemaekers in Land and Water, London.

PRESIDENT WILSON: "We can save, but cannot we prevent?"

American Taste

—*From La Victoire, Paris.*

"How clever they are with the torpedo!"

—*From La Victoire, Paris.*

The last German submarine.

[Austrian Cartoon]

The Allied "Offensive" in Rumania

"Don't worry; it will soon hatch out."

—*From Die Muskete, Vienna.*

"Rotten, by Gosh!"

[Italian Cartoon]

Uncle Sam's Interrupted Nap

—*From L'Asino, Rome.*

German submarines give America a taste of what Europe suffers daily.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Hindenburg's Strategy

—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

"He strode to a large map of Poland, and, laying a hand as large as a breakfast tray over the centre, said, 'It is here that European and colonial affairs will be settled.'"

[French Cartoon]

Lest Ye Forget!

—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

VOICE OF FRANCE'S DEAD: "Cursed be the hand that shall clasp the hand of our assassins!"

[German Cartoon]

The Butterfly Hunter

—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

John Bull after the neutrals. He won't get a single one of them.

[Australian Cartoon]

The Lovers

—*Norman Lindsay in Sydney Bulletin.*

"The conquered loves the conqueror."—Max Harden.

[French Cartoon]

Christmas in the War Zone

—From "La Baionnette, Paris.

"What did I tell you! I SAID he'd find our chimney."

[Russian Cartoon]

The Mailed Fist at Home

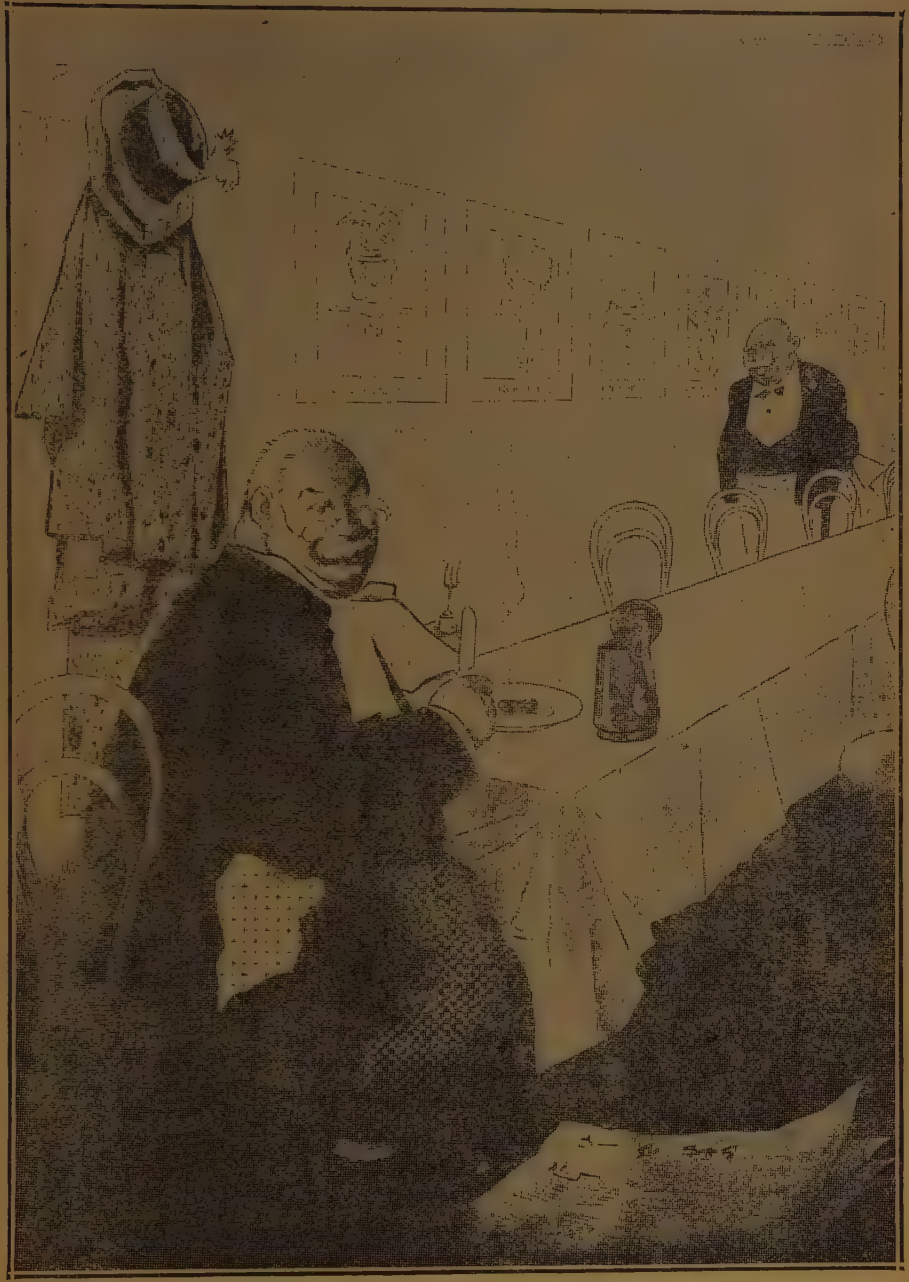
Many women and children have been wounded in the food riots at Berlin. — *Newspaper report.*

—From Boudilnik, Petrograd.

WILHELM: "In spite of this terrible war we will have neither widows nor orphans."

[English Cartoon]

Oh, Where Has My Little Dog Gone?



—Will Owen in The Sketch, London.

"I for the best hoped have—but now I for the wurst ready am."

[French Cartoon]

Recapture of Fort Douaumont

"The French attack, favored by fog"—*German war bulletin, Oct. 26.*

—Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.

—and the fog was suddenly dissipated.

[French Cartoon]

Polish Freedom—German Style

—Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.

"We hereby re-establish the ancient Kingdom of Poland."

[English Cartoon]

A German Bargain

—Will Dyson in London Chronicle.

READER OF PROCLAMATION TO THE POLES: "In short, we are giving you a pure Prussian Prince, and taking in return a mere million or two of Polish peasants!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Happy Neutral

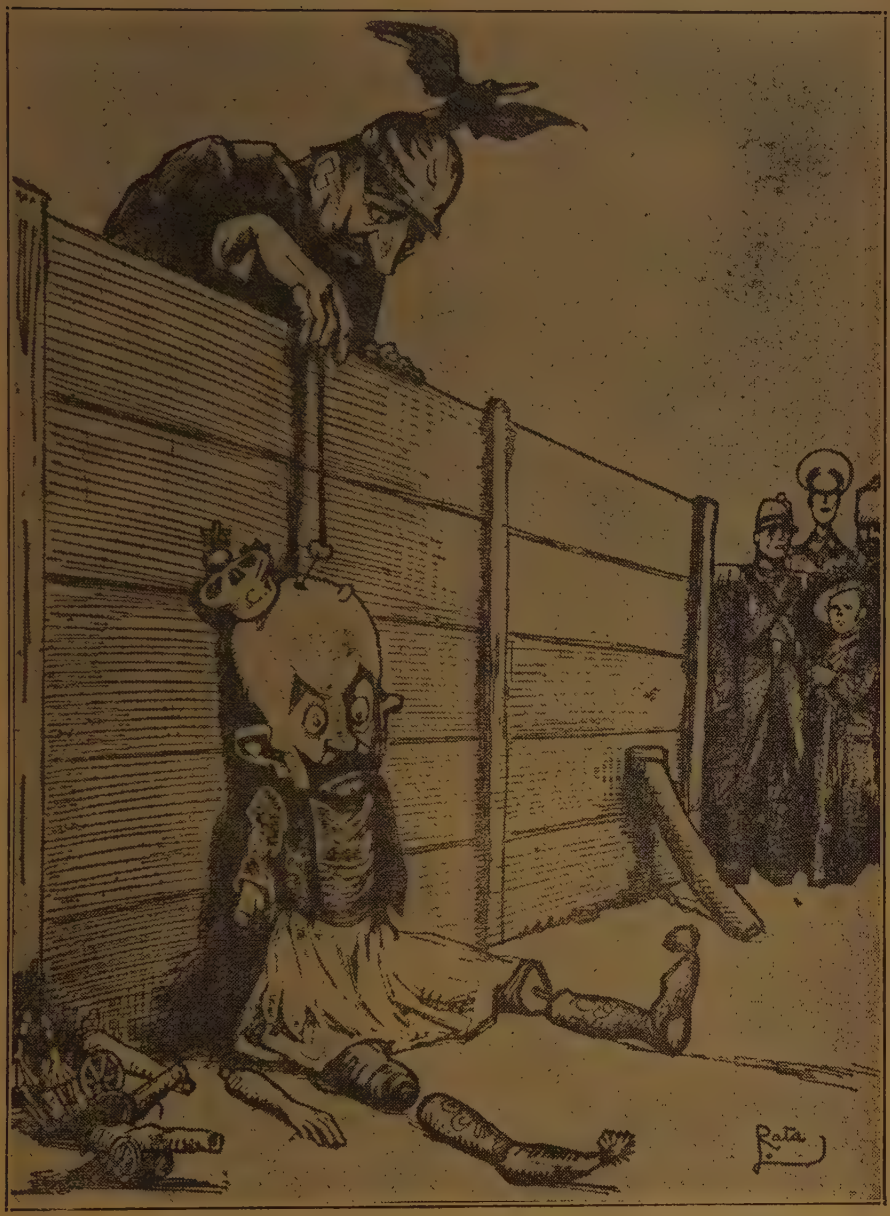
—*Campana de Gracia, Barcelona; adapted by Cartoons Magazine.*

I twang my strings for all they're worth
Upon this peaceful lump of earth;
The sounds of war evoke no fears
For I have stopped up both my ears.

The Spanish ships sunk by German submarines are seen in the background.

[Italian Cartoon]

The Greek Situation



—From L'Asino, Rome.

King Constantine as the Kaiser's puppet.

[Rumanian Cartoon]

Transylvania

—From a Rumanian Postcard.

Crucified by the two-headed Austrian eagle.

[French Cartoon]

The Crown Prince Prefers Not to Return to Verdun

"Say, Papa, can't you send me now against the Japanese?"

[Australian Cartoon]

The Red Plowman

—Norman Lindsay in Sydney Bulletin.

How much longer will he torture Europe?

[Polish Cartoon]

The Tempter

—From Mucha, Moscow.

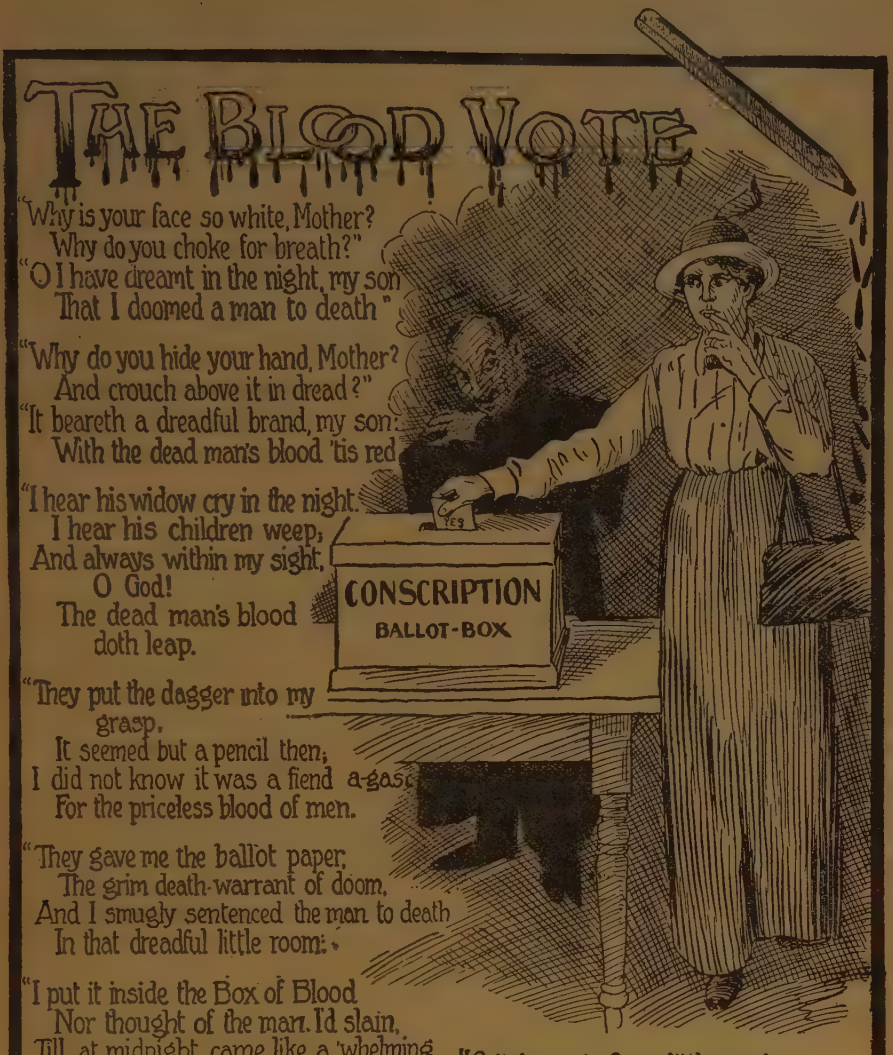
KAISER (to Poland): "I will give you all that lies before you."

POLAND: "But what of that which lies beyond?"

KAISER: "Oh, that is mine. You can't expect any of that."

[Australian Cartoon]

The Poem That Defeated Conscription



[This cartoon, in the form of large posters, is said to have turned the Australian women's vote, defeating compulsory military service in the recent referendum.]

[German Cartoon]

Pulling the Puppet Strings

—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

OLD PUPPET SHOWMAN JOHN BULL: "Confound it! One string after another gets tangled up."

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From November 13, Up to and Including December 11, 1916

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Nov. 13—Heavy artillery fighting in Galicia, in the Narayuvka region.

Nov. 15—Russians recapture Narayuvka positions east of Lipnicadolna.

Nov. 24—Russians repulse attacks on the Kovel-Marovich Railway in Volhynia.

Nov. 29—Russians repulse gas attacks on the River Shara.

Dec. 9—Russian troops retire to their own intrenchments after battle near Javornika.

Dec. 11—Austro-German troops take the offensive in the region of Pomorzany in Galicia.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Nov. 13—Russians cross the Danube into Dobrudja at two points south of Cernavoda, in the rear of Mackensen's army; Teutons on Transylvanian front push back the Rumanians in the region of the Oituz Valley and northeast of Campulung; Serbs on the Macedonian front advance beyond Polog and capture the Village of Iven.

Nov. 14—Teutons capture the village of Bumbeshti in the Juil Valley and force the Rumanians back in the Alt Valley; Russians retire from the Gyergyo Mountains in Northern Transylvania; Serbs reach the edge of the Monastir plain, flanking frontier defenses to the south.

Nov. 15—Rumanians are forced back further in the Alt and Juil Valleys, but pursue the Teutons from the border of Western Moldavia to the Slanic and Oituz Valleys.

Nov. 16—Mackensen forced back in Dobrudja; army burns villages as it retreats; Bulgar-German army flanked out of whole line of frontier defenses centred on Kenali; French occupy Kenali and several other villages on the Monastir plain and Cerna Heights; British resume offensive on the Struma front and capture Karakaska, east of Lake Tahinos.

Nov. 17—Teutons take Tirgujiulij in the Juil Valley and the Village of Liresht in the Campulung region; British on the Struma take Kerakli.

Nov. 18—Rumanians force Teutons to retreat in the Campulung region; French reach Kanena, five miles south of Monastir; British take Prosenik and Kumli on the Struma.

Nov. 19—Teutons reach the Wallachian Plain and cut the Orsova-Craiova railroad; Rumanians recapture series of heights in the Tirgujiulij region; allied troops take Monastir.

Nov. 21—Teuton forces occupy Craiova; Serbs take many villages east and northeast of Monastir.

Nov. 22—Bulgar-German retreat from Monastir halted on a line running from Snegovo to Hill 1,050, southwest of Makovo.

Nov. 23—Russian reinforcements arrive on the Transylvanian front; Rumanians destroy bridge over the Danube near Corabia; French and Italians advance north of Monastir to the west; Serbs capture another village to the east.

Nov. 24—Teutons capture Turnu-Severin and Orsova; Serbs capture Rapesh and Budimirtse northeast of Monastir; Italians reach Nijpole.

Nov. 25—Germans from Mackensen's front cross the Danube, landing at Islacz at the mouth of the Alt and at Zimnitza; Falkenhayn's forces push down the Alt Valley from Red Tower Pass, cross the Alt River, and drive Rumanians back toward the south.

Nov. 26—Falkenhayn's army gains the railway at Craiova; Mackensen's army advances before Alexandria.

Nov. 27—Teutons capture Alexandria; Rumanians abandon entire Alt River line and withdraw beyond the Topolog River; Orsova forces trapped; French and Serbs in Macedonia capture Hill 1,050, east of Parlavo.

Nov. 28—Falkenhayn captures Curtea de Arges; Mackensen occupies Giurgiu; Rumanians destroy the railroad to Bucharest as they retreat from the Danube; Cabinet moves from Bucharest to Jassy.

Nov. 29—Falkenhayn captures Pitechti; Serbs capture the height northwest of Grunishte; Italians push forward in the region of Tsrvena Stena height.

Nov. 30—Falkenhayn's forces take Campulung; Mackensen's army occupies Tzomana; Russian drive gains in the north, reaching the outskirts of Kirlibaba; Serbs driven back from the west slope of Ruin Mountain.

Dec. 1—Russians launch great offensive all along the Bukowina and Moldavia frontier and in Dobrudja, capturing ranges south of Kirlibaba and in the Buzeu Valley southeast of Kronstadt.

Dec. 2—Russians gain grip on Kirlibaba; Rumanians make further retirement west of Bucharest; Serbs resume their advance in the region of Monastir.

Dec. 4—All Teutonic armies in Rumania reported incorporated under command of General Mackensen; bombardment of

Bucharest begins; Russians break into Transylvania northeast of Kronstadt; Serbs drive Germans and Bulgars from fortified Bulgar positions north of Grunishte.

Dec. 6—Bucharest and Ploechti captured by the Teutons.

Dec. 7—Teutons occupy Campino; Bulgars retake Serb positions north of Sokol.

Dec. 8—Rumanian troops retreating from the Predeal and Altschanz Passes cut off by Teutonic forces and most of them captured.

Dec. 10—Rumanians assume the offensive along the Buzeu-Ploechti road and drive the Teutons back behind the Grikovul River; Bulgarians cross the Danube between Cernavoda and Silistria.

Dec. 11—Teutons driven back for several miles east of Ploechti; French advance near Flaklar, north of Monastir.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Nov. 13—British break German line on five-mile front north and south of the Ancre River and capture the towns of Beaumont-Hamel and St. Pierre Divion.

Nov. 14—British advance further up the valley of the Ancre, capturing the Village of Beaucourt.

Nov. 15—Germans assault French lines from the region of Les Boeufs to Bouchavesnes and make slight advances.

Nov. 16—French expel the Germans from Pressoire and win back contested portion of Saillisel.

Nov. 17—British advance east of Beaucourt, but are forced back east of Warlencourt.

Nov. 18—British on the Ancre reach the outskirts of Grandcourt.

Nov. 20—Germans win back part of Grandcourt.

Nov. 25—Somme fighting halted by bad weather; artillery forces around Fort Vaux show renewed activity.

Nov. 26—French attack upon St. Mihiel salient repulsed; German attacks in the Champagne district east of Maisons-Champagne and Auberive repulsed.

Nov. 28—British positions on both sides of the Ancre heavily shelled; fighting renewed near Souchez.

Nov. 30—Germans repulse British attack on two-mile front near Ypres.

Dec. 4—British repulsed in attempts to enter German trenches at Ypres.

Dec. 6—Germans launch attack on the slopes east of Hill 304, northwest of Verdun.

Dec. 7—Germans capture summit of Hill 304.

Dec. 9-11—Violent artillery duels on the Ancre.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Nov. 15—Italians evacuate some trenches on the San Marco, east of Gorizia.

Nov. 17—Italians repel night attacks against salient on the San Marco.

Nov. 18—Italians advance on the Carso and near Vertoibizza.

Nov. 28—Austrians shell Italian front in the Trentino and near Gorizia.

Dec. 2—Austrians repulsed at Monte Granuda in the Fella Valley.

Dec. 6—Austrian attacks in the Upper Astico Valley repused.

Dec. 11—Italians repel attacks in the Boscomalo-Ludilog sector on the Carso.

ASIA MINOR

Nov. 13—Russians repel Turks near Gumushkhaneh height and Kighi.

Nov. 24—Turks evacuate Sharafkhan in Armenia.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

Nov. 19—Portuguese occupy Linda and reach Moama.

Dec. 11—British line has advanced from New Iringa and Kissaki to the coast.

AERIAL RECORD

British naval airplanes raided Ostend and Zeebrugge.

On Nov. 17 a French aviator flew from the French lines to Munich and dropped bombs on the city. He crossed the Alps on his return trip and alighted near Venice, having covered a distance of 435 miles.

Zeppelins raided blast furnaces and industrial establishments in the northeastern counties of England Nov. 27. Two machines were brought down.

The Russians brought down a Zeppelin near Sarny and captured the crew.

Austrian aviators raided Weadova, Ravenna, Ponte Lagoscuro, and Aquila, and set fire to Padua. Italians shelled Prosecco and the pier at Trieste.

Teuton aviators made several raids on Bucharest and on neighboring villages, and on Nov. 15 dropped bombs on the royal palace.

The British raided Maghdaba and Birshaba in Egypt, bringing down two Fokkers.

NAVAL RECORD

German submarines have renewed their campaign in the war zone with unusual vigor. Within a month ninety-six vessels, belligerent and neutral, have been sunk.

Two British hospital ships, the Britannic and the Braemar Castle, were sunk by mines in the Aegean Sea.

Russian submarines sank three Turkish ships in the Black Sea, near the Bosporus.

The American steamship Chemung was torpedoed and sunk near the coast of Spain by an Austrian submarine.

Six German destroyers raided the British coast Nov. 25, bombarded Ramsgate, and sank a patrol ship. In a second raid, near Lowestoft, Nov. 28, another patrol ship was sunk and the crew captured.

The French gunboat Surprise was sunk by German submarines at Funchal, Madeira, the troop ship Karnak has been sunk, and the battleship Suffren has been given up as lost.

WINTER IN THE VOSGES TRENCHES

French Observation Post in the Vosges Mountains: A Sentry Watching for German Aeroplanes

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

WINTER IN GALICIA

A Village Along the Stripa River Through Which an Army's Lines Now Run

(Photo © International Film Service.)

A BRITISH BOMB PROJECTOR

This Bomb Thrower, Seen at the Moment of Loading, Represents an Important Element in Trench Warfare

(Photo © International Film Service.)

NEW PREMIER OF GREECE

Professor Spyridon P. Lambros, President of the Greek Council of Ministers, Has Taken Part in Many Stormy Scenes

(Bain News Agency.)

ADMIRAL VON HOLTZENDORF

Chief of the Admiralty Staff of the German Navy

(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)

GENERAL LYAUTEY

New Minister of War in the French Cabinet, Former Governor of Morocco, and Member of the French Academy

PERIOD XXIX.

The President's Peace Efforts—Reply of Entente to Central Powers—Turkey's Declaration of Independence—The French Victories of Douaumont and Hardaumont—Two Years of British Achievement—Enslavement of the Belgians—Great Land Ironclads and Victory—What the Allies Are Fighting Against.

WORLD EVENTS OF THE MONTH

Peace Discussions

PEACE was the outstanding topic of the month just past. Germany's peace proposal and President Wilson's formal request that the belligerents state their peace terms overshadowed every other theme. All the official interchanges and documents on both phases of the subject appear textually in this issue. The action of President Wilson at first justified a hope that the preliminaries of a peace conference were in sight, but the definite reply of the Allies discouraged this expectation, and hope was finally shattered both by the effect the reply produced in Germany and by the British Foreign Minister's amplification of the reply, which served to arouse the entire German population through a specific reference to the cession of Alsace-Lorraine to France as a condition of peace.

The news from Washington at the hour of going to press indicated that President Wilson had abandoned for the present any further exchange of notes with the belligerents on the subject of peace. Moreover, the rather pointed references in the Balfour note to a league to "enforce peace" rather than a league to "insure peace," such as President Wilson had in mind, is regarded in high circles as a plain intimation that Great Britain does not regard as practical a league that will seek to insure future peace by moral suasion.

* * *

The Military Situation

MILITARY operations were practically at a standstill during the month, except in Northern Dobrudja, the Riga sector, and the Sinai Peninsula. The Germans, with their Turkish, Austro-Hungarian, and Bulgarian allies, pushed back the Russian and Rumanian forces from Central and part of Eastern Rumania; they came into complete control of the Dobrudja, with advances threatening Moldavia and even Bessarabia. In the Riga sector the Russians took the offensive and gained some advantage, advancing nearly a mile. The British defeated the Turks in Northern Egypt, removing the danger threatening the Suez Canal; they pushed their forces eastward toward Palestine, taking Raffa, within seventy miles of Jerusalem. British troops also showed activity in Mesopotamia, and again threatened Kut. The Saloniki army was quiet. There was little activity along the Italian fronts, and no important action in France, after the retaking of Hardaumont in the Verdun sector.

German submarines were busy during the month, torpedoing many large merchant vessels and at least one battleship, the Cornwallis, with several transports and minor naval craft. The operations of a German sea raider, reported to have sunk a score of allied merchant vessels in the South Atlantic, were among the month's surprises. The number of allied vessels destroyed in November was 191, according to an official German report.

* * *

The War Council at Rome

THE month was replete with political events of deep import. Of chief significance was the conference of the Entente Premiers at Rome. Italy was represented by her Premier, Paolo Boselli; Great Britain by Premier Lloyd George and Viscount Milner; France by Premier

Briand, General Lyautey, War Minister; Russia by General Palitzin. The conference was held on Jan. 6 and 7. No official statements were made of what occurred, except that the conference was entirely satisfactory and would result in a closer harmony than ever before in the plans of the Entente. It is reported that as a result Italy was won over to the Balkan plans of her allies, for a new and drastic ultimatum was served on Greece about this time; it is believed also that an agreement was reached with reference to the Macedonian campaign as well as a general understanding looking to closer unity of operations. All the Governments which participated let it be known that the conference was entirely harmonious and its results eminently satisfactory.

* * *

Important Cabinet Changes

ANOTHER spectacular change occurred in the Russian Cabinet. On Jan. 9 the Premier, Alexander Trepoff, and Count Ignatieff, Minister of Public Instruction, resigned unexpectedly, and it is reported that they did so unwillingly at the demand of the Czar. Prince Golitzine, a Senator and member of the Council of the Empire, was appointed Premier and Senator Kulchitsky Minister of Public Instruction. The new Premier was born in Wiesbaden, Prussia, in 1860. This is the third change in the Premiership in a year; in fourteen months there were eight changes in the Ministry of the Interior. It is the general conviction that the fall of Trepoff means a blow at liberalism and the appointment of Golitzine a triumph for the reactionaries, though Protopopoff, who is regarded as the real power, is accredited with liberal tendencies and a favorable attitude toward a new commercial treaty with the United States.

The downfall of Herr von Koerber, the Austrian Premier, was unexpected, as he had held office only a few weeks following the assassination of Count Stuergkh. His retirement is said to be due to the influence of the Hungarian Premier, Count Tisza, who had found in von Koerber an opponent to the control of Austrian affairs by Germany, and to the dominance of Magyar influences at the Austrian Court; it is stated that while the old Emperor had grown restive under this state of affairs, the new Emperor takes a sympathetic view and practically dismissed von Koerber.

* * *

Danish Islands Transferred

SECRETARY LANSING and Constantin Brun, the Danish Minister, formally exchanged ratifications on Jan. 17, 1917, of the treaty conveying the Danish West Indies to the United States, thus marking the beginning of American sovereignty over the islands. Actual physical possession will take place as soon as the purchase price, $25,000,000, is paid to Denmark, which will be promptly done. It is likely that a Civil Governor, a naval officer and a Customs Collector will be designated, and that the present local administration will not be disturbed.

* * *

Decline in British Securities

THE LONDON BANKERS' MAGAZINE computes the total depreciation in value of 387 representative British securities between July 20, 1914, and Jan. 1, 1916, to be $4,610,000,000; during 1916 the shrinkage was $745,000,000, in 1915 $1,035,000,000. In the ten days immediately preceding the declaration of war these securities decreased in value $950,000,000. The securities range from British and Indian Government bonds to mining shares, comprising all the representative classes of investment. British railway stocks show a decline of $285,035,000. British and Indian Government securities lost value to the extent of $256,930,000.

* * *

ON Jan. 18, 1917, the following were the quotations of foreign exchange, together with the standard values at normal times: 4 marks, 67½ cents, normally, 95 1-5; sterling, 4.75 13-16, normally, 4.86⅝; francs, 5.84⅜, normally 5.18⅛ to the dollar; lire, 7.00, normally, 5.18; Austrian kronen, 10.90, normally, 20.3 cents; rubles, 28.95, normally, 51.2 cents; Holland guilders, 40 13-16, normally, 40.2 cents; Swiss, 5.02, normally, 5.18⅛ cents.

The German Sea Raider

A DRAMATIC but also profoundly tragic episode of the war developed when the Japanese steamer Hudson Maru reached Pernambuco, Brazil, Jan. 15 with 237 men from crews of various British and French vessels that had been torpedoed or captured in the South Atlantic during the two weeks preceding by a German raider. On the 17th the following vessels were reported as having fallen victims to the craft, whose identity up to the hour of going to press was unknown:

Vessel.	Tonnage.	Point of Departure.
Drina, (Br.)	11,483	Rio Janeiro, Dec. 17, for Liverpool.
Georgic, (Br.)	10,077	Philadelphia, Dec. 3, for Liverpool.
Voltaire, (Br.)	8,618	Liverpool, Nov. 28, for New York.
Ortega, (Br.)	8,075	Antofagasta, Oct. 28, for Liverpool.
Mount Temple, (Br.)	7,556	Montreal, Dec. 3, for London.
Samara, (Fr.)	6,007	Last reported from Bordeaux, Nov. 8.
Dramatist, (Br.)	5,421	St. Lucia, Dec. 10, for Liverpool.
Netherby Hall, (Br.)	4,461	Far East, for Cuba.
Hammershus, (Dan.)	3,931	New York, Dec. 24, for South American ports.
Radnorshire, (Br.)	4,302	No data as to movements.
King George, (Br.)	3,852	Philadelphia, Nov. 24, for Manchester.
Hudson Maru, (Japan)	3,798	Bombay, Nov. 27, for Philadelphia.
St. Theodore, (Br.)	3,175	Norfolk, Dec. 5, for Savona.
Yarrowdale, (Br.)	2,914	Supposed to have sailed from Havre.
Nantes, (Fr.)	2,679	Iquiqui, Oct. 9, for London.
Asnières, (Fr.)	2,715	Bahia Blanca, Nov. 29, for Pauillac.
Miniah, (Br.)	2,381	No data as to movements.
St. Sael	——	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Gailey	——	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Michnethiel	——	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Nesser	——	Not in Lloyd's Register.
Newport Land	——	Not in Lloyd's Register.
San Giorgio	——	Several vessels of name in register.

On Jan. 18 two other vessels were added to the list of supposed victims. The Araguaya, (British,) 10,537 tons, and the Admiral Latouche Treville, (French,) 5,573 tons. The value of the vessels and cargoes of the missing ships is estimated to be in the neighborhood of $20,000,000. When the news was flashed marine rates jumped immediately from 20 to 50 per cent. Four fast British cruisers, capable of nineteen to twenty-five knots an hour, began the hunt for the raider, but up to the 20th it had not been discovered.

SIR DOUGLAS HAIG, Commander in Chief of the British Forces, on Dec. 30 rendered his official report of the offensive on the Somme, covering the period from July 19 until the Winter stopped further activities. This report will be printed in our March number.

The Commander in Chief says in his more general conclusions:

The three main objects with which we had commenced our offensive in July had already (by Nov. 18) been achieved, in spite of the fact that the heavy Autumn rains had prevented full advantage being taken of the favorable situation created by our advance, at a time when we had good grounds for hoping to achieve yet more important successes.

Verdun had been relieved;

The main German forces had been held on the western front, and

The enemy's strength had been very considerably worn down.

Any one of these three results is in itself sufficient to justify the Somme battle. The attainment of all three of them affords ample compensation for the splendid efforts of our troops and for the sacrifices made by ourselves and our allies. They have brought us a long step forward toward the final victory of the allied cause.

Sir Douglas Haig reports the capture of 38,000 prisoners, including more than 800 officers. His message, which is full of the assurance of victory, concludes thus:

The enemy's power has not yet been broken, nor is it yet possible to form an estimate of the time the war may last before the objects for which the Allies are fighting have been attained. But the Somme battle has placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to gain those objects. The German Army is the mainstay of the Central Powers, and a full half of that army, despite all the advantages of the defensive, supported by the strongest fortifications, suffered defeat on the Somme

this year. Neither victors nor vanquished will forget this; and, though bad weather has given the enemy a respite, there will undoubtedly be many thousands in his ranks who will begin the new campaign with little confidence in their ability to resist our assaults or to overcome our defense. Our new armies entered the battle with the determination to win and with confidence in their power to do so. They have proved to themselves, to the enemy, and to the world that this confidence was justified, and in the fierce struggle they have been through they have learned many valuable lessons which will help them in the future.

* * *

Dimitrieff on the Riga Front

THE recent Russian offensive on the Riga-Dvinsk line, with the German base at Mitau as its main objective, has brought once again into the limelight one of the most interesting figures of the war, the Bulgarian General, Radko Dimitrieff, who, it appears, is in command of the Riga-Dvinsk offensive. As long ago as 1886, Radko Dimitrieff made a name for himself by helping to force the abdication of Prince Alexander, by the drastic expedient of kidnapping him in his own yacht, which had been presented to him by the Russian Emperor. In the war of 1912, against Turkey, General Radko Dimitrieff showed himself by far the ablest field commander in the Balkans, winning the great victories of Lule Burgas and Kirk Kilisseh, which practically broke the Turkish power. Unable to support the policies of Tsar Ferdinand of Bulgaria, Radko Dimitrieff then went to Russia and, when the world war broke out, offered his sword to the Russian Emperor. He was given command of an army corps in General Brusiloff's first army, which invaded Galicia early in September, 1914, and is said at that time to have created the epigram, "Don't count the enemy; hit him!" in reply to a hesitating subordinate. For a considerable time his name did not appear in the dispatches. It has come to light now in the new Riga-Dvinsk offensive.

* * *

Italy's Eastern Empire

ITALY'S probable intervention in Macedonia may remind us that in recent years the peninsula kingdom has acquired large holdings in the Near East; holdings amounting to many times her own area. Italy has an area of 110,000 square miles, with a population of 36,000,000; in other words, with about half the area of France, she has a population nearly equal to that of France. She holds the following dependencies: Eritrea, on the Red Sea, and taking its name from the old Greek name of that sea, is about equal in area to the former Kingdom of Naples, and has a coast line of some 700 miles. Italian Somaliland is a third larger than Italy, though sparsely peopled. Both these colonies are run at a loss, receiving large subventions from home. The third Italian possession is Lybia, (Tripoli and Cyrenaica,) taken from Turkey by the Italians just before the two Balkan wars, after it had been in Turkish hands for about two centuries. It is between three and four times as large as Italy, and is also subsidized by the home Government. Much of it is fertile, growing both cereals and fruit, but it has also a very important strength of position, linking the British-controlled region of Egypt with the French Tunis, Algeria, and now Morocco; so that the whole coastline of Northern Africa is now in the hands of these three Entente Powers. The possession of Lybia makes Italy an Eastern-Mediterranean power, and brings her directly south of Crete and the Grecian Isles.

* * *

General Brusiloff's Forecast

IMPORTANT light on the situation in Russia is shed by a declaration of General Brusiloff to an English war correspondent in the Carpathian region, on the eve of the new year. General Brusiloff said that Russia would not be able to develop all her forces before the Spring of 1917, but that Russia would then possess the greatest and completest army in her history. Up to the present, and throughout 1916, Russia had had to fight with a notable inferiority in war material and heavy guns, but in 1917 she would find herself mistress of material equal to that of her adversaries, while at the same time disposing of an extraordinary superiority of men; and that this advantage would continue to grow in her

favor until the end of the war. General Brusiloff added that, in his personal view, even from the beginning of the war, the adversaries of Russia had never had the smallest possibility of winning a decisive victory, but that, while these adversaries continued to report a succession of victories in the field, it would be difficult to persuade them that they were certain to be defeated. The situation in Rumania, though grave, was not such as to cause real alarm, and had, so far, no strategic importance, from the point of view of the general plan of the Allies.

* * *

The Murder of Rasputin

THE bloody record of Russia's political history was maintained in December by the murder of Rasputin, the famous monk who was supposed to exercise a great influence over the Czar and who was under suspicion of holding pro-German sympathies. Two previous attempts to assassinate him had failed. The murder is alleged to have been instigated by high officials, one of whom is said to be a Prince.

The Czar first met Rasputin in 1905 through the Countess Ignatieff, wife of a former Governor of Siberia and much interested in the cult of the "Chlysty," a sect of flagellants, which Rasputin was trying to revive. In the Countess's circle, where the Czar was then an occasional visitor, were the Montenegrin Princess Militza, wife of the Grand Duke Peter Nikolaievitch; Prince Putjatin, Court Marshal; Count Benckendorff, Prince Orloff, and, finally, General Soukhomlinoff. The latter was the Russian War Minister during the fatal campaign in East Prussia, when traitors were believed to have betrayed the Russian armies in the field and left them without reserves of munitions at home. In June, 1915, Soukhomlinoff resigned and was later arrested and lodged in the Fortress of Peter and Paul. Rasputin was suspected of participation in the betrayal of military plans to the Germans.

It has been said that when the war began the genuine Muscovites gradually dropped away from the circle, leaving only Baltic Russians with German ideas behind, and that the circle then became the centre of German propaganda, to which Brusiloff referred in April, 1916, when he took command of the southern Russian armies and said to the war correspondents:

"Not a line can you write from here—not a message will go forth till something happens. In Petrograd they have a switchboard with connections with Berlin."

* * *

Austro-Hungarian War Loans

RETURNS from the fifth Austrian war loan show 4,412,800,000 crowns (nominally $895,798,000) subscribed with approximately 300,000,000 additional already subscribed but still outstanding. The loan is thus the largest yet raised in Austria. The first levy was 2,217,000,000 crowns, the second 2,688,320,000, the third 4,202,600,000, the fourth 4,520,300,000. The new loan makes the total raised for war by Austria about 18,400,000,000 crowns. Subscriptions to the Hungarian fifth war loan reached 2,300,000,000 crowns, ($460,000,000 normal exchange,) as compared with 1,175,000,000 for the first, 1,132,000,000 for the second, 1,970,000,000 for the third, and 2,000,000,000 for the fourth.

* * *

Sergeant Julien at Douaumont

ON the evening of the great attack, by which General Nivelle and General Mangin won back the famous fort of Douaumont, Sergeant Julien of the Thirteenth Company, sent out for supplies, losing his way in the dark, was captured by a wandering band of German soldiers, who bound him and took him to a German dugout, which was now, though unknown to its occupants, well within the new French lines. The Germans asked him who he was, how he had come there, and, when, bewildered, he hesitated in his answers, reminded him that they were not inclined to stand on ceremony with a prisoner. "Prisoner?" replied Sergeant Julien; "that remains to be seen! First of all, where are we? At the La Dame ravine? Well, then, listen to this! Thiaumont is in our hands! Douaumont has been ours since this afternoon. You are the only people

who do not know it; consequently, it is you who are prisoners!" The tone of the captors changed. Their commander ordered them to lay down their arms, and the whole company, two hundred in number, with six machine guns, marched over to the French lines after Sergeant Julien. No story could better illustrate the extraordinary suddeness with which General Nivelle's offensive was carried out than this almost fantastic tale, which is, nevertheless, well attested.

* * *

The Isles of Greece

IT has just been announced that England and France have taken possession of the Island of Cerigo, at the southeastern extremity of the Morea, the southern peninsula of Greece, which is, strictly speaking, no longer a peninsula but an island, since the cutting of the canal across the Isthmus of Corinth. The occupation is justified by the fact that there have been submarine bases in this and other islands. It further complicates the situation of the Grecian Isles.

Corfu, one of the Ionian Islands ceded to Greece by England when Prince George of Denmark was made King of Greece, has been for some time in the hands of France, which there fitted out the rejuvenated Serbian Army. Crete has recently declared itself independent of Greece, after seeking union through many turbulent years. Imbros and Tenedos, which the Greek fleet captured in the Balkan war of 1912, were returned, under the treaties of London and Athens, to Turkey, and are now used as bases by the Allies.

The famous islands along the Asian-Ionian coast—Mitylene, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes—have not been greatly affected by the war; they are still under Turkish sovereignty. But they belong to European, not to Asian, history, and here, perhaps, Italy reaps her reward for more extensive action in the Balkans. Cerigo, by the way, is the ancient Cythera, from which Aphrodite took the name of Cytherea; off its shore the Goddess of Beauty rose from the foam of the sea.

* * *

Viscount Bryce and Armenia

THE declared determination of the Allies to drive the Ottoman Turks from Europe, and the reference to the Amenian massacres as a justification of this determination, draw attention to the report just issued under the editorship of Viscount Bryce, copious extracts from which appeared in CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for last November. In his younger days Mr. Bryce was an enthusiastic Alpine climber; as such he visited the Caucasus and was one of the first, if not the first, to climb to the top of Mount Ararat and other summits in the Armenian region. He therefore knows the country well. Lord Bryce thus sums the matter up: "The gravest facts are those for which the evidence is most complete, and it all tallies fatally with that which twenty years ago established the guilt of Abdul Hamid for the deeds that have made his name infamous. In this case there are, moreover, what was wanting then, admissions which add weight to the testimony here presented—I mean the admissions of the Turkish Government and their German apologists. The attempt made to find excuses for wholesale slaughter and for the removal of a whole people from its homes leave no doubt as to the slaughter and the removal. The main facts are established by the confession of the criminals themselves."

* * *

THE war has stimulated remarkably the trade of the United States with South America. During the first seven months of 1914 our total trade with South America (imports and exports) was $202,443,267, whereas it increased to $373,123,532 in the same period of 1916. Exports in the designated period of 1916 were $117,970,099, as against $60,091,209 in the corresponding period of 1914, an increase of nearly 100 per cent.

PRESIDENT'S PEACE EFFORTS

Summary of the Movement and Text of Replies From Belligerents and Neutrals

PRESIDENT WILSON'S effort to bring about peace by requesting from the belligerents an avowal of precise terms upon which the war might be concluded was first made known to the world on Dec. 20, 1916, through the publication of an identic note which he had sent through Secretary Lansing on Dec. 18 to all the belligerent and neutral powers. The text of this note was printed in the January issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The publication of the note created a violent break in the New York stock market, which later became a semi-panic in consequence of an announcement by Secretary Lansing, who, in explaining the note, affirmed that this country was on "the verge of war."

Secretary Lansing's Statements

His first statement was as follows:

It isn't our material interest we had in mind when the note was sent, but more and more our own rights are becoming involved by the belligerents on both sides, so that the situation is becoming increasingly critical.

I mean by that that we are drawing nearer the verge of war ourselves, and therefore we are entitled to know exactly what each belligerent seeks, in order that we may regulate our conduct in the future.

No nation has been sounded. No consideration of the German overtures or of the speech of Lloyd George was taken into account in the formulation of the document. The only thing the overtures did was to delay it a few days. It was not decided to send it until Monday. Of course, the difficulty that faced the President was that it might be construed as a movement toward peace and in aid of the German overtures. He specifically denies that that was the fact in the document itself.

The sending of this note will indicate the possibility of our being forced into the war. That possibility ought to serve as a restraining and sobering force, safeguarding American rights. It may also serve to force an earlier conclusion of the war. Neither the President nor myself regards this note as a peace note; it is merely an effort to get the belligerents to define the end for which they are fighting.

The effect of this statement was so extremely disquieting that Secretary Lansing later in the day (Dec. 20) issued a second statement as follows:

I have learned from several quarters that a wrong impression was made by the statement which I made this morning, and I wish to correct that impression.

My intention was to suggest the very direct and necessary interest which this country, as one of the neutral nations, has in the possible terms which the belligerents may have in mind, and I did not intend to intimate that the Government was considering any change in its policy of neutrality, which it has consistently pursued in the face of constantly increasing difficulties.

I regret that my words were open to any other construction, as I now realize that they were. I think that the whole tone and language of the note to the belligerents show the purpose without further comment on my part. It is needless to say that I am unreservedly in support of that purpose and hope to see it accepted.

While the second announcement was more reassuring, nevertheless the firm request of the President and the apparently contradictory explanations of the Secretary of State produced profound uneasiness throughout the country and caused panicky declines in stocks and sensational fluctuations in grain and commodity markets. Stocks in general declined from 10 to 20 points—some munition stocks fell 100 points. Wheat jumped 10 to 20 cents, and declined with equal suddenness, while cotton oscillated with almost unprecedented violence.

Reception of the Note

The action of the President was received with distinct approval throughout the Central Empires, and was construed as supporting their peace proposals, although the President had distinctly disavowed any connection between the two. Among the Entente nations, on the other hand, President Wilson's action and Secretary Lansing's explanations left an unfavorable impression and were bitterly resented by many influential statesmen, publicists, and newspapers in France, England, Italy, and Canada. In neutral

countries the American note was officially approved, except by Spain, and the general attitude of the neutral public seemed amiably complaisant toward the movement. In the United States the comment was mixed — extreme pro-ally sympathizers were emphatic in denouncing the entire procedure as inopportune and ill-advised, and Secretary Lansing came in for extremely acrid criticism for his explanations. Pacifists, pro-Germans, and partisans of the President applauded his course and prophesied that it would bring about peace. Three weeks later, when the Allies' reply had been received, opinions everywhere had changed, and President Wilson was strongly commended throughout the world for having pursued a judicious and statesmanlike course.

Indorsed by the Senate

The following resolution was introduced Dec. 20, 1916, in the United States Senate by Senator Hitchcock, (Democrat, of Nebraska:)

Resolved, That the Senate approves and strongly indorses the action taken by the President in sending the diplomatic notes of Dec. 18 to the nations now engaged in war, suggesting and recommending that those nations state the terms upon which peace might be discussed.

The resolution was the cause of a notable debate, in which Senators Borah and Lodge took the position that the passage of the resolution in the form offered would commit the United States to a program supporting an international League to Enforce Peace—after the war—and would mean the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine and the precipitation of the United States into the political complications and alliances of Europe.

The opposition to the resolution was so ably presented that its supporters were in the end convinced, and finally accepted the following modification, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Senate approves and strongly indorses the request of the President in the diplomatic notes of Dec. 18 to the nations now engaged in war that those nations state the terms upon which peace might be discussed.

Seventeen votes were recorded against the resolution as finally amended, and 47 in the affirmative.

Senator Borah's Parallel

Senator Borah of Idaho, in his speech opposing the original resolution, used the following illustration, which is characteristic of his argument:

It means not only the abandonment of the doctrine of neutrality established by Washington, but it means the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine announced by Monroe upon the mature advice of Jefferson. Take some of the illustrations which show the dangerous course upon which we are about to enter if we indorse such a policy, and I am going to use the names of some of the nations, although in doing so of course I am not to be considered as using them because I either fear them or would offend them, but simply as an illustration.

We will assume now that the partnership of which the President spoke has been formed, that the co-operation has been completed and the combined alliance has been made, and in that combination and alliance are Japan and Russia and the United States, and we will assume that after the combination is made Russia and Japan have a dispute as to rights in Manchuria. Japan insists that it should be submitted to the arbitral tribunal. Russia insists that it involves her vital interests, refuses to submit it, and moves her troops immediately to the contested territory. Under the league alliance which we have formed and the treaties which we have made we must join with Japan in enforcing or punishing Russia for refusing to submit her proposition to the tribunal.

Let us take another illustration. We will assume that Mexico has been restored to law and order as a Government, and that Mexico is a member of the alliance, and that Japan is a member of the alliance, and that Mexico conceived the idea of leasing Magdalena Bay to Japan for ninety-nine years, and we protest against it. We have already joined the alliance. They are members of it. Mexico says, "Certainly I have a right to dispose of my territory," and Japan says, "I have a right to purchase," and they are all members of a common league bound together for a common purpose. Would the United States submit that question to a tribunal where it has but one vote or one voice and permit its entire future to be disposed of by a court where it has but a single representative?

The "Leak" Episode

Another episode growing out of the note was a declaration in the House of Representatives that the intention to send the note had "leaked out" from official sources several days in advance to certain Stock Exchange firms, and that various Government officials in high station had profited enormously on the stock market by the "inside tip." Congress or-

dered an investigation by the Committee of Rules, and a number of prominent stock operators and public officials were called as witnesses. A letter to a Congressman, signed by one "Curtis," whose identity has not been established, named among others the President's Secretary, Mr. Tumulty, and R. W. Bolling, a brother of the President's first wife, as beneficiaries from the sale of stocks by the advance information. Secretary Tumulty, Mr. Bolling, and others testified before the committee and were fully exonerated, proving clearly the falsity of the charges, while Secretary Lansing and others testified as to the secrecy maintained in official circles respecting the notes. Certain Stock Exchange operators were also summoned, but in the judgment of the committee nothing was developed to justify the charges, though one operator, Thomas W. Lawson of Boston, was so offensive to the committee that he was cited for contempt. He made charges reflecting on Cabinet officers and other high officials, yet refused to give their names or to name his informants unless Congress broadened the scope of the investigating committee and clothed it with inquisitorial powers. This was done by formal resolution on Jan. 13, and on Jan. 15 Mr. Lawson reappeared before the committee and was subjected to a searching cross-examination. He stated that he had been informed by Congressman Henry, Chairman of the Rules Committee, that the rumors regarding "the leak beneficiaries" involved Mr. McAdoo, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Tumulty, Private Secretary to the President, and various prominent New York bankers. Mr. Lawson stated that he had no personal information regarding the matter. His giving of names created considerable excitement and brought forth indignant denials from Secretary McAdoo and Mr. Tumulty, with protests against being thus assailed by irresponsible scandal-gossip. Chairman Henry also denied the statements affecting him.

In consequence of these charges Congress passed a resolution further broadening the scope of the inquiry committee and authorizing it to employ counsel, the evident intention being to ascertain by a thorough inquiry whether or not certain New York financiers and Stock Exchange houses had at any time obtained advance information of proposed official documents or utterances which might affect stock values. This inquiry is proceeding as these pages go to press.

Replies of the Nations

The responses of the belligerents to the President's request showed a wide dissimilarity of tone and contents. The Central Powers replied on Dec. 26, within a week after the note was received by them. While not declining the President's request, they did not avow their terms, but suggested that these would be forthcoming at an "immediate exchange of views" by the belligerents. [The text of this reply appears on Page 783.]

The reply of the Entente Allies was handed to Ambassador Sharp at Paris on Jan. 11, 1917, by Premier Briand, and was made public on Jan. 12. It was elaborate and specific, giving terms in definite language. Belgium presented a separate note. [The text of these replies, including the original French text of the Entente note, appears on Pages 783-8.]

The same day Premier Lloyd George made an important address at London regarding the new loan. It bore directly on the reply and confirmed more elaborately the Entente's general terms. Likewise on the same day Paul Déschanel, addressing the Chamber of Deputies after his re-election to the Presidency of that body, stated that the first articles of France's peace program were the restitution of Belgium and the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France. [These utterances appears on Pages 793-6.]

Germany on Jan. 11 issued another address to the neutral world to appear contemporaneously with the answer of the Allies; it explains in detail why Germany took up arms, and formulates her ideals. [Page 789.]

The reply of the Entente Allies was supplemented by a statement issued Jan. 13 by Arthur J. Balfour, British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in the nature of an amplification of the joint reply. This was made public Jan. 18, 1917. It appears on Page 786.

The action of President Wilson brought forth approving replies from Switzerland, Greece, and the Scandinavian States, but Spain, while approving the efforts to bring about peace, indicated that she could not concur in the President's course at the present time. The text of these replies appears in the pages that follow.

Kaiser Denounces Allies' Reply

The first official cognizance of the reply of the Allies came from Kaiser Wilhelm in the form of the following Proclamation to the German People, issued Jan. 13, 1917:

Our enemies have dropped the mask. After refusing with scorn and hypocritical words of love for peace and humanity our honest peace offer, they have now, in their reply to the United States, gone beyond that and admitted their lust for conquest, the baseness of which is further enhanced by their calumnious assertions.

Their aim is the crushing of Germany, the dismemberment of the powers allied with us, and the enslavement of the freedom of Europe and the seas, under the same yoke that Greece, with gnashing of teeth, is now enduring.

But what they could not achieve in thirty months of the bloodiest fighting and unscrupulous economic war they will also fail to accomplish in the future. Our glorious victories and our iron strength of will with which our fighting people at the front and at home have borne all hardships and distress guarantee that also in the future our beloved Fatherland has nothing to fear.

Burning indignation and holy wrath will redouble the strength of every German man and woman, whether it is devoted to fighting, to work, or to suffering. We are ready for all sacrifices.

The God who planted His glorious spirit of freedom in the hearts of our brave peoples will also give us and our loyal allies, tested in battle, the full victory over all the enemy lust for power and rage for destruction.

WILHELM, I. R.

Two German Kings Approve

On Jan. 15 the Bavarian and Saxon Kings sent telegrams to the Emperor congratulating him on this proclamation. The King of Bavaria said: "Your Majesty's strong words to the German people at the arrogant reply of our enemies find a lively echo in all hearts."

He offered assurances that the Bavarians would continue "the fight which was forced upon us" in order to enforce peace.

The King of Saxony sent a similar telegram, thanking the Emperor for his appeal to the German people and expressing the King's indignation at the rejection by the Allies of the peace proposal and a determination not to sheathe the sword until a complete victory is achieved.

Dr. Johannes Kaempf, President of the Reichstag, also wired Emperor William, saying that the entire German Nation would stand round the Emperor with unshakable will "until the enemy's disgraceful plans are shattered."

The comments of the German newspapers and public men were in the same tone as the Emperor's proclamation. A wave of indignation is reported to have swept over the German Empire, and the official news agencies assert that the answer of the Allies has united the German people to fight to the end as has no other incident since the war began.

Dr. Zimmermann's Reply

Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the new German Foreign Minister, stated for publication officially on Jan. 15 that in his opinion the Entente reply to President Wilson's peace note barred the possibility for the present of further German steps to bring about peace. In particular, he said, it precluded any direct announcement by Germany of her peace conditions in answer to the terms set forth in the Entente note.

Dr. Zimmermann asserted, however, that the answer of the Entente to the President did not finally and completely close the door to later efforts for peace before one side or the other was completely crushed.

The Foreign Minister, in the course of a conversation with The Associated Press correspondent, said that it was impossible for him to give a more definite statement of the peace program of the Central Powers than that indicated in the declarations of Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, the Chancellor, because the German terms were such that "the unsolicited promulgation of them in their moderate details," after what he characterized as the aspiring program of "conquest and dismemberment" outlined

by the Entente, would be interpreted by the Entente Powers as a sign of weakness and of a desire for peace at any cost.

Publication of the peace terms of the Central Powers, therefore, would defeat its every purpose, said Dr. Zimmermann. The Foreign Minister expressed doubt whether, after what he described as the rebuff to President Wilson's peace efforts given in the reply of the Entente, the President could take any further action for the present, adding that the Entente answer excluded for the present any possibility of peace.

Expressing a profound conviction that the program of the Entente Powers never would be carried into effect, Dr. Zimmermann intimated that a failure of the Entente's offensive this year, which he expected, might again make it possible to approach the subject of peace on reasonable terms and with some prospect of success.

"The Entente Powers gave out for themselves a big program," said Dr. Zimmermann, in answer to a question as to his opinion on the note to President Wilson. "What more is there for Germany to say regarding it?"

"Now that the Allies have to a certain extent outlined their plans," said the correspondent, "do you think there is any possibility of Germany declaring in some form or other its program for a peace settlement?"

"No," replied the Minister, "I think we can do nothing more. We cannot afford to give the impression that we are chasing after peace at all costs. After the Entente Allies have put out this highly ambitious program, an announcement of the firm and moderate German terms of peace would by contrast probably be interpreted by our adversaries as an indication of weakness, and would be used by them to encourage their people to fight on. Our people would not understand any further effort by us for the introduction of peace after the Entente's declaration. We have to consider public opinion here."

Dr. Zimmermann said that obviously he could discern the advantages from one point of view in stating Germany's terms and letting the world see by contrast with those to which the Entente Powers have committed themselves the real state of affairs, but he seemed to be convinced that such advantages were not sufficient to affect the attitude of the Entente Powers or to outweigh the effect on opinion in enemy countries of the announcement of the terms regarding Belgium and other nations in this war.

To the question as to whether he saw the possibility of Germany's making such a declaration of her intentions, should a further inquiry be made from the neutral side, for example, by President Wilson, the Minister replied critically:

"But will he make such an inquiry after the Entente reply, which in its nature is, shall we say, insulting?"

"Do you think that after an interval there will be any possibility of an offer of mediation for peace being accepted by both sides?" the Minister was asked.

"Yes," he replied. "The desire for peace of all the peoples (peoples, mind you, I say, not Governments) is so strong that after the Entente has had another try with a new offensive, after it has seen the fruitlessness of all the endeavors to crush the military strength of the Central Powers, there may be a better possibility of negotiating a satisfactory and reasonable peace.

"Of course, if the Entente Powers persist in trying to execute their program, the war must be fought out to the bitter end. There is not a German who would not rather die than see the accomplishment of the announced intention of the Entente Powers with respect to Germany—see German provinces with predominant German populations torn from the German Empire, and united Germany, which our fathers so labored to achieve, torn asunder and the country reduced, as the Allies have plainly announced as their ambition, to a condition of subjection to rival great powers of Europe.

"The conditions for Austria-Hungary are even more difficult. Its dismemberment to satisfy the passion for territorial aggrandizement of Russia, Italy, Serbia, and Rumania would leave the State not even a third-rate power, while

who can say what would be the fate of the 'redeemed small nationalities' when brought under the sway of Russia! Bulgaria, of course, would be bitterly punished, and Turkey would practically cease to exist if the plans contemplated in the Entente's answer were attained.

"The Entente tries to justify its aims of conquest by what it calls liberation, instead of pillaging. Charity begins at home. Why does not England give a practical example of her idea of liberty by setting Ireland free?"

Germany Solidified

Within a week after the Entente's reply and the Emperors' proclamation, German public opinion had crystallized, and it seemed everywhere evident that the door to peace had been closed for the present. Moreover, the attitude of the Allies had the further effect of solidifying the German people in the determination to make gigantic efforts toward a final decisive victory in the field.

The German newspapers began printing daily columns of letters addressed to the Kaiser, in which societies, cities, Chambers of Commerce, labor unions, and similar bodies thanked him for the sentiment expressed in his address "to the German people" and assured him that every woman and child in Germany was ready to sacrifice the last drop of blood and the last penny "to compel the war-maddened lawyers who run the Entente nations to make peace."

The Hansabund for Trade, Commerce, and Industry telegraphed to the Kaiser that the classes represented in its organization "stand resolutely indomitable behind your Majesty in face of the Entente's encircling policy before the war, the campaign of slander and lies during the war, now followed up by the shameless confession of the Entente's intention to annihilate Germany and her allies. This threat must be met by an energetic application of all and every arm at our disposal with iron determination. We shall not rest one minute unless the victorious end is achieved. Such is the answer of the German people to your Majesty's call to the German people."

The central organization of German bankers telegraphed to the Kaiser that "in view of the enemy's frivolous war aims as exposed in the Entente's note," their organizations were ready for any sacrifice. The League of Agrarians threatened the Entente with "the holy wrath of the German people," which desired an even more intensified war. The Trade Chambers of Berlin promised the Kaiser that their last man and their smallest workshop would be at the Fatherland's disposal.

Frankfort's Chamber of Commerce declared that every thought of peace must now be suppressed.

The Associated Press correspondent at Berlin on Jan. 16 telegraphed that the pronunciamento of the Allies, together with earlier interchanges of opinion on the peace proposals, might be regarded as having virtually eliminated the peace party in Germany, except for a small minority of dissident Socialists, some of whose newspaper organs still saw the possibility of continuing the discussions after the Entente's reply.

The large and influential section, including a majority of the Socialists and powerful influences among non-Socialists, which up to last month was bringing the heaviest pressure to bear on the Government to take steps for the opening of negotiations for peace, based on an understanding, had now become convinced that such negotiations were impossible.

Regarding the possibility that Germany would make a statement of terms, the announcement of Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, the Foreign Secretary, indicated that this was now out of the question, and the Government apparently had adopted this as a definite decision. For some reason, however, there was an impression which would not down that the Government might perhaps reconsider and make some announcement of its peace program, particularly in regard to Belgium.

The specific reference by Foreign Minister Balfour to Alsace and Lorraine—also to "Italia Irredenta" and the expulsion of the Turks from Europe—as the price of peace in his note of Jan. 13 further inflamed German sentiment and dispelled all hopes of peace at present.

Text of Reply of Central Powers to President Wilson's Peace Note

GERMANY and her ally, Austria-Hungary, were the first of the belligerents to reply to the note sent by President Wilson—under date of Dec. 18—to all the belligerent and neutral powers, in which the warring nations were asked to state the terms which they would consider a sound basis for peace when their aims had been attained. The official text of the German Government's reply was handed to the American Ambassador at Berlin on Dec. 26, and was made public the same day at Washington by Secretary Lansing. It is as follows:

Foreign Office.

Berlin, Dec. 26, 1916.

With reference to the esteemed communication of Dec. 21, Foreign Office, No. 15,118, the undersigned has the honor to reply as follows:

To his Excellency, the Ambassador of the United States of America, James W. Gerard:

The Imperial Government has accepted and considered in the friendly spirit which is apparent in the communication of the President, the noble initiative of the President looking to the creation of bases for the foundation of a lasting peace. The President discloses the aim which lies nearest his heart and leaves the choice of the way open.

A direct exchange of views appears to the Imperial Government as the most suitable way of arriving at the desired result. The Imperial Government has the honor, therefore, in the sense of its declaration of the twelfth instant, which offered the hand for peace negotiations, to propose the speedy assembly, on neutral ground, of delegates of the warring States.

It is also the view of the Imperial Government that the great work for the prevention of future wars can first be taken up only after the ending of the present conflict of exhaustion. The Imperial Government is ready, when this point has been reached, to cooperate with the United States at this sublime task.

The undersigned, while permitting himself to have recourse to the good offices of his Excellency the Ambassador in connection with the transmission of the above reply to the President of the United States, avails himself of this opportunity to renew the assurances of his highest consideration.

ZIMMERMANN.

Reply of Austria-Hungary

The Austrian Government's reply, which also arrived on Dec. 26, took the form of a memorandum delivered to Ambassador Penfield at Vienna, and was given out by Mr. Lansing as follows:

Aide Memoire: In reply to the aide memoire communicated on the 22d instant by his Excellency the American Ambassador containing the proposals of the President of the United States of America for an exchange of views among the powers at present at war for the eventual establishment of peace, the Imperial and Royal Government desires particularly to point out that in considering the noble proposal of the President it is guided by the same spirit of amity and complaisance as finds expression therein.

The President desires to establish a basis for a lasting peace without wishing to indicate the ways and means. The Imperial and Royal Government considers a direct exchange of views among the belligerents to be the most suitable way of attaining this end. Adverting to its declaration of the 12th instant, in which it announced its readiness to enter into peace negotiations, it now has the honor to propose that representatives of the belligerent powers convene at an early date at some place on neutral ground.

The Imperial and Royal Government likewise concurs in the opinion of the President that only after the termination of the present war will it be possible to undertake the great and desirable work of the prevention of future wars. At an appropriate time it will be willing to co-operate with the United States of America for the realization of this noble aim.

Turkey's reply to President Wilson's note was received at the State Department on Dec. 29. It is substantially the same as Germany's and Austria's.

Text of Entente Allies' Reply to President

THE reply of the Allies to President Wilson's note was written at Paris and received the indorsement of the ten Governments concerned. It was handed to Ambassador Sharp on Jan. 10, and the translation of the French text was cabled to Secretary Lansing, (Telegram No. 1,806.) Following is the full

official text, in which have been incorporated various improvements of translation taken from the London version of the same document:

Paris, Jan. 10, 1917.

The allied Governments have received the note which was delivered to them in the name of the Government of the United States on the 19th of December 1916. They have studied it with the care imposed upon them both by the exact realization which they have of the gravity of the hour and by the sincere friendship which attaches them to the American people.

In a general way they desire to declare their respect for the lofty sentiments inspiring the American note, and their wholehearted agreement with the proposal to create a league of nations which shall assure peace and justice throughout the world. They recognize all the benefits which will accrue to the cause of humanity and civilization from the institution of international arrangements designed to prevent violent conflicts between nations and so framed as to provide the sanctions necessary to their enforcement, lest an illusory security should serve merely to facilitate fresh acts of aggression.

But a discussion of future arrangements for assuring a durable peace presupposes a satisfactory settlement of the present conflict. The Allies have as profound a desire as the Government of the United States to terminate as soon as possible a war for which the Central Empires are responsible and which inflicts such cruel sufferings upon humanity. But in their judgment it is impossible to obtain at this moment such a peace as will not only secure to them the reparation, the restitution, and the guarantees justly due them by reason of the act of aggression, the guilt of which is fixed upon the Central Powers, while the very principle from which it sprang was undermining the safety of Europe; and at the same time such a peace as will enable future European nations to be established upon a sure foundation. The allied nations are conscious that they are not fighting for selfish interests, but, above all, to safeguard the independence of peoples, of right, and of humanity.

The Allies are fully aware of the losses and suffering which the war causes to neutrals as well as to belligerents, and they deplore them, but they do not hold themselves responsible for them, having in no way either willed or provoked this war; and they strive to reduce these damages in the measure compatible with the inexorable exigencies of their defense against the violence and the wiles of the enemy.

It is with satisfaction, therefore, that they take note of the declaration that the American communication is in nowise associated in its origin with that of the Central Powers transmitted on the 18th of December by the Government of the United States. They did not doubt, moreover, the resolution of that Government to avoid even the appearance of a support, even moral, of the authors responsible for the war.

The allied Governments feel it their duty to challenge in the most friendly but also in the clearest way the analogy drawn between the two groups of belligerents. This analogy, based on public declarations of the Central Powers, is in direct conflict with the evidence, both as regards responsibility for the past and guarantees for the future. President Wilson in alluding to this analogy did not, of course, intend to adopt it as his own.

If there is a historical fact established at the present date, it is the willful aggression of Germany and Austria-Hungary to insure their hegemony over Europe and their economic domination over the world. By her declaration of war, by the instant violation of Belgium and Luxemburg, and by her methods of warfare, Germany has proved that she systematically scorns every principle of humanity and all respect due to small States. More and more, as the struggle has progressed, has the attitude of the Central Powers and their allies been a constant challenge to humanity and civilization.

Is it necessary to recall the horrors that marked the invasion of Belgium and of Serbia, the atrocious régime imposed upon the invaded countries, the massacre of hundreds of thousands of inoffensive Armenians, the barbarities perpetrated against the populations of Syria, the raids of Zeppelins on open towns, the destruction by submarines of passenger steamers and of merchantmen even under neutral flags, the cruel treatment inflicted upon prisoners of war, the judicial murders of Miss Cavell and Captain Fryatt, the deportation and the reduction to slavery of civil populations, et cetera? The execution of such a series of crimes, perpetrated without any regard for universal reprobation, fully explains to President Wilson the protest of the Allies.

They consider that the note which they sent to the United States in reply to the German note will be a response to the questions put by the American Government, and, according to the exact words of the latter, "constitute a public declaration as to the conditions upon which the war could be terminated."

President Wilson desires more: he desires that the belligerent powers openly affirm the objects which they seek by continuing the war; the Allies experience no difficulty in replying to this request. Their objects in the war are well known; they have been formulated on many occasions by the chiefs of their divers Governments. Their objects will not be made known in detail with all the equitable compensation and indemnities for damages suffered until the hour of negotiations. But the civilized world knows that they imply, in all necessity and in the first instance, the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia, and of Montenegro, and the indemnities which are due them; the evacuation of the invaded ter-

MAKERS OF WAR HISTORY IN FRANCE

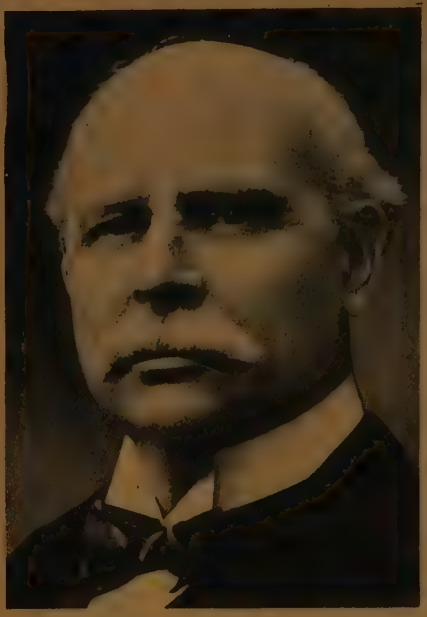
Albert Thomas
Minister of Munitions

General Nivelle
Commander in the Field

Rear Admiral Lacaze
Minister of Marine

Rene Viviani
Ex-Premier, Minister of Justice

SOME OF LLOYD GEORGE'S ASSOCIATES



Baron Devonport
British Food Controller

Lord Robert Cecil
Minister of Blockade

Lord Wimborne
Lord Lieutenant of Ireland

Sir Henry E. Duke
Secretary for Ireland

ritories of France, of Russia, and of Rumania, with just reparation; the reorganization of Europe, guaranteed by a stable settlement, based alike upon the principle of nationalities, on the right which all peoples, whether small or great, have to the enjoyment of full security and free economic development, and also upon territorial agreements and international arrangements so framed as to guarantee land and sea frontiers against unjustified attacks; the restitution of provinces or territories wrested in the past from the Allies by force or against the will of their populations; the liberation of Italians, of Slavs, of Rumanians, and of Tcheco-Slovaques from foreign domination; the enfranchisement of populations subject to the bloody tyranny of the Turks; the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, decidedly alien to Western civilization. The intentions of his Majesty, the Emperor of Russia, regarding Poland, have been clearly indicated in the proclamation which he has just addressed to his armies.

It goes without saying that if the Allies wish to liberate Europe from the brutal covetousness of Prussian militarism it never has been their design, as has been alleged, to encompass the extermination of the German peoples and their political disappearance. That which they desire above all is to insure a peace upon the principles of liberty and justice, upon the inviolable fidelity to international obligations with which the Government of the United States has never ceased to be inspired.

United in the pursuit of this supreme object, the Allies are determined, individually and collectively, to act with all their power and to consent to all sacrifices to bring to a victorious close a conflict upon which, they are convinced, not only their own safety and prosperity depend, but also the future of civilization itself.

Official Text of the Entente Reply

THE following is the official text of the reply of the Entente Allies in the original French as received by the State Department:

Réponse des gouvernements alliés à la note américaine du 19 décembre 1916.

1. Les Gouvernements alliés ont reçu la note qui leur a été remise le dix-neuf décembre 1916 au nom du Gouvernement des Etats-Unis. Ils l'ont étudiée avec le soin que leur commandaient à la fois l'exact sentiment qu'ils ont de la gravité de l'heure et la sincère amitié qui les rattache au peuple américain.

2. D'une manière générale ils tiennent à déclarer qu'ils rendent hommage à l'élévation des sentiments dont s'inspire la note américaine et qu'ils s'associent de tous leurs voeux au projet de création d'une ligue des nations pour assurer la paix et la justice à travers le monde. Ils reconnaissent tous les avantages que présentera, pour la cause de l'humanité et de la civilisation, l'institution de règlements internationaux destinés à éviter des conflits violents entre les nations, règlements qui devraient comporter les sanctions nécessaires pour en assurer l'exécution et empêcher ainsi qu'une sécurité apparente ne serve qu'à faciliter de nouvelles agressions.

3. Mais une discussion sur les arrangements futurs destinés à assurer une paix durable suppose d'abord un réglement satisfaisant du conflit actuel. Les Alliés éprouvent un désir aussi profond que le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis de voir se terminer, le plus tôt possible, la guerre dont les empires centraux sont responsables et qui inflige à l'humanité de si cruelles souffrances. Mais ils estiment qu'il est impossible, dès aujourd'hui, de réaliser une paix qui leur assure les réparations, les restitutions et les garanties auxquelles leur donne droit l'agression dont la responsabilité incombe aux Puissances centrales et dont le principe même tendait à ruiner la sécurité de l'Europe, une paix qui permette, d'autre part, d'établir sur une base solide l'avenir des nations européennes. Les nations alliés ont conscience qu'elles ne combattent pas pour des intérêts égoistes, mais avant tout pour la sauvegarde de l'indépendance des peuples, du droit et de l'humanité.

4. Les Alliés se rendent pleinement compte des pertes et des souffrances que la guerre fait supporter aux neutres comme aux belligérants, et ils les déplorent; mais ils ne s'en tiennent pas pour responsables, n'ayant en aucune façon ni voulu ni provoqué cette guerre, et ils s'efforcent de réduire ces dommages dans toute la mesure compatible avec les exigences inexorables de leur défense contre les violences et les pièges de l'ennemi.

5. C'est avec satisfaction, dès lors, qu'ils prennent acte de la déclaration faite que la communication américaine n'est associée d'aucune manière dans son origine avec celle des Puissances centrales transmise le 18 décembre par le Gouvernement de l'Union. Ils ne doutaient pas, au surplus, de la résolution de ce Gouvernement d'éviter jusqu'à l'apparence d'un appui même moral, accordé aux auteurs responsables de la guerre.

6. Les Gouvernements alliés croient devoir s'élever, de la manière la plus amicale mais la plus nette, contre l'assimilation établie dans la note américaine entre les deux groupes des belligèrants; cette assimilation, basée sur des déclarations publiques des Puissances centrales, est en opposition directe avec l'évidence, tant en ce qui concerne les responsabilités du passé qu'en ce qui concerne les garanties de l'avenir; le Président Wilson

en la mentionnant n'a certainement pas entendu s'y associer.

7. S'il y a un fait historique établi à l'heure actuelle, c'est la volonté d'agression de l'Allemagne et de l'Autriche-Hongrie pour assurer leur hégémonie sur l'Europe et leur domination économique sur le monde. L'Allemagne a, par la déclaration de guerre, par la violation de la Belgique et du Luxembourg, et par la façon dont elle a conduit la lutte, manifesté son mépris de tout principe d'humanité et de tout respect pour les petits états; à mesure que le conflit a évolué l'attitude des Puissances centrales et de leurs alliés a été un continuel défi à l'humanité et à la civilisation. Faut-il rappeler les horreurs qui ont accompagné l'invasion de la Belgique et de la Serbie, le régime atroce imposé aux pays envahis, le massacre des centaines de milliers d'Arméniens inoffensifs, les barbaries exercées contre les populations de Syrie, les raids des Zeppelins sur les villes ouvertes, la destruction par les sous-marins de paquebots et de navires marchands, même sous pavillon neutre, le cruel traitement infligé aux prisonniers de guerre, les meurtres juridiques de Miss Cavell et du Capitaine Fryatt, la déportation et la réduction en esclavage des populations civiles, etc.

L'exécution d'une pareille série de crimes, perpétrés sans aucun souci de la réprobation universelle, explique amplement au Président Wilson la protestation des Alliés.

8. Ils estiment que la note qu'ils ont remise aux Etats-Unis, en réplique à la note allemande, répond à la question posée par le Gouvernement américain et constitue, suivant les propres expressions de ce dernier, "une déclaration publique quant aux conditions auxquelles la guerre pourrait être terminée."

9. M. Wilson souhaite davantage. Il désire que les Puissances belligérantes affirment, en pleine lumière, les buts qu'elles se proposent en poursuivant la guerre; les Alliés n'éprouvent aucune difficulté à répondre à cette demande. Leurs buts de guerre sont bien connus: ils ont été formulés à plusieurs reprises par les chefs de leurs divers Gouvernements. Ces buts de guerre ne seront exposés dans le détail, avec toutes les compensations et indemnités équitables pour les dommages subis, qu'à l'heure des négociations. Mais le monde civilisé sait qu'ils impliquent, de toute nécessité et en première ligne, la restauration de la Belgique, de la Serbie et du Monténégro et les dédommagements qui leur sont dûs; l'evacuation des territoires envahis en France, en Russie, en Roumanie, avec de justes réparations; la réorganisation de l'Europe, garantie par un régime stable et fondée à la fois sur le respect des nationalités et sur les droits à la pleine sécurité et à la liberté de développement économique que possèdent tous les peuples, petits et grands, et en même temps sur des conventions territoriales et des règlements internationaux propres à garantir les frontières terrestres et maritimes contre des attaques injustifiées; la restitution des provinces ou territoires autrefois arrachés aux Alliés par la force ou contre le voeu des populations; la libération des Italiens, des Slaves, des Roumains et des Tcheco-Slovaques, de la domination étrangère; l'affranchissement des populations soumises à la sanglante tyrannie des Turcs; le rejet hors d'Europe de l'Empire ottoman, décidément étranger à la civilisation occidentale.

Les intentions de Sa Majesté l'Empereur de Russie à l'égard de la Pologne ont été clairement indiquées par la proclamation qu'il vient d'adresser à ses armées.

10. Il va sans dire que si les Alliés veulent soustraire l'Europe aux convoitises brutales du militarisme prussien, il n'a jamais été dans leurs desseins de poursuivre, comme on l'a prétendu, l'extermination des peuples allemands et leur disparition politique. Ce qu'ils veulent avant tout, c'est assurer la paix sur les principes de liberté et de justice, sur la fidélité inviolable aux obligations internationales dont n'a cessé de s'inspirer le Gouvernement des Etats-Unis.

11. Unis dans la poursuite de ce but supérieur, les Alliés sont déterminés, chacun, et solidairement, à agir de tout leur pouvoir et à consentir tous les sacrifices pour mener à une fin victorieuse un conflit dont ils sont convaincus que dépendent non seulement leur propre salut et leur prospérité, mais l'avenir de la civilisation même.

Paris, le 10 janvier 1917.

Great Britain's Note Amplifying the Entente Reply

SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE, the British Ambassador at Washington, presented to the State Department on Jan. 17 the following note supplementing the Entente reply of Jan. 10. It is the first important public utterance of Arthur J. Balfour in his new rôle of British Foreign Minister:

London, Jan. 13, 1917.

His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Cecil Spring-Rice:

In sending you a translation of the allied note I desire to make the following observations, which you should bring to the notice of the United States Government:

I gather from the general tenor of the President's note that, while he is animated by an intense desire that peace should come

soon and that when it comes it should be lasting, he does not, for the moment at least, concern himself with the terms on which it should be arranged. His Majesty's Government entirely share the President's ideas; but they feel strongly that the durability of peace must largely depend on its character and that no stable system of international relations can be built on foundations which are essentially and hopelessly defective.

This becomes clearly apparent if we consider the main conditions which rendered possible the calamities from which the world is now suffering. These were the existence of great powers consumed with the lust of domination in the midst of a community of nations ill-prepared for defense, plentifully supplied, indeed, with international laws, but with no machinery for enforcing them, and weakened by the fact that neither the boundaries of the various States nor their internal constitution harmonized with the aspirations of their constituent races or secured to them just and equal treatment.

That this last evil would be greatly mitigated if the Allies secured the changes in the map of Europe outlined in their joint note is manifest, and I need not labor the point.

It has been argued, indeed, that the expulsion of the Turks from Europe forms no proper or logical part of this general scheme. The maintenance of the Turkish Empire was, during many generations, regarded by statesmen of worldwide authority as essential to the maintenance of European peace. Why, it is asked, should the cause of peace be now associated with a complete reversal of this traditional policy?

The answer is that circumstances have completely changed. It is unnecessary to consider now whether the creation of a reformed Turkey, mediating between hostile races in the Near East, was a scheme which, had the Sultan been sincere and the powers united, could ever have been realized. It certainly cannot be realized now. The Turkey of "Union and Progress" is at least as barbarous and is far more aggressive than the Turkey of Sultan Abdul Hamid. In the hands of Germany it has ceased even in appearance to be a bulwark of peace, and is openly used as an instrument of conquest. Under German officers Turkish soldiers are now fighting in lands from which they had long been expelled, and a Turkish Government controlled, subsidized, and supported by Germany has been guilty of massacres in Armenia and Syria more horrible than any recorded in the history even of those unhappy countries. Evidently the interests of peace and the claims of nationality alike require that Turkish rule over alien races shall, if possible, be brought to an end, and we may hope that the expulsion of Turkey from Europe will contribute as much to the cause of peace as the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France, or Italia Irredenta to Italy, or any of the territorial changes indicated in the allied note.

Evidently, however, such territorial rearrangements, though they may diminish the occasions of war, provide no sufficient security against its recurrence. If Germany, or rather those in Germany who mold its opinions and control its destinies, again set out to domineer the world, they may find that by the new order of things the adventure is made more difficult, but hardly that it is made impossible. They may still have ready to their hand a political system organized through and through on a military basis; they may still accumulate vast stores of military equipment; they may still persist in their methods of attack, so that their more pacific neighbors will be struck down before they can prepare themselves for defense. If so, Europe, when the war is over, will be far poorer in men, in money, and in mutual goodwill than it was when the war began, but it will not be safer; and the hopes for the future of the world entertained by the President will be as far as ever from fulfillment.

There are those who think that for this disease international treaties and international laws may provide a sufficient cure. But such persons have ill-learned the lessons so clearly taught by recent history. While other nations, notably the United States of America and Britain, were striving by treaties of arbitration to make sure that no chance quarrel should mar the peace they desired to make perpetual, Germany stood aloof. Her historians and philosophers preached the splendors of war; power was proclaimed as the true end of the State, and the General Staff forged with untiring industry the weapons by which at the appointed moment power might be achieved. These facts proved clearly enough that treaty arrangements for maintaining peace were not likely to find much favor at Berlin; they did not prove that such treaties, once made, would be utterly ineffectual. This became evident only when war had broken out, though the sought demonstration, when it came, was overwhelming. So long as Germany remains the Germany which, without a shadow of justification, overran and barbarously ill-treated a country it was pledged to defend, no State can regard its rights as secure if they have no better protection than a solemn treaty.

The case is made worse by the reflection that these methods of calculated brutality were designed by the Central Powers, not merely to crush to the dust those with whom they were at war, but to intimidate those with whom they were still at peace. Belgium was not only a victim, it was an example. Neutrals were intended to note the outrages which accompanied its conquest, the reign of terror which followed on its occupation, the deportation of a portion of its population, the cruel oppression of the remainder. And,

lest the nations happily protected, either by British fleets or by their own from German armies, should suppose themselves safe from German methods, the submarine has (within its limits) assiduously imitated the barbarous practices of the sister service. The war staffs of the Central Powers are well content to horrify the world if at the same time they can terrorize it.

If, then, the Central Powers succeed, it will be to methods like these that they will owe their success. How can any reform of international relations be based on a peace thus obtained? Such a peace would represent the triumph of all the forces which make war certain and make it brutal. It would advertise the futility of all the methods on which civilization relies to eliminate the occasions of international dispute and to mitigate their ferocity. Germany and Austria made the present war inevitable by attacking the rights of one small State, and they gained their initial triumphs by violating the treaty guarantees of the territories of another. Are small States going to find in them their protectors or in treaties made by them a bulwark against aggression? Terrorism by land and sea will have proved itself the instrument of victory. Are the victors likely to abandon it on the appeal of neutrals? If existing treaties are no more than scraps of paper, can fresh treaties help us? If they be crowned with success, will it not be in vain that the assembled nations labor to improve their code? None will profit by their rules but powers who break them. It is those who keep them that will suffer.

Though, therefore, the people of this country share to the full the desire of the President for peace, they do not believe peace can be durable if it be not based on the success of the allied cause. For a durable peace can hardly be expected unless three conditions are fulfilled: The first is that existing causes of international unrest should be as far as possible removed or weakened; the second is that the aggressive aims and the unscrupulous methods of the Central Powers should fall into disrepute among their own peoples; the third is that behind international law and behind all treaty arrangements for preventing or limiting hostilities some form of international sanction should be devised which would give pause to the hardiest aggressor.

These conditions may be difficult of fulfillment. But we believe them to be in general harmony with the President's ideas, and we are confident that none of them can be satisfied, even imperfectly, unless peace be secured on the general lines indicated (so far as Europe is concerned) in the joint note. Therefore it is that this country has made, is making, and is prepared to make sacrifices of blood and treasure unparalleled in its history. It bears these heavy burdens, not merely that it may thus fulfill its treaty obligations, nor yet that it may secure a barren triumph of one group of nations over another. It bears them because it firmly believes that on the success of the Allies depend the prospects of peaceful civilization and of those international reforms which the best thinkers of the New World, as of the Old, dare to hope may follow on the cessation of our present calamities. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR.

Belgium's Separate Reply to the President

THE separate answer of Belgium to President Wilson's note was transmitted from Paris by Ambassador Sharp to the Secretary of State in the following translation:

Paris, Jan. 10, 1917.

The Government of the King, which has associated itself with the answer handed by the President of the French Council to the American Ambassador on behalf of all, is particularly desirous of paying tribute to the sentiment of humanity which prompted the President of the United States to send his note to the belligerent powers, and it highly esteems the friendship expressed for Belgium through his kindly intermediation. It desires as much as Mr. Woodrow Wilson to see the present war ended as early as possible.

But the President seems to believe that the statesmen of the two opposing camps pursue the same object of war. The example of Belgium unfortunately demonstrates that this is in no wise the fact. Belgium has never, like the Central Powers, aimed at conquest. The barbarous fashion in which the German Government has treated, and is still treating, the Belgian Nation does not permit the supposition that Germany will preoccupy herself with guaranteeing in the future the rights of the weak nations, which she has not ceased to trample under foot since the war, let loose by her, began to desolate Europe.

On the other hand, the Government of the King has noted with pleasure and with confidence the assurance that the United States is impatient to co-operate in the measures which will be taken after the conclusion of peace to protect and guarantee the small nations against violence and oppression.

Previous to the German ultimatum, Belgium only aspired to live upon good terms with all her neighbors. She practiced with scrupulous loyalty toward each one of them the duties imposed by her neutrality. In the same manner she has been rewarded by Germany for the confidence she placed in her, through which, from one day to the other, without

any plausible reason, her neutrality was violated, and the Chancellor of the Empire, when announcing to the Reichstag this violation of right and of treaties, was obliged to recognize the iniquity of such an act and predetermine that it would be repaired.

But the Germans, after the occupation of Belgian territory, have displayed no better observance of the rules of international law or the stipulations of The Hague Convention. They have, by taxation as heavy as it is arbitrary, drained the resources of the country; they have intentionally ruined its industries, destroyed whole cities, put to death and imprisoned a considerable number of inhabitants. Even now, while they are loudly proclaiming their desire to put an end to the horrors of war, they increase the rigors of the occupation by deporting into servitude Belgian workers by the thousands.

If there is a country which has the right to say that it has taken up arms to defend its existence, it is assuredly Belgium. Compelled to fight or to submit to shame, she passionately desires that an end be brought to the unprecedented sufferings of her population. But she could only accept a peace which would assure her, as well as equitable reparation, security and guarantees for the future.

The American people, since the beginning of the war, has manifested for the oppressed Belgian Nation most ardent sympathy. It is an American committee, the Commission for Relief in Belgium, which, in close union with the Government of the King and the National Committee, displays an untiring devotion and marvelous activity in revictualing Belgium. The Government of the King is happy to avail itself of this opportunity to express its profound gratitude to the Commission for Relief as well as to the generous Americans eager to relieve the misery of the Belgian population. Finally, nowhere more than in the United States have the abductions and deportations of Belgian civilians provoked such a spontaneous movement of protestation and indignant reproof.

These facts, entirely to the honor of the American Nation, allow the Government of the King to entertain the legitimate hope that at the time of the definitive settlement of this long war, the voice of the Entente Powers will find in the United States a unanimous echo to claim in favor of the Belgian Nation, innocent victim of German ambition and covetousness, the rank and the place which its irreproachable past, the valor of its soldiers, its fidelity to honor, and its remarkable faculties for work assign to it among the civilized nations.

Germany's Retort to the Entente in a Separate Note to Neutrals

ON Jan. 11, the day after the Entente reply to President Wilson was made public, the German Foreign Office handed to the neutral Ambassadors at Berlin a communication acknowledging receipt of the Entente note of Dec. 12, (which had rejected Germany's peace proposal,) and continuing in a virtual reply to the Entente note to President Wilson, as follows:

Our adversaries declined this proposition, giving as the reason that it is a proposition without sincerity and without importance. The form in which they clothe their communication excludes an answer to them, but the Imperial Government considers it important to point out to the Governments of neutral powers its opinion regarding the situation.

The Central Powers have no reason to enter into any discussion regarding the origin of the world war. History will judge upon whom the immense guilt of the war shall fall. History's verdict will as little pass over the encircling policy of England, the revengeful policy of France, and the endeavor of Russia to gain Constantinople as over the instigation of the Serbian assassination in Serajevo and the complete mobilization of Russia, which meant war against Germany.

Germany and her allies, who had to take up arms for defense of their liberty and their existence, consider this, their aim of war, as obtained.

On the other hand, the hostile powers always went further away from the realization of their plans, which, according to the declarations of their responsible statesmen, were, among others, directed toward the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine and several Prussian provinces, the humiliation and diminution of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, the partition of Turkey, and the mutilation of Bulgaria. In the face of such war aims, the demand for restitution, reparation, and guarantee in the mouth of our adversaries produces a surprising effect.

Our adversaries call the proposal of the four allied (Teutonic) powers a war manoeuvre. Germany and her allies must protest in the most energetic fashion against such a characterization of their motives, which were frankly explained. They were persuaded that a peace which was just and acceptable to all the belligerents was possible; that it could be brought about by an immediate spoken exchange of views, and that therefore the responsibility for further bloodshed could not be

taken. Their readiness was affirmed without reservation to make known their peace conditions when negotiations were entered into, which refutes every doubt as to their sincerity.

Our adversaries, who had it in their hands to examine the proposition as to its contents, neither attempted an examination nor made counterproposals. Instead, they declared that peace was impossible so long as the re-establishment of violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationalities, and the free existence of small States were not guaranteed.

The sincerity which our adversary denies to the proposals of the four allied powers will not be conceded by the world to these demands, if the world holds before its eyes the fate of the Irish people, the destruction of the liberty and independence of the Boer Republic, the subjugation of Northern Africa by England, France, and Italy, the suppression of Russian alien nations, and also the violation of Greece, which is without precedent in history.

Against the pretended violations of the laws of nations by the four allies, (Teutonic,) those powers are not entitled to complain, which from the beginning of the war trampled on justice and tore to pieces the treaties upon which it is built. England already during the first weeks of the war had repudiated the London Declaration, the content of which had been recognized by its own delegates as a valid law of nations, and in the further course of the war violated in the most severe fashion also the Paris Declaration, so that, by her arbitrary measures for warfare, a condition of lawlessness has been created.

The war of starvation against Germany and the pressure exercised in England's interest against neutrals are not less scandalously conflicting with the rules of the laws of nations than with the commands of humanity.

Likewise, contrary to the laws of nations and incompatible with the usages of civilization are the use of colored troops in Europe and the extension of the war into Africa, which was done by a breach of existing treaties and which undermines the prestige of the white race on that continent. The barbarous treatment of prisoners, especially in Africa and Russia, and the deportation of the civilian population from Eastern Prussia, Alsace-Lorraine, Galicia, and Bukowina are further proof of how our adversaries respect justice and civilization.

At the end of their note of Dec. 30, our adversaries point out the special situation of Belgium. The Imperial Government is unable to acknowledge that the Belgian Government has always observed the duties which were enjoined upon her by her neutrality. Already before the war Belgium, under England's influence, sought support in military fashion from England and France, and thus herself violated the spirit [of the treaty] which she had to guarantee her independence and neutrality.

Twice the Imperial Government declared to the Belgian Government that it did not come as an enemy to Belgium, and asked it to spare the country the terrors of war. Germany offered to guarantee the integrity and independence of the kingdom to the full extent and compensate for all damages which might be caused by the passage of the German troops. It is known that the Royal British Government in 1887 was resolved not to oppose the use of the right of way through Belgium under those conditions. The Belgian Government declined the repeated offer of the Imperial Government. Upon her and those powers which instigated her to this attitude falls the responsibility for the fate which befell Belgium.

The accusations about the Germans' warfare in Belgium and the measures taken there in the interest of military safety have been repeatedly refuted by the Imperial Government as untrue. Germany again offers energetic protest against these calumnies.

Germany and her allies have made an honest attempt to terminate the war and open the road for an understanding among the belligerents. The Imperial Government asserts the fact that it merely depended upon the decision of our adversaries whether the road toward peace should be entered upon or not. The hostile Governments declined to accept this road. Upon them falls the full responsibility for the continuation of the bloodshed.

Our allied powers, however, shall continue the struggle in quiet confidence and with firm trust in their right, until peace is gained which guarantees to their nations honor, existence, and liberty of development, and which to all the nations of the European Continent gives the blessing to co-operate in mutual respect and under equal rights together for the solution of the great problems of civilization.

Similar Note From Austria

The Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Count Czernin von Chudenitz, delivered a similar note at Vienna on Jan. 12 to the diplomatic representatives of the neutral powers and the Holy See. The Austrian note lays special emphasis on the situation existing between Austria and Serbia, saying:

In the years preceding the Austro-Hungarian ultimatum to Serbia the monarchy displayed sufficient proof of its forbearance toward the ever-increasing hostility, aggressive intentions, and intrigues of Serbia until the moment when finally the notorious murders at Serajevo made further indulgences impossible.

In a later passage appears the following:

The question which side has the stronger military situation appears idle, and may confidently be left to the judgment of the world. The four allied powers now look on their purely defensive war aims as attained, while their enemies travel further and further from the realization of their plans.

For the enemy to characterize our peace proposals as meaningless before peace negotiations were begun, and so long as, therefore, our peace conditions are unknown, is merely to make an arbitrary assertion. We had made full preparations for the acceptance of our offer to make known our peace conditions on entering into the negotiations. We declared ourselves ready to end the war by a verbal exchange of views with the enemy Governments, and it depended solely on our enemies' decision whether peace were brought about or not.

Before God and mankind we repudiate responsibility for continuance of the war.

Replies of Neutral Nations to President Wilson's Peace Note

NEARLY all the neutral nations of Europe sent formal replies to President Wilson's note of Dec. 18, and all of these except Spain indicated their willingness to co-operate with the United States in a peace movement of the kind suggested.

Text of Swiss Note

Switzerland was the first of all the nations to make a formal reply. The response was addressed by the Swiss Federal Council, under date of Dec. 23, 1916, to all belligerents and neutrals. The text of the note, as received by the Swiss Consul at Washington and given out by Secretary Lansing, is as follows:

The President of the United States of America, with whom the Swiss Federal Council, guided by its warm desire that the hostilities may soon come to an end, has for a considerable time been in touch, had the kindness to apprise the Federal Council of the peace note sent to the Governments of the Central and Entente Powers. In that note President Wilson discusses the great desirability of international agreements for the purpose of avoiding more effectively and permanently the occurrence of catastrophes such as the one under which the peoples are suffering today. In this connection he lays particular stress on the necessity for bringing about the end of the present war. Without making peace proposals himself or offering mediation, he confines himself to sounding as to whether mankind may hope to have approached the haven of peace.

The most meritorious personal initiative of President Wilson will find a mighty echo in Switzerland. True to the obligations arising from observing the strictest neutrality, united by the same friendship with the States of both warring groups of powers, situated like an island amid the seething waters of the terrible world war, with its ideal and material interests most sensibly jeopardized and violated, our country is filled with a deep longing for peace, and ready to assist by its small means to stop the endless sufferings caused by the war and brought before its eyes by daily contact with the interned, the severely wounded, and those expelled, and to establish the foundations for a beneficial cooperation of the peoples.

The Swiss Federal Council is therefore glad to seize the opportunity to support the efforts of the President of the United States. It would consider itself happy if it could act in any, no matter how modest a way, for the rapprochement of the peoples now engaged in the struggle, and for reaching a lasting peace.

The Scandinavian Note

Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, the three Scandinavian nations, answered in an identical note, which was handed to Secretary Lansing on Dec. 29, 1916. The text of the Norwegian version, as delivered by Minister Bryn, is here given as representative of all three:

It is with the liveliest interest that the Norwegian Government has learned of the proposals which the President of the United States has just made with the purpose of facilitating measures looking toward the establishment of a durable peace, while at the same time seeking to avoid any interference which could cause offense to legitimate sentiments.

The Norwegian Government would consider itself failing in its duties toward its own people and toward humanity if it did not express its deepest sympathy with all efforts which would contribute to put an end to the ever-increasing suffering and the moral and material losses. It has every hope that the initiative of President Wilson will arrive at a result worthy of the high purpose which inspires it.

Spain's Polite Refusal

The Spanish Government replied to the

American note on Dec. 30, expressing sympathy with the President's purpose of facilitating peace, but declining at present to co-operate to that end. The official text was not given out at Washington, but the following version has come direct from Madrid by way of a London newspaper. The note is addressed to C. S. Wilson, Chargé d'Affaires at the United States Embassy in Madrid:

His Majesty's Government has received through your embassy a copy of the note which the President of the United States has presented to the belligerent powers, expressing the desire that an early opportunity should be sought for obtaining from all the nations now at war a declaration as to their intentions so far as regards the bases upon which the conflict might be terminated. This copy is accompanied by another note, signed by yourself, and dated Dec. 22, in which your embassy, in accordance with the instructions of your Government, says, in the name of the President, that the moment seems to be opportune for action on the part of his Majesty's Government, and that it should, if it thinks fit, support the attitude adopted by the Government of the United States.

With regard to the reasonable desire manifested by the latter Government to be supported in its proposition in favor of peace, the Government of his Majesty, considering that the initiative has been taken by the President of the North American Republic, and that the diverse impressions which it has caused are already known, is of opinion that the action to which the United States invites Spain would not have efficacy, and the more so because the Central Empires have already expressed their firm intention to discuss the conditions of peace solely with the belligerent powers.

Fully appreciating that the noble desire of the President of the United States will always merit the gratitude of all nations, the Government of his Majesty is decided not to dissociate itself from any negotiation or agreement destined to facilitate the humanitarian work which will put an end to the present war, but it suspends its action, reserving it for the moment when the efforts of all those who desire peace will be more useful and efficacious than is now the case, if there should then be reasons to consider that its initiative or its intervention would be profitable.

Until that moment arrives the Government of his Majesty regards it as opportune to declare that in all that concerns an understanding between the neutral powers for the defense of their material interests affected by the war, it is disposed now, as it has been since the beginning of the present conflict, to enter into negotiations which may tend toward an agreement capable of uniting all the nonbelligerent powers which may consider themselves injured or may regard it as necessary to remedy or diminish such injuries.

The Greek King's Reply

King Constantine of Greece summoned the American Minister, Garrett Dropper, to his palace in Athens on Dec. 30 and communicated to him the text of a message to President Wilson, the press version of which is as follows:

I wish to express, Mr. President, feelings of sincere admiration and lively sympathy for the generous initiative you have just taken with the view to ascertaining whether the moment is not propitious for a negotiable end of the bloody struggle raging on earth.

Coming from the wise statesman who, in a period so critical for humanity, is placed at the head of the great American Republic, this humanitarian effort, dictated by a spirit of high political sagacity and looking to an honorable peace for all, cannot but contribute greatly toward hastening re-establishment of normal life and assuring through a stable state of international relations the evolution of humanity toward that progress wherein the United States of America always so largely shares.

[There follows a recital of the trials Greece has suffered from the war, which, on account of the censorship, it is useless to attempt to cable. The King's message ends as follows:]

Such are the conditions in which your proposals find my country. This short and necessarily incomplete recital is not made with the purpose of criticism of the cruel blows at her sovereignty and neutrality from which Greece has been forced to suffer the effects. I have merely wished to show you, Mr. President, how much the soul of Greece at this moment longs for peace, and how much it appreciates your proposals, which constitute so important a step in the course of the bloody world tragedy of which we are witnesses.

CONSTANTINE.

A formal note from the Greek Government to the same effect was handed to the State Department at Washington on Jan. 16. It said in part:

The Royal Government learns with the most lively interest of the steps which the President of the United States of America has just undertaken among the belligerents for the cessation of a long and cruel war which is ravishing humanity. Very sensitive to the communication made to it, the Royal Government deeply appreciates the generous courage as well as the extremely humanitarian and profoundly politic spirit which dictated that suggestion. The considerations given in it to the subject of the sufferings of neutral nations as a result of the colossal struggle, as well as guarantees which will be equally desired by both belligerent factions for the rights and privileges of all States, have particularly found a sympathetic echo in the soul

of Greece. In fact, there is no country which, like Greece, has had to suffer from this war, while at the same time remaining a stranger to it.

Through circumstances exceptionally tragic, she has less than other neutral countries been able to escape a direct and pernicious effect from the hostilities between the belligerents. Her geographical position contributed toward diminishing her power of resistance against violations of her neutrality and sovereignty, which she has been forced to submit to in the interest of self-preservation.

The Royal Government would certainly have made all haste to accede to the noble demand of the President of the United States of America, to help with all means in its power until success were achieved, if it were not entirely out of communication with one of the two belligerents, while toward the other it must await the solution of difficulties which seriously weigh upon the situation in Greece. But the Royal Government is following with all the intensity of its soul the precious effort of the President of the United States of America, hoping to see it completed at the earliest possible moment.

China Favors Peace League

The Chinese Government, in a note sent through the American Minister at Peking on Jan. 11, indicated its readiness to cooperate after the war in a league to insure peace. The note was written by the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs and is addressed to the American Minister. The text follows:

I have examined, with the care which the gravity of the questions raised demands, the note concerning peace which President Wilson has addressed to the Governments of the Allies and the Central Powers now at war, and the text of which your Excellency has been good enough to transmit to me under instructions of your Government.

China, a nation traditionally pacific, has recently again manifested her sentiments in concluding treaties concerning the pacific settlement of international disputes, responding thus to the wishes of the peace conference held at The Hague.

On the other hand, the present war by its prolongation has seriously affected the interests of China, more so perhaps, than those of other powers which have remained neutral. She is at present at a time of reorganization which demands economically and industrially the co-operation of foreign countries, co-operation which a large number of them are unable to accord on account of the war in which they are engaged.

In manifesting her sympathy for the spirit of the President's note, having in view the ending as soon as possible of the hostilities, China is but acting in conformity with not only her interest but also with her profound sentiments.

Persia Eager for Peace

Medhi Kahn, the Persian Minister at Washington, presented the following note to Secretary Lansing on Jan. 15:

His Imperial Majesty's Government has instructed me to communicate to your Excellency that it experienced the utmost pleasure upon receipt of the President's note of Dec. 18, 1916, regarding peace terms transmitted through the United States plenipotentiary at Teheran, and to express to you the hope that a step so benevolent and humane will meet with the success it deserves.

I am further instructed to say that, notwithstanding we declared ourselves neutral, a large part of our country has been disturbed and devastated by the fighting of the belligerents within our boundaries. In view of this fact you cannot doubt that we heartily welcome and indorse the move the President has made.

Furthermore, inasmuch as his Majesty's Government understands from the President's note that he desires the preservation of the integrity and freedom of the powers and the weaker nations, and in view of the firm friendship which has always existed between our two countries, it ardently hopes that the Government of the United States will assist our oppressed nation to maintain its integrity and rights, not only for the present, but whenever a peace conference shall take place.

"Peace Founded on the Rock of Vindicated Justice"

Lloyd George's Guildhall Address, Jan. 11, 1917

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE delivered an important address at the Guildhall, London, Jan. 11, appealing primarily for subscriptions to the new war loan, but also touching largely upon questions in the peace discussion. The speech was punctuated throughout with cheers and applause, indicating how aptly it expressed the opinions of the auditors. The full text, as sent to THE NEW YORK TIMES by special cable, is as follows:

My Lord Mayor, my Lords, Ladies, and

Gentlemen: The Chancellor of the Exchequer [Bonar Law] in his extremely lucid and impressive speech has placed before you the business side of this proposal, and I think you will agree with me, after hearing his explanation of his scheme, that he has offered for subscription a loan which possesses all the essential ingredients of an attractive investment. They are the most generous terms that the Government can offer without injury to the taxpayer. I agree that the Chancellor was right in offering such liberal terms because it is important that we should secure a big loan now, not merely in order to enable us to finance the war effectively, but as a demonstration of the continued resolve of this country to prosecute the war; and it is upon that aspect of the question that I should like to say a few words.

The German Kaiser a few days ago sent a message to his people that the Allies had rejected his peace offers. He did so in order to drug those whom he could no longer dragoon. Where are those offers? We have asked for them; we have never seen them. We were not offered terms; we were offered a trap baited with fair words. They tempted us once, but the lion has his eyes open. We have rejected no terms that we have ever seen. Of course, it would suit them to have peace at the present moment on their terms. We all want peace; but when we get it it must be a real peace.

War Better Than Prussian Peace

The allied powers separately and in council together have come to the same conclusion. Knowing well what war means, knowing especially what this war means in suffering, in burdens, in horrors, they have still decided that even war is better than peace at the Prussian price of domination over Europe. We made it clear in our reply to Germany; we made it still clearer in our reply to the United States.

Before we attempt to rebuild the Temple of Peace we must see now that the foundations are solid. They were built before upon the shifting sands of Prussian faith; henceforth, when the time for rebuilding comes, it must be on the rock of vindicated justice.

I have just returned from a council of war of the four great allied countries upon whose shoulders most of this terrible war falls. I cannot give you its conclusions; they might be information to the enemy. There were no delusions as to the magnitude of our task; neither were there any doubts about the results.

I think I can say what was the feeling of every man there. It was one of the most businesslike conferences I ever attended. We faced the whole situation, probed it thoroughly, and looked its difficulties in the face, and made arrangements to deal with them. We separated feeling more confident than ever. All felt that if victory were difficult, defeat was impossible. There was no flinching, no wavering, no faint-heartedness, no infirmity of purpose.

Challenge to Free Nations

There was a grim resolution at all costs that we must achieve the high aim with which we accepted the challenge of the Prussian military caste and rid Europe and the world forever of her menace. No country could have refused the challenge without the loss of honor. None could have rejected it without impairing national security. No one would have failed to take it up without forfeiting something which is of greater value to every free and self-respecting people than life itself. Those nations did not enter into the war lightly. They did not embark upon this enterprise without knowing what it really meant. They were not enticed by the prospects of immediate victory.

Take this country. The millions of our men who enlisted in the army enlisted after the German victories of August, 1914, when they knew the accumulated and concentrated power of the German military machine. That was when they placed their lives at the disposal of their country. What about the other lands? They knew what they were encountering; that they were fighting an organization which had been perfected for generations by the best brains of Prussia—perfected with one purpose, the subjugation of Europe.

Why did they do it? I passed through hundreds of miles of the beautiful land of France and of Italy, and as I did so I asked myself this question: Why did the peasants leave by myriads these sunny vineyards and cornfields in France? Why did they quit these enchanting valleys, with their comfort, their security, their charm, in order to face the grim and wild horrors of the battlefield? They did it for one purpose, and one purpose only. They were not driven to the slaughter by Kings. These are great democratic countries. No Government would have lasted twenty-four hours that had forced them into an abhorrent war against their own free will. They embarked upon it because they knew the fundamental issue had been raised which no country could shirk without imperiling all that has been won in the centuries of the past and all that remains to be won in the ages of the future.

That is why, as the war proceeds and the German purpose becomes more manifest, the conviction is becoming deeper in the minds of those people that they must work their way through to victory in order to save Europe from an unspeakable despotism. That was the spirit that animated the allied conference in Europe last week.

Allies' Increasing Trust in Britain

But I tell you one thing that struck me, and strikes me more and more each time I attend these conferences and visit the Continent: The increasing extent to which the allied peoples are looking to Great Britain. They are

trusting her rugged strength and great resources more and more. She is to them like a great tower in the deep. She is becoming more and more the hope of the oppressed and despair of the oppressor; and I feel more and more confident that we shall not fail the people who put their trust in us.

But when that arrogant Prussian caste flung the signature of Britain in the treaty in the waste paper basket as if it were of no account, they knew not the pride of the land they were treating with such insolent disdain. They know it now. Our soldiers and our sailors have taught them to respect it. You had an eloquent account from my colleague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, of the achievements of our soldiers; our sailors are gallantly defending the honor of the country on the high seas. They have strangled the enemy's commerce; they will continue to do so in spite of all the piratical devices of the foe.

Predicts Victory in 1917

In 1914 and 1915, for two years, a small, ill-equipped army held up the veterans of Prussia, with the best equipment in Europe; in 1916 hurling them back and delivering a blow from which they are reeling. In 1917 the armies of Britain will be more formidable than ever in training, in efficiency, in equipment; and you may depend upon it, if you give them the necessary support, they will cleave a road to victory through the dangers and perils of the next few months.

But we must support them; they are worth it. Have you ever talked to a soldier who has come back from the front? There is not one of them who will not tell you how he is encouraged and sustained by hearing the roar of the guns behind him.

I will tell you what I want to do. I want to see checks hurtling through the air, fired from the City of London; fired from every city, town, and village and hamlet throughout the land; fired straight into the intrenchments of the enemy.

Every well-directed check, well loaded, properly primed, is a more formidable weapon of destruction than a twelve-inch shell. It clears a path to the barbed-wire entanglements for our gallant fellows to march through. A big loan helps you, insures victory; a big loan will help shorten the war; it will help save lives; it will help save the British Empire; it will help save Europe; it will help save civilization.

That is why we want the country to rise to this occasion and show that the old spirit of Britain, represented by those great men [pointing to the monuments in the hall] you have here, is still alive, alert, and as potent as ever.

I want to appeal to the men at home—yes, and to the women. I want to appeal to both; they have done their part nobly in this war. A man who has been a Munitions Minister for twelve months must feel a debt of gratitude to the women for what they have done. They have helped to win the war, and without them we could not have done it; but I want to make special appeal, or rather to enforce the special appeal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Fervid Appeal for Self-Denial

Let no money be squandered in luxury and indulgence which can be put into the fight and which counts—every penny of it; every ounce has counted in this struggle. Do not waste it, do not throw it away; put it there to help the valor of our brave young boys. Back them up! Let every one contribute to assist them, with greater pride in it than in costly garments. It will become them; they will feel prouder of it today, and their pride will increase in the years to come, when the best garment they have got will have rotted, when the glisten and glitter of it will improve with the years. They can put it on in old age and say: "This is something I contributed in the great war," and they will be proud of it.

Men and women of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland! The first charge upon all your surplus money, over your needs for yourselves and your children, should be to help those gallant young men who tendered their lives to the cause of humanity. The more we get the surer the victory; the more we get the shorter the war; the more we get the less it will cost in treasure, and the greatest treasure of all is brave blood. The more we give the more you will be enriched by your contribution, by your sacrifices of extravagance.

I want to bring this home to every man and woman. This extravagance during the war has cost blood—valiant blood, the blood of heroes. It will be worth millions to save one of them—the big loan will save myriads of them. Help them not merely to win; help them to come home, to shout for the victory which they have won.

It means better equipment for our troops, it means better equipment for the allies as well; and this I say for the fiftieth, if not the hundredth, time: this is a war of equipment. That is why we are appealing for your assistance. Most of us could not do more, but what we can do it is our duty, it is our pride, to do.

I said it was a war of equipment. Why are the Germans pressing back our gallant allies in Rumania? It is not that they are better fighters; they certainly are not. The Rumanian peasant has proved himself to be one of the doughtiest fighters in the field when he has the chance—he never had much—and as for the Russian, the way in which, with bared breast, he has fought for two years and a half, with inferior guns, insufficient rifles, inadequate supplies of ammunition, is one of the tales of heroism of the world.

Helping to Equip the Fighters

Let us help to equip them, and there will be another story to tell soon; but it is for us to

do so, and that is why I am glad to follow the Chancellor of the Exchequer in the appeal he has made to the patriotism of our race—but with true Scottish instinct he put the appeal to prudence first. He had a good foundation for patriotism, and reserved that for his peroration. I am going to reverse the order, belonging to a less canny race. I want to say it is a good investment, after all; the Old Country is the best investment in the world. It was a sound concern before the war; it will be sounder and safer than ever after the war, and especially safer.

I do not know the nation that will care to touch it after this war. They had forgotten what we were like in those days, and it will take them a long time to forget these. It will be a safer investment than ever, and a sounder one.

Have you been watching what is going on? Before the war we had a good many shortcomings in our business, our commerce, our industry. The war is settling them all right in the most marvelous way. You ask a great business man like my friend, Lord Pirrie, what is going on in those great factories throughout Great Britain and Ireland. Old machinery is scrapped; the newest, the best, and the latest is set up; slipshod and wasteful methods are scrapped, and hampering customs discontinued. Millions are brought into the labor market to help to produce who were before purely consumers.

I do not know what the national debt will be at the end of this war, but I will make a prediction: Whatever it is, what is added in real assets to the real riches of the nation will be infinitely greater than any debt we ever acquire. The resources of the nation in every direction have been developed and directed; the nation itself disciplined, braced up, quickened, has become a more alert people. We have thrown off the useless tissues; we are a nation that has been taking exercise. We are a different people.

I will tell you another thing: the Prussian menace was a running mortgage which detracted from the value of our national security. Nobody knew what it meant. We know too well now. You could not tell whether it meant millions or hundreds of millions or thousands of millions, or how many of them. You could not tell that it would not mean ruin.

That mortgage will be cleared off forever—better security on a better foundation, safer security, and at a better rate of interest. The world will then be able, when this war is over, to attend to its business in peace. There will be no war or rumors of war to disturb and to distract. We can build up, we can reconstruct, we can till, we can cultivate and enrich, and the burden and terror and waste of war will have gone.

Predicts a League of Peace

The peace and security for peace will be that the nations will band themselves together to punish the first peacebreaker who comes out.

As to the armies of Europe, every weapon will be a sword of justice in the Government of men; every arm will be a constabulary of peace. There were men who had hoped to see this achieved in the way of peace. We were disappointed. It was ordained that you should not reach that golden era except along the path which was paved with gold—yea, and cemented with valiant blood. There are millions who have given of the latter who are ready—nay, millions more ready, myriads more ready—for the sacrifice, if the country needs it.

It is for us to contribute the former. Let no man no woman, in this crisis of the nation's fate, through indolence, greed, avarice, or selfishness, fail. If they are doing their part, then, when the time comes for the triumphal march through the darkness and terror of the night into the bright dawn of the morning of the new age, they will each feel that they have done their share.

PAUL DESCHANEL'S ADDRESS

Paul Deschanel, in addressing the French Chamber of Deputies on Jan. 11, after his re-election as President of that body, said:

The first articles of our program remain the deliverance of Belgium and the restitution of Alsace-Lorraine. This is the only program that can recompense us for our sacrifices and assure to our children a durable peace worthy of France and the republic.

Speaking of the work of Parliament, M. Deschanel took occasion to reply to certain criticisms, saying:

In the most critical moments it was you who established the program for the production of armaments and munitions, after which you made every effort to diminish the delays in providing the army with what was most urgently demanded. Some reproach you with interfering too much in diplomatic and military affairs, but if there were failures they would seek to make you responsible, since it is you who have supervision. It is desired to shorten the war, but when you propose measures for a greater activity of effort which would abridge it, your initiatives are criticised.

In apparent allusion to the request of the Government for authority to issue decrees, in anticipation of legislation, on urgent questions, M. Deschanel said:

Since the war is prolonged, it is our duty to adapt our methods and accelerate our procedure. To maintain order and discipline in our debates also is a form of patriotism, but to that end it is not necessary to throw our institutions into confusion. It will be to the eternal honor of our country to have faced the greatest upheaval of all the ages without changing our laws.

Lloyd George and His Guildhall Speech

By Charles H. Grasty
Of The New York Times Staff

Cabling from London on Jan. 11, Mr. Grasty sent the following vivid description of the Premier as he appeared during the delivery of his address:

THIS is neither a character sketch of the Prime Minister nor a report of the big meeting held at the beautiful and historic Guildhall; it is a series of rough impressions made on an American and here given in chronological rather than logical order from notes jotted down as these impressions were produced during the progress of the meeting.

The hall was packed with a representative gathering of London business men. I tried to compare them with a similar body in New York. They were less animated than a New York body, but there was no doubt of their solidity. The Lord Mayor came in with several Sheriffs, the big gold mace borne before them, escorting the Prime Minister.

Mr. Lloyd George took his welcome very quietly, showing but a trace of response as he stood at the rail of the platform. The crowd sang "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow," but the song limped and the performance was more spiritless than the same thing would have been in New York. Then Mr. Lloyd George sat down next to his little daughter, a pink-cheeked girl, who had come with Mrs. Lloyd George a few minutes before. The wife of the Prime Minister wore a black hat, with a plume and a gold buckle, and a velveteen wrap, trimmed with fur, and a collar of muskrat. She had a dark silk frock and white gloves with black stripes. She is a large, wholesome-looking, motherly woman.

When the Prime Minister took his seat he surveyed the crowd and twirled his watch chain, after first putting his right ankle on his left knee, in which position he maintained it during about twenty minutes of Mr. Bonar Law's speech. From time to time he took his gold pince-nez into the hand that was not busy with the watch chain. After looking straight out on to his audience for a while, his eye sought the vaulted ceiling of the Guildhall. I could observe that he was not studying Gothic architecture, but was further preparing himself for the speech he was to make later.

Reformer with Sense of Humor

Some men have hands larger than their feet, and some men have it the other way round. Lloyd George's foot is small, and he seemed to take considerable pains about his boots. His hands are large and strong. He wore a standing collar with wings upon which his double chin rested comfortably. He is much cleaner-cut than his pictures represent him. He would seem to have a greater degree of health and less spiritual quality than I had supposed.

His eyes look brown or black, but the man next to me said they were in fact dark blue. One expects large eyes in such a man, but the Prime Minister's seemed smallish. He has a very merry twinkle in them, and that is one of his most marked characteristics. You feel that here is a reformer, but one who does not take himself too deadly seriously. He is not so terribly in earnest as to fall over his own feet. I should say that he had taken to himself the wisdom of Plato's counsel: "The best is frequently the enemy of the good."

To leave the Prime Minister for just one instant: I was surprised at how differently Bonar Law looked from below. Heretofore I have examined him from the gallery in the House of Commons, and he seemed to me a short man. Today I observed that he was tallish and spare, and more like the man I had visualized from his photograph. His manner of speaking was a study to me, because his is an oratory absolutely different from anything we have in the United States. He has spirit, but absolutely no warmth. He uses emphasis with miserly

care and restraint, and the effect is most convincing.

Lloyd George whispered something to his daughter and smiled, and it gave me a chance of observing that his face is built along curved lines. If I may speak so of a great statesman, his mouth has a Cupid's bow effect. He has a small nose and delicate nostrils. While his color only comes when he exerts himself in speaking, he is not pallid, and there is not the slightest suspicion of weariness about him.

For a while he rested his right hand on his right knee and continued to study the vaulted roof; then he put his hand in his inside coat pocket and drew out a sheaf of notes. These were cards with a round hole in the upper left-hand corner, through which ran a blue cord tied in a bow knot. Then from his left-hand waistcoat pocket he drew out a very elaborate gold pencil that must have been given to him as a testimonial, for no man would buy such a pencil for himself.

This pencil was fastened by a rope-end of gold, the corresponding portion of which on the right-hand side secured his watch. I noticed, too, that he had a gold chain extending from his right-hand trousers pocket to his right-hand hip pocket, and that to one of the ends of this his bunch of keys was fastened.

When the Lord Mayor introduced the Prime Minister I noticed with interest that he dropped the "g" when reading, which made me feel quite at home.

The Idealized John Bull

When Lloyd George arose I had a new impression of him. It seemed to me that he had a certain bovine beauty. He is a Celt, but he would not make a bad model for the idealized John Bull. He was quite free from self-consciousness when the great audience gave him its ovation. As he stood up with his hands on the rail I noticed the depth of his chest, and how flat and straight his back was. He was dressed in a cutaway coat, quite in the prevailing style of exaggerated tail. He wore a black four-in-hand, with a very small diamond pin in it. But for his hair of black and white, in the proportion of fifty-fifty, and worn long and brushed back, Lloyd George would be quite the conventional type of professional man.

There is just a suggestion of Bob Ingersoll and W. J. Bryan in the Prime Minister's appearance. In a general way he belongs to the breed of statesmen who react sensitively to the aspirations, needs, and wrongs of the masses; but he is a very high type, and whatever visionary qualities he may have started with have been pretty well knocked out of him by his experience in the stand-up and knock-down fighting of parliamentary government. A man cannot get very gay with the hard facts of life if he is subject to the hazing that is the principal sport in the House of Commons.

When Lloyd George began I said to myself: "About the only difference between Bonar Law and the Prime Minister as public speakers is that one is an Episcopalian and the other a Baptist," but as things went along I discovered the error of this judgment. Lloyd George indeed is very careful not to get on a high key, but he possesses a dramatic quality which at times he calls into use.

Except at these rare moments the coming and going of reporters and stenographers, who made a confusion between the speaker and his audience, had no psychological effect on the impression he was producing. He was not seeking for rapt attention. A phrase that occurred now and again throughout his remarks was, "You may depend upon it." If he had it in mind to convey a strong impression of dependability, he succeeded admirably.

Avoidance of Eloquence

When cameras were fired at him early in his speech and clouds of smoke floated over him, he was not in the least disconcerted, nor did it spoil the effect of his opening. When he touched a high point —for example, after his allusion to rebuilding on the rock of vindicated justice —he seemed to make a point of it to put on his glasses and consult his notes, as if to keep himself out of any flow of eloquence. As such he got home splendidly with the impression of dependability when he said that he had just returned from a meeting where there had been no delusions about the magnitude of the Al-

lies' task and no doubt about the result; that they had met like a lot of business men, looked facts in the face, and made arrangements to deal with them.

In this passage, as in others, there was no flight of oratory to fall from, and only enough spirit to prevent any impression of deadness. He makes you feel, as so many English speakers do, the power of his reserve. He looks very strong physically, but he hasn't a big voice, and today it broke just a little into hoarseness after a few minutes.

There isn't the slightest suggestion of age or waning powers in Lloyd George. He is evidently a careful liver and keeps himself well in hand. One is struck with a sense of the harmoniousness of the whole Lloyd George—head, body, and intellectual personality.

He made his points very telling with what we in America would regard as a minimum of effort. His allusion to the Russians who have stood with bared breasts against the Germans, his assurance that, no matter how great the debt, the added wealth would be still greater, his picture of England struggling before the war under a running mortgage of menace from Germany, and his statement that the nations would band together after the war to punish the first peace-breaker, were among the high points touched by him, with his feet firmly on the ground. While he used accent and intonation very much more freely than did Bonar Law, he had a measured manner of speech that was the opposite of spellbinding.

Only at the very end did he put dramatic quality into it. He threw his notes down on the table with a gesture of having finished that chapter; then he put his hand on the red cloth-covered rail and spoke his last four or five sentences as Forbes-Robertson might have done, with an appearance of restrained passion.

After the voting of the usual resolution those on the platform and in the audience rose and sang "God Save the King!" Lloyd George stood up very straight and sang with a will. The crowd then filed out.

I fell in with Lord Claud John Hamilton, and we walked over the wet, glistening street to Cheapside. Lord Claud has been a Conservative member of the House of Commons nearly the whole time for fifty-one years. He and his family and his class have stood for different things than those represented by Lloyd George. I was very much interested in what Lord Claud should think about the meeting.

"I have attended a great many meetings in the Guildhall," he said, "but this was the largest I have ever seen. Lloyd George and Bonar Law presented the matter most forcibly, and the loan will be a success."

Ruines

Par FREDERIC RAISIN

Les murs assassinés par le feu des Vandales
Et dont les pans noircis,—inoubliable effroi,—
Disent le long martyre, hélas! les nobles Halles,
Les jacquemarts, les tours, les clochers, les beffrois,

Ainsi que la splendeur des hautes cathédrales,
—Monuments de la foi des peuples et des rois,—
Tout, malgré les serments, les traités et les lois,
Tout a croulé sous les fureurs impériales.

Gardez-vous de toucher à ces reliques saintes!
Laissez-les vers le ciel faire monter leur plainte,
Ou retentit l'écho des funèbres tocsins!

Ne relevez jamais ces illustres masures!
Qu'elles vivent avec toutes leurs meurtrissures,
Gage éternel de haine envers les assassins!

GERMAN PEACE REJECTED

Reply of Allies Characterizes the Proposal as "Empty and Insincere"

CHRONOLOGY OF GERMAN PEACE NOTE.

Dec. 12, 1916—Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg presents the German peace proposal to the Reichstag.
Dec. 12—Premier Briand, in French Chamber, denounces the proposal as "a trap."
Dec. 13—Bonar Law, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, says peace is impossible without reparation and security.
Dec. 19—Baron Sonnino, Italian Foreign Minister, discredits the sincerity of the proposal in the Italian Chamber.
Dec. 19—Premier Lloyd George delivers an address in Parliament rejecting the proposal.
Dec. 19—Earl Curzon, Lord President of the British War Council, declares against proposition in House of Lords.
Dec. 22—King George, in proroguing Parliament, expresses inflexible determination to achieve final victory.
Dec. 25—Czar of Russia, in an order to his armies, asserts that no peace is possible until Russia's aims are won.
Dec. 30—Formal reply of Entente Allies is sent to Germany.
Dec. 31—Kaiser Wilhelm, in a general order, declares that Germany is victorious in all theatres on land and sea.
Jan. 6, 1917—German and Austrian Emperors issue orders announcing the Allies' refusal, and lay upon them the blame for continuation of the war.
Jan. 8.—Sultan of Turkey announces intention of redoubling his efforts to destroy his enemies.

CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE for January contained the official documents mentioned in the first half of the chronology printed above, with the portion of Lord Curzon's speech of Dec. 19 then obtainable. That important utterance appears in full in the present issue.

Taking up the chronological narrative of the German peace episode where it broke off last month, the speech of King George V. of England in proroguing Parliament on Dec. 22, 1916, comes into the story. The text is as follows:

My Lords and Gentlemen:

Throughout the months that have elapsed since I last addressed you, my navy and my army, in conjunction with those of our gallant and faithful allies, have by their unceasing vigilance and indomitable valor justified the high trust I placed in them.

I am confident that, however long the struggle, their efforts, supported by the inflexible determination of all my subjects throughout the empire, will finally achieve the victorious consummation of those aims for which I entered into the war.

My Government has been reconstructed with the sole object of furthering those aims unaltered and unimpaired. I thank you for the unstinted liberality with which you continue to provide for the burdens of the war.

The vigorous prosecution of the war must be our single endeavor until we have vindicated the rights so ruthlessly violated by our enemies and established the security of Europe on a sure foundation. In this sacred cause I am assured of the united support of all my peoples, and I pray that the Almighty God may give us His blessing.

Czar's Official Comment

Germany's peace proposal called forth from the Emperor of Russia the following utterance on Dec. 25 in the form of a general order to the Russian armies:

It is now more than two years since Germany, in the midst of peace and after secretly preparing over a long period to enslave all the nations of Europe, suddenly attacked Russia and her faithful ally France. This attack compelled England to join us and take part in our battle.

The complete disdain which Germany showed to principles of international law as demonstrated by the violation of the neutrality of Belgium, and her pitiless cruelty toward the peaceful inhabitants in the occupied provinces, little by little united the great powers of Europe against Germany and her ally Austria.

Under the pressure of the German troops, which were well provided with the technical aids to warfare, Russia as well as France was compelled in the first year of the war to give up a portion of its territory, but this temporary reverse did not break the spirit of our faithful allies, nor of you, my gallant troops. In time, by the concentrated

FRENCH GENERALS AND THEIR STAFFS

General Marchand of African Fame, Before His Headquarters on the Somme Front

General Gouraud Before the Divisional Headquarters on the Champagne Front

(Photos from Press Illustrating Co.)

MEN WHO COMMAND THE "POILUS"

General Humbert Leaving Headquarters for a Tour of the Lines in the Verdun District

(Press Illustrating Co.)

General Joffre, While Still Commander in Chief, Consulting a Group of His Generals

(Underwood & Underwood.)

efforts of the Government, the inequalities between our own and the German technical resources were gradually reduced. But long before this time; even from the Autumn of 1915, our enemy was experiencing difficulty in retaining a single portion on Russian soil, and in the Spring and Summer of the current year suffered a number of severe defeats and assumed the defensive along the whole front. His strength apparently is waning, but the strength of Russia and her gallant allies continues to grow without failing.

Germany is feeling that the hour of her complete defeat is near, and near also the hour of retribution for all her wrong-doings and for the violation of moral laws. Similarly, as in the time when her war strength was superior to the strength of her neighbors, Germany suddenly declared war upon them, so now, feeling her weakness, she suddenly offers to enter into peace negotiations. Particularly she desires to begin these negotiations and to complete them before her military talent is exhausted. At the same time she is creating a false impression about the strength of her army by making use of her temporary success over the Rumanians, who had not succeeded in gaining experience in the conduct of modern warfare.

But if, originally, Germany was in the position to declare war and fall upon Russia and her ally France, in her most favorable time, having strengthened in wartime the alliance, among which is to be found allmighty England and noble Italy, this alliance in its turn has also the possibility of entering into peace negotiations at such a time as it considers favorable for itself.

The time has not yet arrived. The enemy has not yet been driven out of the provinces occupied by her. The attainment by Russia of the tasks created by the war—the regaining of Constantinople and the Dardanelles, as well as the creation of a free Poland from all three of her now incomplete tribal districts—has not yet been guaranteed.

To conclude peace at this moment would mean the failure to utilize the fruits of the untold trials of you, heroic Russian troops and fleet. These trials, and still more the sacred memory of those noble sons of Russia who have fallen on the field of battle, do not permit the thought of peace until the final victory over our enemies.

Who dares to think that he who brought about the beginning of the war shall have it in his power to conclude the war at any time he likes?

I do not doubt that every faithful son of holy Russia under arms who entered into the firing line, as well as those working in the interior for the increase of her war strength or the creation of her industry, will be convinced that peace can only be given to the enemy after he has been driven from our borders; and then only when, finally broken, he shall give to us and our faithful allies reliable proof of the impossibility of a repetition of the treacherous attack and a firm assurance that he will keep to these promises. By the strength of these guarantees he will be bound to the fulfillment in times of peace of those things which he undertakes.

Let us be firm in the certainty of our victory and the All Highest will bless our standards and will cover them afresh with glory, and will give to us a peace worthy of your heroic deeds, my glorious troops—a peace for which the future generation will bless your memory, which will be sacred to them.

NICHOLAS.

Text of Formal Reply of the Entente Allies to the Central Powers

THE reply of the Entente Allies to the peace proposals of the Central Powers was handed to the American Ambassador at Paris by Premier Briand, Dec. 30, 1916, and was at once forwarded by cable to President Wilson, who in turn transmitted it to the Central Powers. The note reached Berlin from the United States on Jan. 4, 1917, and was presented by Ambassador Gerard that day at noon; the Swiss Minister at Berlin had already presented an official copy on Jan. 2, which had come by way of Rome.

The reply was the result of prolonged conferences between the Foreign Ministers of the Entente Allies and a full interchange of views by the respective Governments. It is reported that the main draft was first written in French, and that the reference at the close to Belgium was added at the request of King Albert after the rest of the note had been completed.

The full official text of the reply is as follows:

The allied Governments of Belgium, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Montenegro, Portugal, Rumania, Russia, and Serbia, united for the defense of the liberty of their peoples and faithful to engagements taken not to lay down their arms separately, have resolved to reply collectively to the pretended propositions of peace which were addressed to them

on behalf of the enemy Governments through the intermediary of the United States, Spain, Switzerland, and Holland.

Before making any reply, the allied powers desire particularly to protest against the two essential assertions of the notes of the enemy powers that pretend to throw upon the Allies responsibility for the war and proclaim the victory of the Central Powers. The allied Governments cannot admit an affirmation doubly inexact and which suffices to render sterile all tentative negotiations. The allied nations have sustained for thirty months a war they did everything to avoid. They have shown by their acts their attachment to peace. That attachment is as strong today as it was in 1914. But it is not upon the word of Germany, after the violation of its engagements, that the peace broken by her may be based.

A mere suggestion without a statement of terms, that negotiations should be opened, is not an offer of peace. The putting forward by the Imperial Government of a sham proposal lacking all substance and precision would appear to be less an offer of peace than a war manoeuvre. It is founded on calculated misinterpretation of the character of the struggle in the past, the present, and the future.

As for the past, the German note takes no account of the facts, dates, and figures, which establish that the war was desired, provoked, and declared by Germany and Austria-Hungary.

At The Hague Conference it was a German delegate who refused all proposals for disarmament. In July, 1914, it was Austria-Hungary, who, after having addressed to Serbia an unprecedented ultimatum, declared war upon her in spite of the satisfaction which had at once been accorded.

The Central Empires then rejected all attempts made by the Entente to bring about a pacific solution of a purely local conflict. Great Britain suggested a conference; France proposed an international commission; the Emperor of Russia asked the German Emperor to go to arbitration, and Russia and Austria-Hungary came to an understanding on the eve of the conflict. But to all these efforts Germany gave neither answer nor effect.

Belgium was invaded by an empire which had guaranteed her neutrality and which had the assurance to proclaim that treaties were "scraps of paper," and that "necessity knows no law."

At the present moment these sham offers on the part of Germany rest on the war map of Europe alone, which represents nothing more than a superficial and passing phase of the situation and not the real strength of the belligerents. A peace concluded upon these terms would be only to the advantage of the aggressors, who, after imagining that they would reach their goal in two months, discovered after two years that they could never attain it.

As for the future, the disasters caused by the German declaration of war and the innumerable outrages committed by Germany and her allies against both belligerents and neutrals demand penalties, reparation, and guarantees. Germany avoids mention of any of these.

In reality these overtures made by the Central Powers are nothing more than a calculated attempt to influence the future course of war and to end it by imposing a German peace. The object of these overtures is to create dissension in public opinion in the allied countries. But that public opinion has, in spite of all the sacrifices endured by the Allies, already given its answer with admirable firmness, and has denounced the empty pretense of the declaration of the enemy powers.

They [the peace overtures] have the further object of stiffening public opinion in Germany and in the countries allied to her—one and all—severely tried by their losses, worn out by economic pressure and crushed by the supreme effort which has been imposed upon their inhabitants.

They endeavor to deceive and intimidate public opinion in neutral countries, whose inhabitants have long since made up their minds where the initial responsibilities lie and are far too enlightened to favor the designs of Germany by abandoning the defense of human freedom.

Finally, these overtures attempt to justify in advance in the eyes of the world a new series of crimes—submarine warfare, deportations, forced labor and forced enlistment of the inhabitants against their own countries, and violations of neutrality.

Fully conscious of the gravity of this moment, but equally conscious of its requirements, the allied Governments, closely united to one another and in perfect sympathy with their peoples, refuse to consider a proposal which is empty and insincere.

Once again the Allies declare that no peace is possible so long as they have not secured reparation for violated rights and liberties, the recognition of the principle of nationality and of the free existence of small States, so long as they have not brought about a settlement calculated to end once and for all forces which have constituted a perpetual menace to the nations, and to afford the only effective guarantee for the future security of the world.

In conclusion, the allied powers think it necessary to put forward the following considerations, which show the special situation of Belgium after two and a half years of war. In virtue of the international treaties signed by five great European powers, of which Germany was one, Belgium enjoyed before the war a special status, rendering her territory inviolable and placing her, under the guarantee of the powers, outside all European conflicts. She was, however, in spite of these treaties, the first to suffer the

aggression of Germany. For this reason the Belgian Government think it necessary to define the aims which Belgium has never ceased to pursue while fighting side by side with the Entente Powers for right and justice.

Belgium has always scrupulously fulfilled the duties which her neutrality imposed upon her. She has taken up arms to defend her independence and her neutrality violated by Germany and to show that she remains faithful to her international obligations.

On the 4th of August, 1914, in the Reichstag the German Chancellor admitted that this aggression constituted an injustice, contrary to the laws of nations, and pledged himself in the name of Germany to repair it. During two and a half years this injustice has been cruelly aggravated by the proceedings of the occupying forces, which have exhausted the resources of the country, ruined its industries, devastated its towns and villages, and have been responsible for innumerable massacres, executions, and imprisonments.

At this very moment, while Germany is proclaiming peace and humanity to the world, she is deporting Belgian citizens by thousands and reducing them to slavery.

Belgium before the war asked for nothing but to live in harmony with her neighbors. Her King and her Government have but one aim—the re-establishment of peace and justice. But they only desire peace which would assure to their country legitimate reparation, guarantees, and safeguards for the future.

Kaiser's New Year Order

The first official document that succeeded the issuance of the Entente reply was an address to the German Army and Navy by Emperor William on Dec. 31. Though doubtless written before the text of the reply had been made public, it bears upon the subject. The Kaiser's address was in the form of a general order to his soldiers and sailors as follows:

Again a year of war lies behind us, with hard fighting and sacrifices, rich in successes and victories. The hopes which our enemies put in 1916 have been foiled. All their assaults, east and west, have collapsed, owing to your bravery and devotion.

Our recent triumphal march through Rumania, has, by Divine Providence, again added imperishable laurels to your banners. The greatest naval battle this year was our victory in the Skagerrak and the gallant deeds of our submarines have secured for my navy glory and admiration forever.

You are victorious in all theatres of war on land and sea. A grateful Fatherland looks to you with unshakable confidence and proud reliance. The incomparable warlike spirit alive in your ranks, your tenacity, your never-slackening will to vanquish, your love of the Fatherland, are to me a guarantee that in the new year also victory will remain with our banners. God also in the future will be with us.

On the same day the King of Bavaria issued the following order:

If the enemy refuses the hand we offered him in the consciousness of our strength, we shall enforce the peace which he refuses. We approach with firm confidence the decision which the new year will bring us.

Kaiser's "Steel" Rejoinder

The German Emperor's direct comment upon the reply of the Entente Powers was published officially on Jan. 6 in the form of the following general order to the German Army and Navy:

Conjointly with the allied (Central Powers) rulers, I proposed to our enemies to enter forthwith into peace negotiations. Our enemies refused my offer. Their hunger for power desires Germany's destruction.

The war will be continued. Before God and humanity, I declare that on the Governments of our enemies alone falls the heavy responsibility for all the further terrible sacrifices from which I wished to save you.

With justified indignation at our enemies' arrogant crime and with determination to defend our holiest possessions and secure for the Fatherland a happy future, you will become as steel.

Our enemies did not want the understanding offered by me. With God's help our arms will enforce it. WILHELM, I. R.

Emperor Charles also issued an order on Jan. 6 to the Austro-Hungarian Army and Fleet in connection with the receipt of the reply from the Entente Allies. He declared that the Entente alone was to blame for the continuation of the war.

Two days later the same sentiments were echoed by the Sultan of Turkey in a proclamation to the army. Recalling the peace proposal of the Central Powers, the Sultan said:

The enemy countries, disregarding the serious intention and sublime spirit of our purpose, disdainfully rejected our offer, and we are obliged, with our allies, to continue the war, leaving to the enemy the moral and material responsibility of fresh bloodshed and the ruin of homes. * * * With the aid of the Almighty we shall obtain final victory and deliver our country from the greed of our enemies. Henceforth, with our allies, we will redouble our zeal and efforts in order, with the aid of God, to destroy our enemies everywhere.

Trend of Public Opinion

The Associated Press dispatches from

Berlin on Jan. 4 reported the effect of the Entente note upon German opinion in these words: "Sober second thought in official circles confirms the impression expressed on the day the press version of the note was received here, that the note puts an end for the present to all chances of peace, and Germany and her allies must buckle down to the task of continuing the struggle with all energy. This undercurrent of opinion is largely supported by the opinion expressed in the neutral press."

The answer had been foreshadowed by previous dispatches printed in Germany and throughout Central Europe. It therefore created no shock; nevertheless, the comments of the German press and publicists were extremely bitter. The semi-official Berlin Vossische Zeitung characterized the reply as "scornful," and added that "cold steel" must be Germany's rejoinder. The Tageblatt said it confirmed the fact that the Entente was bent upon the dismemberment of Germany and Austria. The Kreuz-Zeitung said it was an "insult," and the only reply Germany could give must be "with the sword." Vorwärts, the Socialist organ, said the refusal indicated that the Entente hoped to "lay Germany prostrate." The Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger said: "Every one will be surprised and shocked at the shallowness, levity, and mendacity of the reasons given for the refusal, and it is difficult to explain how ten serious men were able to affix their signatures to the document without blushing. Our answer can only be given on the battlefield."

In the Entente countries the reply was received by the press with practically unanimous approval. In the United States comment by public men and newspapers was colored by their previous sympathies, the preponderance of opinion being one of strong approval of the position the Allies had taken.

Origin of the Move

On Jan. 15, 1917, the German newspapers printed an autograph letter from the German Emperor to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg under date of Oct. 31, 1916, in which the Kaiser expressed his wish that peace proposals be initiated. The letter follows:

My Dear Bethmann:

I have since been turning over our conversation thoroughly in my mind. It is clear that the peoples in the enemy countries, who are kept in hard endurance of the war by lies and frauds and deluded by fighting and hatred, possess no men who are able or who have the moral courage to speak the word which will bring relief—to propose peace.

What is wanted is a moral deed to free the world, including neutrals, from the pressure which weighs upon all. For such a deed it is necessary to find a ruler who has a conscience, who feels that he is responsible to God, who has a heart for his own people and for those who are his enemies, who is indifferent to any possible willful misinterpretation of his act, and possesses the will to free the world from its sufferings.

I have the courage. Trusting in God, I shall dare to take this step. Please draft notes on these lines and submit them to me, and make all necessary arrangements without delay.

A characteristic English comment on this letter is an editorial in The London Telegraph of Jan. 15, 1917, as follows:

Where was the Kaiser's conscience or the conscience of the German military caste when for forty years they plotted and schemed for war? Did the Kaiser then feel his responsibility to God or did he then possess a heart for his own people and those of his enemies? To charge him with mere hypocrisy is to accuse him of much too small a vice. The truth is rather that if ever there was a ruler afflicted with the incurable malady known to the philosophers of old as "the lie in the soul," it is the monarch who dares to invoke the name of God in connection with a heartless sham.

He proclaims himself by implication as the only belligerent ruler with a conscience—he who sanctioned the preparation long years ago of plans for the invasion of Belgium and the deliberate and cold-blooded barbarities carried out by the German army of occupation in order to cow the people into submission.

He feels his responsibility to God—he who decorated the commander of the submarine which sank the Lusitania and did not interfere to save Nurse Cavell. He has a heart even for the peoples of his enemies—he who never spoke a word in restraint of the massacres of hundreds of thousands of Armenians. And he has the will to free the world from its sufferings, though at the outset he might have stopped the war with a gesture. That would, in truth, have been a "moral deed," which would have made his name famous forever, though the great machine of evil which he had created was even in August, 1914, getting fast beyond his control.

But the idea of the supreme war lord of the world stepping down into the arena as a

beneficent prince of peace because he was growing tired of his victories or because the weight of his armor had become irksome to him and his caprice longed for another rôle—this was a change, indeed, which must have caused his Chancellor some troubled hours.

German Semi-Official Comments on the Entente Reply

THE impression created in German official circles by the Entente's reply was reflected in two important semi-official utterances. One of these was a statement made on Jan. 2 to the Overseas News Agency by Dr. Hammann, who until the turn of the year had been Director of the Intelligence Department of the German Foreign Office. The statement was sent entire from Berlin to New York by wireless, a sufficient evidence of its approval by the German Government. Dr. Hammann said:

If I am to express an opinion in a few words, it is this: Instead of taking place around a peace table, the Entente's deliberations took place on a Judge's chair. Apparently the Entente forgot nothing that could possibly influence neutrals against us.

The point of the accusation, however, to which the largest space is allotted in the Entente note is "the martyrdom of Belgium." But if one desires to pass judgment on "the martyrdom of Belgium" one must speak beforehand regarding "neutral and loyal Belgium," and this Belgium had ceased to exist long before the war. I do not want to speak about the documents which we found in Brussels and which have been published. They can be read by everybody. I only wish to single out one point which up to now has not been sufficiently considered—the report made by Baron Greindl, Belgian Minister at Berlin, dated Dec. 23, 1911.

This clear-sighted statesman then explained forcibly that already at that time the Entente was inspired by nothing but the one thought of encircling Germany from the north. As proof of this, Baron Greindl quoted the outcry started in Paris and London a short time before, when the Dutch plan to fortify Flushing had become known. Baron Greindl then said: "The reason why they wished that the Scheldt remain without defense was not concealed. In this they admitted their purpose to be able to transport an English garrison to Antwerp without hindrance, thus creating in Belgium a basis for operations in the direction of the lower Rhine and Westphalia."

Responsibility of Belgium

Baron Greindl reported that the plan was then changed in such a manner that the English auxiliary army was not to be landed on the Belgian coast, but in the adjoining French ports. This same plan of an English landing in order to threaten Germany was equally hinted at as imminent by Lord Roberts during the last Moroccan crisis. In such circumstances it most certainly would have been an easy thing for Belgium, after the German question in 1914, (whether Belgium would permit the passage of German troops,) to take her armies back to Antwerp and then let the Germans, under protest, march through the country.

How little such action would have violated the spirit of existing conditions may be understood if one recalls the secret clauses of the treaties of 1831. In them certain agreements from former times were maintained, which reserve, as well to England as to Germany, the right to occupy a Belgian fortress. In 1887 a great English newspaper—if I am not mistaken, it was The Standard—still declared that employment on the part of Germany of the right of way through Belgium could not be taken as in violation of Belgian neutrality.

The principle of nationality plays a large part in the answer of the Entente. No nation is better able to understand this principle than the German, for no great civilized nation has suffered so much, has been forced to struggle so greatly, because of being suppressed and dismembered by neighboring races. Equally, no single great nation has less to fear from the application of this principle of nationalities than the German. Germany would absolutely consent if this principle of nationalities were carried out in Egypt, India, Morocco, Ireland, by the country in power, not to speak of Russia's nationalities.

Germany has been brutally treated for centuries by her neighbors, despite this principle of nationalities. Yet in 1866, fifty years ago, that is, in the Nikolsburg peace, (closing the war between Prussia and Austria,) a clause was inserted, upon the demand of Napoleon III., which left open for the southern German States the conclusion of a separate confederation. The leading, but unavowed, idea was then to found a new Rhine Bund.

Rumania and Greece

As to the free existence of small nations, this idea, too, has found a very strange illustration during the war. Only a few weeks have elapsed since a leading English Minister termed the misfortune of the Rumanians plainly a "gross blunder." By this "blunder" a whole nation has been pushed into misery. Rumania has been dragged into a

great war by all sorts of dark machinations. And then look at Greece! There the Entente has occupied the ports, the railroads, cable and postal stations and whole districts of the country, all against the law of nations. There the Entente has simply taken what is needed and by blockade and hunger has forced the Greeks to surrender those things which the Entente was unable to take.

As to the reproach that Germany in the decisive week of July, 1914, declined the British proposal of a conference and thus made war unavoidable: The proposal was made July 26 by Grey. The meaning of it was that delegates of France, Italy, and Germany should meet with Grey in conference and try to find a way out of a difficult situation. The first condition making the holding of such a conference possible should have been that the Russian Cabinet declare its consent, but it was answered July 27 in an evasive manner and referred to conversations with the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) as having begun under the most favorable auspices.

The following day Grey agreed to the German proposal that a direct understanding between Vienna and St. Petersburg would result in quicker and better action. Thus Grey, on July 28, telegraphed to Goschen (British Ambassador at Berlin): "But as long as there is a prospect of a direct exchange of views between Austria and Russia I should suspend every other suggestion, as I entirely agree that it is the most preferable method of all."

Agitation in France

I can only advise every one to read the English Blue Book if he wants to be informed about these matters. But to my mind it seems to be altogether wrong to look for the real causes of the war in the events during the last weeks of July, 1914. Then, perhaps, the last impulse for war was given, but the real cause must be found a considerable time before.

Since the Anglo-French Treaty of 1904 a complete literature had sprung up in France, in which openly and loudly the conquest of Alsace-Lorraine was discussed, and everything said in order to suggest to the French the idea of Germany's inferiority. The Entente's note points out that at the last peace conference Germany treated the proposition to disarm with distrust. But Germany knew then pertinently that the proposition was mainly directed against her existence.

Russia, after the economic regulation that followed the war with Japan, had worked with increasing zeal for the preparedness of her army. When Germany employed the surplus of her youth for military service, France, in order to surpass us, introduced a three-year service, thus sapping her capital of vital forces. Six months before the beginning of the war the French military specialists published openly discussions regarding the reasons for billions and billions of French money streaming into Russia and the conditions under which France undertook the construction of strategical railroads in Russia.

In this literature, it was explained, with all the circumstances, that not Warsaw but Grodno and Koyno would be the base for Russian deployment, because from there the Prussian army corps in Königsberg and Allenstein could most quickly be rolled up, and thus the road to Berlin could be opened.

In August, 1914, the attempt was made at least to make things go this way, and today they want to persuade the nations of the world that Germany prepared herself, not for protection against an aggressive coalition, but in order to annihilate France.

Conquest of Constantinople

The same people who promised to Russia the conquest and possession of Constantinople dare to assert that Germany has aggressive intentions. Of course, the conquest of Constantinople, which was announced by Trepoff (the Russian Premier) in the Duma, is passed in silence in the Entente note, just as they, in a discussion of diplomatic events in July, 1914, elegantly slide over the decisive event—that brusque intervention in all attempts at mediation by the Russian mobilization, which was even repeatedly dissuaded by the English Ambassador at St. Petersburg.

Do I think that under these circumstances the moral indignation in the tone of the Entente note is sincere? Most certainly I do. I am of the same opinion as Bernard Shaw, and consider the sincerity of this moral indignation as a new instance of the providential harmony between the interests and moral and political ideas of England. We know this moral indignation from history, when the Prussians and Austrians marched into Schleswig-Holstein in order to assist their countrymen and fight on the side of the Schleswig-Holstein irredentists for the independence of the German race; then Lord Palmerston and Lord Shaftsbury, in the lower and upper houses, manifested the same moral indignation. They also immediately found the same sincere words as "outrage," "violence," "most cowardly," and "frightful atrocities."

Sincere was Sir Edward Grey's indignation when, on July 29, 1914, he received from the German Chancellor the suggestion that Germany, if English neutrality were guaranteed, would enter into an obligation not to aspire to territorial extension at France's cost if Germany were victorious in the war. At that time Grey declared this proposal as most shameful, an offer of base traffic at France's expense.

Entente and Public Opinion

The tangible point in the German peace proposal was that Germany declared her readiness to communicate her peace conditions in conference with her adversaries. The Entente has declined this proposal. To me it seems evident that the Entente, when doing this, felt seriously concerned and greatly depressed on account of the impression this

refusal of the German peace offer must make on the neutral world.

This is clearly indicated by the tone of the Entente note. It is exactly as if the Entente were in a certain sense afraid to listen to the conditions of the Central Powers. Are those men who gave to the Entente note its particular tone perhaps afraid that these conditions of the Central Powers are much too sensible and moderate for them, before their nations, who long for peace, to undertake the responsibility of declining those individual conditions?

At all events, our adversaries would have acted more frankly if they had flatly and plainly said: "We will wait because we still hope that we need not negotiate but can dictate the terms of peace." In order to avoid this awkward avowal, the Entente now takes the attitude of the judge of the world. But all that the Entente obtains by this proceeding is that its guilt for the continuation of the war unmistakably in the eyes of the whole world is not diminished, but increased.

I do not know the official peace plan, but I do know what every German, what every citizen in the countries allied with us feels at this hour. Of such overbearing language there need be no discussion.

Dr. Ludwig Stein's View

Another German comment of official significance is that of Dr. Ludwig Stein, the foreign political expert of the powerful Ullstein papers, including the Vossische Zeitung. On Jan. 3 he said:

The answer is no answer at all, but documentary evidence of the Entente's embarrassment. When one has no matters of fact to recite one takes refuge in and behind historic diffuseness and verbosities. Examination into the question of the blame for the war, which introduces the answer, cannot be made by one of the parties concerned, but must be left to nonpartisan judgment. President Wilson was quite right when he said the causes of the war were shrouded in darkness.

This note is not addressed to Germany, but to the neutrals, on one hand, and is for home consumption on the other. The historical retrospect should be left either to the professional historians or else to a nonpartisan court, but never to the interested parties, who naturally always assert the exact contrary, as in the case of the famous answer to the telegram which precipitated the Franco-Prussian war. It was not the dispatch, however, but Sedan which ended the war.

The historic start has no bearing on the winding up of a war. If there is any logic to be seen in the Entente answer it is only in that the Entente asserts that it has prepared a "hunger Sedan" for us.

Quite apart from the fact that the attempt to starve out 180,000,000 people, including women and children, is quite contrary to the heroic, the granary of Rumania will insure that, while we may perhaps hunger, we shall never be starved out.

The note proceeds from two premises—that we started the war and that we claim to have won it. What hurts the Entente most is the premise that the Central Powers assert that they are victor, the Entente refusing to consider the actual victor as the political victor as well. Here, however, is where the work of President Wilson comes in. President Wilson's proposal is to find a way so that both groups will confess and admit that there are neither victorious nor vanquished in this war. Mr. Wilson's logical train of thought was quite right—that no longer the sword, but diplomacy, must have the word. President Wilson demands decision of the war through ink, the Entente through blood.

It has struck me that always and only Belgium is spoken of, which represents only England's interest; in the note nothing is said of Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, &c., because England has no interest there, but only Russia. The key to the meaning of this obvious omission in the Entente answer is furnished by a conversation I had recently in which my informant quoted a Russian Ambassador, whom he had met shortly before, as saying that Russia did not dream of restoring the small Balkan States, but, on the contrary, that, now that the Central Powers had swept away the monarchs from the Balkans, it had thereby been made easier for Russia to make all the Balkan States into a Russian province.

In this light the Entente note does not jibe with the theoretical professions regarding the principle of nationalities. This principle covers and extends only to England's intentions, which include only Belgium, but is not consistent with Russian interests and intentions, Russia being purely a conqueror, a State which suppresses all small nations, and desires to crush even ancient Turkey and make Constantinople a war goal. How can one say in the same breath, "Save the small States and conquer and crush Turkey?"

President Wilson still has open to him Paragraph 3 of The Hague Convention, which specifically states that an offer of mediation is not to be regarded as an unfriendly act. This convention is still in force, having been signed by all the States. The Boer war called The Hague Convention into life, and if President Wilson appeals to the Czar, reminding him of his work, the Czar won't murder the favorite child of his own brain.

From the tone of the note there is, to be sure, apparently no way left open to peace. Lloyd George's political trinity—restitution, reparation, and guarantees—bars all doors. The fact, however, that the Entente does not demand that we make known our specific peace conditions may be because that would be like requiring us to placard them on the billboards. The conditions can be made known only at a preliminary conference such as President Wilson proposed, the conditions to be tentatively felt out there.

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

Preparing for the Final Decision

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

THE Central Powers made their peace offer upon the claim that their war aims have been attained. They support this claim by pointing to the present European war map. The rejection of this offer by the Entente Powers is based upon the contention that the map of Europe as it looks today represents merely an insignificant and momentary phase of the situation, and not the real strength of the belligerents. The war aims fixed and announced by the Allies presuppose a victory which the future is expected to bring them. Therefore, the war goes on.

Such, from a military standpoint, is the logical necessity. The war must be continued until it definitely decides whether the war map does represent only an insignificant and temporary phase of the situation or the real strength of the belligerents. The war must decide the justification or the inadmissibility of the expectation of future victory. It will continue until the force of arms has brought about a situation which will compel recognition from both sets of belligerents as the decisive basis for peace negotiations. And that is the sum and substance of the military axiom that only war can lead to peace—that is, to a peace whose duration is guaranteed.

The Entente's rejection of the Central Powers' peace proffer would have been beyond all criticism had it been openly and frankly voiced in this form:

"We are not in a position, in view of the present military situation, even to sit down with you at the same table for a talk about peace, for we are firmly convinced that we will yet attain decisive victory. In this unshakable expectation we are preparing for a new blow which, true to our conviction and our firm will, is to decide the war on the field of battle in our favor! We cannot talk of peace today because we mean to force it tomorrow upon a thoroughly beaten foe!"

In any case the military outlook is clear once more. The net result of the peace notes, which of late have overshadowed interest in the military developments, is this: That this war, too, is to be decided upon the battlefield.

The Rumanian Campaign

The development of the military situation during the period which is the subject of this review (up to the middle of January) was again confined almost exclusively to the Rumanian campaign.

One of the war aims of the Central Allies is the consolidation of the communication with the Near East by way of the Balkans. The Rumanian campaign represents the definite regulation of the conditions in the Balkans. This regulation has during the latest phase of the war developed progress as follows:

The Rumanian campaign, as far as the Dobrudja and Small and Great Wallachia are concerned, is ended. With the occupation of Rimnicu-Sarat, on the road from Buzeu to Focsani, by the Teuton Ninth Army, under General von Falkenhayn, the last line of defense before Braila, Galatz, and Focsani was pierced. On the Buzeu road the Russo-Rumanian forces had once more rallied for an energetic stand. For five days the battle raged, (Dec. 23-27, 1916.) It ended in the capture of Rimnicu-Sarat.

On Jan. 5 the Teutonic Allies took Braila, the important Rumanian Danube port which, with Galatz, formed the only Rumanian water communication with Russia after the fall of the Black Sea port Constanza.

Braila, situated in the loop of the Danube, on the river's left bank, has an adequate port and is the most important export harbor for the Wallachian grain. It is, further, the terminus of the railroad lines from Wallachia and Moldavia as well as of the shipping lines from Constantinople and Odessa.

With Braila the south bank of the Sereth also fell to the invaders. The occupation of Focsani, chief bulwark of the Sereth line, sixteen kilometers west of the Sereth River, rendered this line untenable for the combined Russian and Rumanian forces.

The Teutonic advance, in the plan of the defenders, was to be brought to a standstill in front of the strongly fortified Sereth position. The Russians launched a powerful counteroffensive along the twenty-five-kilometer front between Focsani and Fundeni, and, indeed, regained some ground at one point of the line. However, during the course of these battles southeast of Focsani, the left wing of Falkenhayn's Ninth Army pushed forward in the area west of Focsani and reached Odobesti Mountain, whose strongly fortified peak was taken by storm.

This brought Focsani fortress itself under the attackers' flanking fire, which decided the stronghold's fate.

Importance of Focsani

Focsani is strategically important because of its geographical position and its rail communications, which extend as far as the Bukowina and the capital of that crown land, Czernowitz, and, across the Carpathians, into Transylvania. The city is a station on the railroad Bucharest-Buzeu-Itzkani-Czernowitz. From Focsani the railroad runs first along the Sereth in Northern Moldavia and then turns westward at Suczawa into the Bukowina. About sixty kilometers to the north of Focsani a branch rail runs northwestward through the Carpathian Pass, Gyimes, into Transylvania.

Focsani forms one of the main pivotal points of the great line of operation, Bucharest-Buzeu-Jassy-Czernowitz. It is at the same time the left point of support of the whole fortified Sereth line, which was designed to block the road of invasion from the area between the Carpathians and the Danube to the north. Focsani, in fact, had been fortified as a point of defense against a possible Russian invasion. The ring of forts, which adjoins the Milcovu River and has a diameter of from six to eight kilometers, surrounds the city to the north and east. To the west there is an opening. Through this opening the victors entered the city.

The right wing of Falkenhayn's army, after completely defeating the defenders in the five days' battle of Jan. 4-8, on a front of twenty-five kilometers, had driven them out of their positions on the east bank of the Putna and subsequently across the Sereth. This meant the piercing of the Sereth front on its southern end, and the consequence is that the Russians are now forced to fall back to the Pruth line.

The Teutonic allies' front in Moldavia, Rumania's northern province, now stretches in an almost straight line from northwest to southeast. It comprises:

1. The Gerok army, forming the right wing of the army group under General von Koevess.
2. The army group of Arz von Straussenburg.
3. The army under Krafft von Delmensingen.
4. The army under General von Morgen, which forms the right wing of the Ninth Army and the right of Field Marshal von Mackensen's forces.
5. The Danube army under General Kosch.
6. The Dobrudja army under the Bulgarian General Nezeroff.

The artillery of the Dobrudja army since Jan. 14 has been battering the fortifications and military works of Galatz, as well as the railroad station and the railroad bridge near the city, from the Dobrudja bank of the Danube. This means that the attack against Galatz from the east has begun. To the southwest the Danube army is marching on the city. At this writing (Jan. 15) this army stands some six miles below Galatz, at Vadena.

Fighting on Dvina Front

The Russians are at present endeavor-

MAP OF EASTERN RUMANIA, SHOWING REGION SWEPT BY GERMAN ARMIES. THE BLACK LINE INDICATES THE BATTLE FRONT ON JAN. 15, 1917

ing to relieve the irresistible pressure against their Carpathian and Transylvanian fronts by launching attacks at other points of the far-flung battle line in the East.

Winter makes possible an action on a large scale on the Dvina front, where since the disastrous collapse of the Russian Spring offensive in 1916 comparative calm has prevailed.

The new Russian offensive southwest of Riga is, in fact, a repetition of previous efforts. Last Winter Kuropatkin, then in command of the northern end of the Russian western front, tried by similar methods to pierce the German lines, with Mitau as his goal. The failure of this attempt, which had cost the Russians the bloodiest sacrifices, cost Kuropatkin his official head.

The battle area here comprises the swampy terrain extending eastward as far as Riga, southward to Mitau, and westward to Tukkum. Through it flows the Aa, which empties into Babit Lake. The immediate fighting objective is the village of Kalnzem.

The Russian attacks were extended along the Dvina front as far as Lake Narotch, in the district of Dvinsk. Violent artillery duels continue to rage between Riga and Friedrichstadt, and near Dvinsk a small island in the Dvina was first captured by the Teutons, then retaken by the Muscovites. Through the occupation of this island the Germans had frustrated the Russian plan to break through at that point. When the Russians regained it, the German lines had been so firmly and thoroughly consolidated that every onslaught against them broke down. Mitau, the objective of the Russian offensive, lies on the railroad Riga-Mitau-Libau, which constitutes the main rear communication of the Germans.

From a military standpoint the present operations in the swampy regions of the Aa River cannot be characterized as anything but local enterprises. Last Winter the Russians could not resist the temptation of trying to assume the offensive, taking advantage of the fact that the extreme frost had converted the swamps into firm attacking ground. At that time, too, Hindenburg had withdrawn to the heights circling the region and thence had beaten off all attacks.

According to the official Petrograd report of Jan. 10, the Russians took in the fighting around Babit Lake twenty-one heavy guns and eleven light cannon. But this success, too, is incapable of exerting

any serious influence upon the further development of the Russian offensive on that front. Thus far there has not been the slightest sign of any effect of the Russian Riga offensive upon the situation on the Sereth front. The Rumanian campaign goes on entirely independent of any offensives the Russians may undertake on any other part of the front.

The Russian "feeler" put out against the German lines in the east, with the view to finding a weak spot, was unsuccessful. In spite of the use of powerful effectives in Rumania, the German east front is still strong enough to beat off attacks at any point.

War Conference at Rome

The Entente Powers recently held a war council in Rome. The importance of the conference is illustrated by the very fact that the British Premier, Lloyd George, personally went to the Tiber city; heretofore the Italian ally had hardly been honored by such attention. As for the plans and decisions of the council, the details are naturally kept secret. It is reported that three main problems were discussed and solved: Greece, the military operations in Macedonia, and a more comprehensive and united conduct of war.

Indications are that the Macedonian front is to be included in the unity of the Entente war conduct. From the latest joint ultimatum to Greece such intention may well be deduced. This ultimatum aims at the elimination of the Greek army as a possible factor in threatening the allied Saloniki expedition. The Greek army is to be withdrawn from Macedonia and Thessalonica and concentrated in the Peloponnesus, which means that it is to be placed under Entente control.

Should the Allies have really decided upon a concerted campaign in Macedonia, "military expediency" may be named as a basis for the Entente ultimatium. Manifestly the Rome conference discussed the probability of the Teutons' turning their attention to the Macedonian front after the completion of the Rumanian campaign. Such a probability suggests to the Allies to safeguard the rear of their Saloniki expedition.

On the west front there has been comparative calm of late. There was a flare-up of fighting activity, such as the British advance against the German positions at Seres, north of the Ancre. But that was all.

However, from the inflexible confidence which the Entente professes to have in the future, and from their expressed will to carry the war to a successful conclusion, it may be safely asserted that the final decision of the war will fall in the west. For this final decision both sides are now feverishly preparing. All signs point to the bloodiest and last struggle of this terrible conflict on that front in the coming Spring.

[AMERICAN VIEW]

The Month's Military Developments

From December 15, 1916, to January 15, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

DURING the month just passed there have been but three military movements of importance — a French thrust at Verdun, which was entirely successful; the continuance of the German campaign against Rumania, and a sudden blow by the Russians against the German lines in the Riga sector, the fate of which still hangs in the balance. I have stated these in their chronological order, and probably in the order of their importance.

The French thrust against the German lines before Verdun was a true triumph

SCENE OF FRENCH VICTORIES ON VERDUN SECTOR. (SEE ALSO ARTICLE ON PAGE 828)

of French artillery over that of the Germans, and may well be an augury of future fighting on the western front. It is this fact that gives it its importance. If the war is ever fought to a military decision, it is almost axiomatic that the decision must come on the western front. Von Hindenburg, the apostle of a German war in the east, may find in the east excellent opportunities for dramatic, spectacular efforts. Such efforts, by very reason of their spectacular character, will undoubtedly make their appeal both to neutrals and to the German people. But it is not to be gainsaid that this appeal is deceptive.

To judge of the outcome of the great war from the amount of territory conquered is to deceive one's self. The very basis of judgment is wrong, and the judgment itself must be at fault as a consequence. Particularly is this true when the territory occupied is that of one of the lesser belligerents. Napoleon was before Moscow, and if men had judged from the map there would have been no question as to who was the victor. But a year or two later came the surrender of Paris and the exile of Napoleon to Elba. In the present war we have seen the Germans all but eliminate the Russian Army and occupy Poland as far east as the Pinsk marshes. But the territory gained has not, as far as events have yet determined, given Germany any particular advantage.

Germany is the mainspring of the forces of the Central Powers, and to defeat them the Allies must defeat Germany. On this point there will not be the slightest dispute. The German Army is in the west. A total of 120 divisions have been positively identified on the western front, and it is certain that these

constitute the bulk of the German Army in the field. And as the German Army is in the west, and the German Army must be defeated before the Allies can be victorious, it must also be recognized that the decision, if decision there be, will be found on the western front. Once the western situation is solved, the eastern situation will solve itself. In fact, there will be no eastern question to solve, as there will be an immediate and total collapse the very minute the army in the west is decisively defeated. It is therefore necessary to scan every movement in the west with an attention not necessary of the events of the east if we would frame an opinion of the importance of the various moves.

French Success of Dec. 15-16

To return to the French attack in the Verdun sector: The object was the ridge of Louvemont. This ridge forms the main defensive line on the east bank of the river. There are individual points south of this ridge which are capable of sustained defense, as the French proved after the Louvemont position fell into German hands; but the only continuous line of defense on the east side of the Meuse is the Louvemont ridge. The French began their attack on Hill 304 on the west bank, but their artillery in the meantime was pounding the German lines across the stream. For three days the artillery kept up its preparation. Then the attack was suddenly shifted to the east bank and the infantry sent forward. Pepper Hill, the most eastern point of the Louvemont ridge, fell into their hands immediately. This success exposed the German gun positions about the village of Louvemont and at the same time brought the German trenches near the town under an enfilade fire from the French infantry. The village was therefore given up and the French infantry swept on. From there they struck due east, and in thirty-six hours took the Farm of Chambrettes and the village of Bezonvaux. Here they rested. Many guns were taken, many others destroyed, and nearly 10,000 unwounded prisoners were left in French hands.

There is ample food for reflection in this attack, as many factors entering into it are positively known. In the first place there was no material disparity in numbers between the attacking force and that of the defenders. Such as there was, was in German favor. The French used four divisions in the attack, the Germans five in the defense. All elements of terrain were strongly in favor of the defense. And yet so accurate was the fire of the French artillery, and so devastating, that the French infantry were able to seize in less than two days' fighting all that the Germans had taken between Feb. 26 and April 9. We can with small effort recall the ferocity of the fighting that occurred in this sector of the battle of Verdun between those dates, and we know in a general way how very great the German losses were. And yet, with a loss in killed and wounded not equaling the number of prisoners captured, the French have taken away every foot of valuable territory the Germans occupied during those terrible days of last Spring.

The attack was delivered over a front of only six miles, held by nearly 100,000 men, or over 16,000 to the mile. It is perfectly evident then that the German line had not been weakened in order to use the men in other fields. The Germans were outfought man to man and gun to gun. That is the whole thing in a nutshell.

I would call attention particularly to the number of prisoners captured. This number is 10 per cent. of the total force engaged, and the surrender must then have been made rather readily. It has been frequently asserted that the quality of the German soldiers has rapidly deteriorated, that although they fight well under attack, when on defense they are unable to stand the pounding of the allied artillery and infantry as did the soldiers of a year ago. This view seems to be confirmed by recent events at Verdun. Nothing but a serious fall in morale can explain the readiness to surrender which marked this fighting.

As to the military result obtained, it may be summed up in few words. This success restores to the French all the important positions on the east bank of the river, precluding any future attempt by

the Germans to storm the Verdun positions. Immune from attack, the line here may now be the scene of a French offense in the Spring.

The Situation in Rumania

The close of last month's review saw the Germans and the Russians fighting on the north bank of the Buzeu River. The Germans had just forced the crossing and driven the Rumanians back from their defensive positions on the northern bank. The Germans kept up this pressure relentlessly, extending their movement into Dobrudja so that their line extended from the Transylvanian frontier to the Black Sea. During the month the entire line has moved forward. Dobrudja has been cleared as the first step. A stiff resistance was made, first at Tulcea and later at Macin; but both points eventually fell, and all of Dobrudja passed into German hands. On the western side of the Danube the Russians fell back slowly.

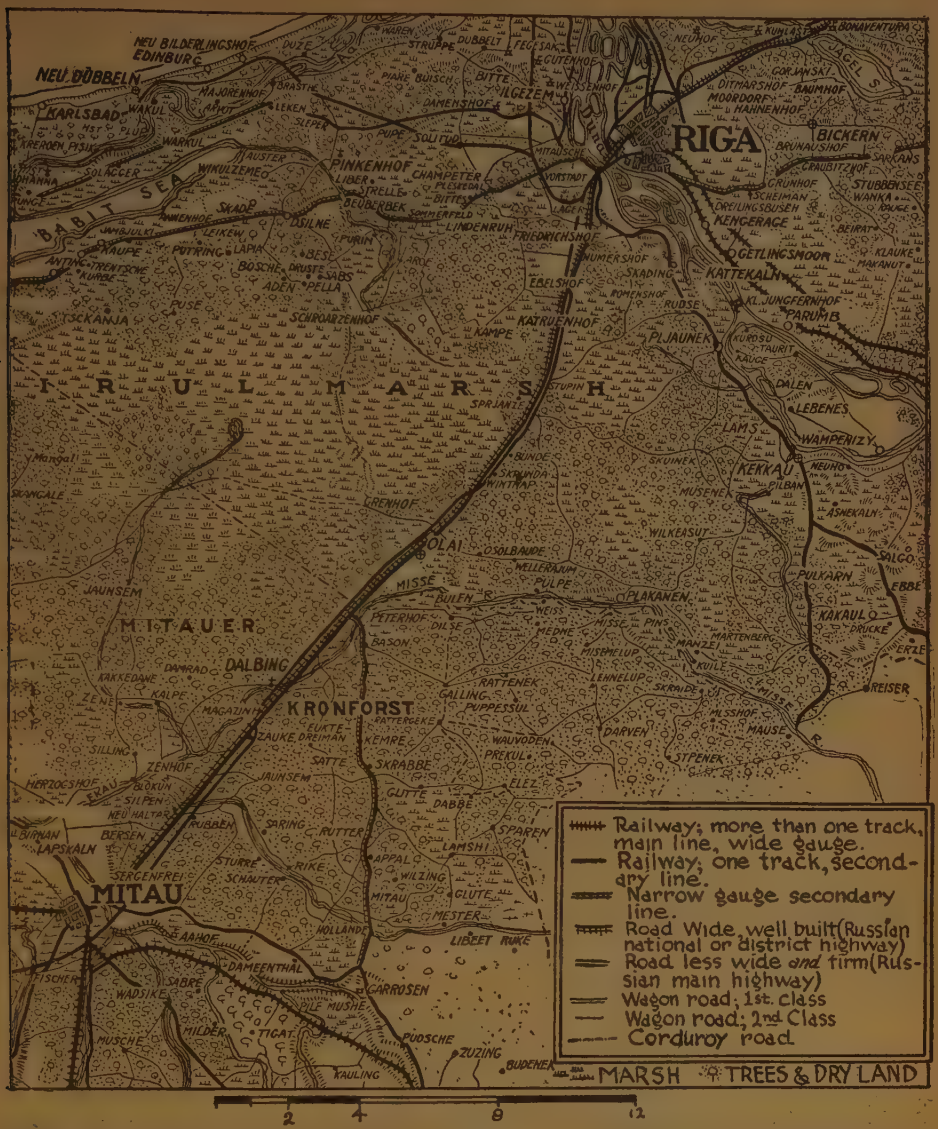
Once the line of the Buzeu was made untenable, the next defensive position that appeared was the line of the Sereth, from its mouth northward as far as the Trotus, and from there to the Transylvanian border. But the Germans were not to reach the Sereth without heavy fighting and great resistance.

The first line the Russians elected to defend was that of the Rimnicu River. This is a small stream, generally paralleling the course of the Buzeu. It possesses no strength from a defensive standpoint. At the same time, it took the Germans a longer time to force this position than it had the Buzeu. After a week's heavy fighting, however, the river was crossed, and the town of Rimnicu Sarat was taken. The Russians retired further northward toward the eventual position. In their retirement they pivoted on the Danube, where their left flank rested at a point some distance south of Braila.

The complete conquest of Dobrudja, however, exposed the Russian left to a fire from three directions. From the eastern side of the Danube it was under fire from the flank and rear. From the west bank it was facing the German trenches. It became necessary then to draw back the left, as had been done with the centre and right. Accordingly Braila was abandoned and the retirement toward the north bank of the Sereth began. In the meantime the German centre was pushing northward, and finally took the important village of Foscani. But here the advance was checked. Along the Putna River fierce fighting developed. The Russians were attempting to prevent the forward movement of the German left, which was striving to throw the Russians first across this stream, after which there was in view the Oituz, and finally the Trotus River. But the Putna has proved a serious intermediate stumbling block. The Germans have crossed it twice, but each time have been thrown back to the southern bank. As far as can be judged from present reports the Russians still hold the northern bank safely.

Crucial Line on the Sereth

Returning to the situation at the mouth of the Sereth: On this part of the line the Russians have reached the position which it is absolutely necessary to defend. Vadeni, near the bend in the Danube, has fallen, and the Germans are before Galatz, but on the south side of the Sereth. The difficulties which the Germans have experienced on the smaller streams indicate that either the German attack is losing its force or the Russians have been considerably strengthened. The latter is by far the more probable. The speed of the Rumanian collapse undoubtedly took Russia unawares, just as it did the rest of the world. There was not sufficient time to throw into Rumania a large enough army, with its artillery equipment, to make a material impression on the German attack. But when it was seen that the retirement was to be on a large scale, another position was selected nearer the Russian bases, where the distances to be covered were considerably less. There has been full time to prepare this position for defense and to equip it with artillery supplies. Just what this line may be is not certain, but the probability is that it is the line of the Sereth and the Trotus. Here, then, if at all, we may expect to see the German drive come to an abrupt halt.



SCENE OF NEW RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE IN THE NEIGHBORHOOD OF RIGA AND THE DVINA RIVER

The third important move of the month has been the Russian attempt to advance in the Riga district. This movement is still in full swing as this review closes. Up to the present time it has been moderately successful.

Considerable ground has been gained and a number of heavy guns taken, showing that the Russians have reached some of the German main positions. The Russian object is the great German base of Mitau, the only base in this region.

The other fronts have remained inactive during the month by reason of the advent of Winter.

The Situation in Greece

TWO more ultimatums have been presented by the Entente Allies to King Constantine and the Greek Government since that of Dec. 14, (see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, January, 1917, pp. 632-634.) The root of the trouble lies in the fact that King Constantine and his Government are believed by the Entente Allies to be waiting for an opportunity to attack the allied army in Macedonia. On the other hand, King Constantine's grievances against the Entente are that it is supporting the revolutionary movement which—with M. Venizelos, ex-Premier and pro-Entente leader at its head—has set up a Provisional, or National, Government at Saloniki, and that the Allies are unjustly blockading all Greece except Saloniki and the islands which are now under the control of the Venizelist Government or occupied by the Allies. The extent of the blockade is shown in the order published in the Journal Officiel, Paris, Dec. 8:

The French Republic, being in agreement with its allies in declaring a blockade of Greece, herewith announces the conditions under which it will take place. The blockade is declared to be effective from Dec. 8, 1916, at 8 o'clock in the morning.

The blockade applies to the coasts of Greece, including the islands of Euboea, Zante, and Santa Maura, from a point situated 39.20 degrees north latitude and 20.20 degrees east of Greenwich, to a point situated 39.50 degrees north latitude and 22.50 degrees east of Greenwich, as well as the islands at present under the dependency or occupation of the Greek royalist authorities.

Ships of neutral powers in the blockaded ports may come out freely until Dec. 10, at 8 o'clock in the morning. Orders have been given to the Commander in Chief of the naval forces which are taking charge of the blockade to inform the local authorities of the present declaration.

After the Greek Goverment had presented a note on Dec. 18 protesting against the allied naval authorities aiding the extension of the revolutionary movement and after the Entente had insisted that the movement was justified by the fact that a majority of the populations of the Greek islands had voluntarily transferred their allegiance from the Royal to the National Government, the Allies took the most drastic step up to date by presenting their third ultimatum. Signed by the representatives of the three protecting powers, (Great Britain, France, and Russia,) and presented on Dec. 31, it reads:

The representatives of the powers guaranteeing Greece, having received with satisfaction the reply made to their communication of Dec. 1, 1916, have the honor to present to the Greek Government, by order of their Governments, the following demands for guarantee and reparation:

1. Guarantees: The Greek forces in Continental Greece, in Euboea, and generally in all the territories situated outside the Peloponnesus, shall be reduced to the number of men absolutely necessary to retain order and for the police. All armaments and munitions exceeding those corresponding to this force shall be transported to the Peloponnesus, as well as all machine guns and artillery of the Greek Army with their ammunition, so that, once the transportation has been effected, there shall not remain any artillery, machine guns, or mobilization material outside the Peloponnesus.

The period for the execution of these directions shall be settled in common accord as soon as the Greek Government has accepted in principle the removal of the troops and war material. The military situation thus established shall be maintained as long as the allied Governments deem it necessary, under the supervision of delegates specially accredited by them for this purpose to the Greek authorities.

2. Prohibition of all meetings and all assemblages of reservists in Greece north of the Isthmus of Corinth, and the rigorous enforcement of the measure prohibiting all civilians from carrying arms.

3. Restoration of the various allied controls in the form which shall be determined in agreement with the Hellenic Government in order to render them as little embarrassing as possible.

4. Reparation: All persons at present detained, whether for political reasons or on charges of high treason, plotting sedition, or similar offenses, shall be immediately released. Those who may have unjustly suffered in consequence of the events of Dec. 1 and 2 and the following days shall be indemnified after inquiries have been made by agreement between the Hellenic Government and the Governments of the Allies.

5. The command of the First Army Corps shall be removed unless the Royal Government establishes to the satisfaction of the allied Governments that such measure should be applied to some other General on whom

RE-EDUCATING A MAIMED SOLDIER

A Crippled Belgian Soldier Learning to Make Lace Under the Patient Guidance of an Elderly Belgian Woman

(Central News Photo Service.)

FRENCH WAR CRIPPLES AT WORK

One-Armed and One-Legged, Yet an Expert Die Maker

Wielding a Shovel with Artificial Hands

Efficient Despite the Loss of His Right Arm

He Can Wield the Pick with Skill and Force

responsibility should fall for the order given on Dec. 1.

6. The Greek Government shall present formal apologies to the Ministers of the Allies, and the British, French, Italian, and Russian flags shall be formally saluted in a public square in Athens in the presence of the Minister of War and the assembled garrison.

At the same time the undersigned Ministers are charged by their Governments to remind the Greek Government that military necessities may lead them shortly to land troops at Itea and take them to Saloniki by the Larissa Railway.

The guaranteeing powers inform the Greek Government that they reserve to themselves full liberty of action in the event of the attitude of the Government of his Majesty the King subsequently giving them further subjects of complaint.

On their part they formally pledge themselves to the Hellenic Government not to permit armed forces of the Government of National Defense to profit by the retirement of the royal troops from Thessaly and Epirus to cross the neutral zone established in agreement with the Greek Government.

In bringing the foregoing to the cognizance of the Royal Government the undersigned have the honor to inform it by order of their Governments that the blockade of the Greek coasts will be maintained until satisfaction has been accorded on all the points indicated above.

King Constantine's Government refused to concede all these demands, but expressed its willingness to discuss those it could not accept. The general decision of the Government, after the King had on Jan. 4 consulted various advisers, including former Premiers, was not to declare war on the Entente, but to submit passively to all coercion, relying upon the Allies eventually recognizing that they were inflicting an unmerited punishment by maintaining the blockade.

The partial rejection of the ultimatum of Dec. 31 was regarded by the Allies as a fresh move to gain time, as the real key to the situation is the military position in Macedonia. The Allies' view is that until the Germans are able to advance to a point where King Constantine's army can link up with them, the royalists are trying to play a waiting game, since they are not strong enough to carry on the struggle alone. Hence the importance attached by the Allies to the evacuation of Thessaly by King Constantine's troops.

The fourth ultimatum came as the result of the Allies' continued dissatisfaction with the tactics of the Greek Government. This ultimatum was drafted by the Allied War Council, then sitting in Rome, and was due to the decision of Premiers Lloyd George and Briand to impart fresh vigor to the handling of the Greek situation. An important development at this point was that Italy now came into full agreement with Great Britain, France, and Russia in regard to the whole course of action in the Balkan Peninsula. The ultimatum, which was handed to the Athens Government on Jan. 9, gave King Constantine forty-eight hours to comply fully with the demands made in the previous ultimatum of Dec. 31. At the same time the Allies guaranteeed that in the event of compliance there should be no extension of the revolutionary movement. On Jan. 10 the Greek reply was delivered, but once more there were reservations, the principal ones being that the control of the Entente Allies should be re-established only for the security of their armies and that they should not participate in the administration of the country or interfere with local communications, and that the release of the imprisoned Venizelists should be subject to discussion.

Meanwhile, in accordance with the agreement of Dec. 1, King Constantine began delivering to the Allies six batteries of mountain artillery and withdrawing his troops from Thessaly. But again the Allies were not satisfied, and through the Italian Minister in Athens the Greek Government was informed that the acceptance of all demands must be immediate and unqualified. Finally, it was announced in Athens on Jan. 15 that the Greek Government would yield completely and without reservation. The same day the occupation by the Allies of Cerigo, the southernmost of the Ionian Islands, was reported. The formal decision of the Greek Government to yield was taken at a meeting of the Crown Council on Jan. 16, and was immediately communicated to the Entente Ministers. The Venizelists imprisoned on Dec. 1 were released a day or two later. On Jan. 16 an Italian military mission arrived at Athens to participate in the Entente control of Greece.

Greece Betrayed by Her Rulers

A Documented Indictment

The "secret" documents printed below were published in an incomplete form by the Venizelist press, but were unearthed in their entirety by the Petit Parisien. They show the attitude taken by the Skouloudis Cabinet regarding the Bulgarian invaders, on the one hand, and regarding the Allies on the other. The army chiefs were ordered to act in a friendly manner toward the Bulgarians, who were invading Greece, and even to surrender territory to them everywhere. These documents are of added interest because the Entente partially based its demands on the fact that Greece had handed over the forts of Rupel and Krousovitiko to the Bulgarians. The article here translated appeared in the Nouvelles de France, which is edited by Paul Albert Helmer.

AFTER the surrender of Rupel Prime Minister Skouloudis pretended that the appearance of the Bulgarians had been entirely unexpected, and that neutral Greece could do nothing but give up the fort. Nevertheless, two months and more before that time the following order had been given:

MINISTRY OF WAR.
No. 663 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, March 9, 1916.

(*Absolutely confidential to the commanders of the Third and Fourth Army Corps, stationed at Saloniki and Kavala, in the Province of Macedonia.*)

In case of invasion by hostile armies we order the troops in garrison to evacuate the forts and fall back on the position of their regiments, taking their war materials with them. The sectors in which the invasion probably will take place are the district of Doiran-Guevgueli, the valley of Strymon between Bolech and Tongelion (?) and the region of Karajova. As regards the Strymon Valley, we suppose it is a matter of the southern defiles. [The Bulgarian invasion came exactly that way.] The troops will concentrate at Demir-Hissar and Poroia.

As to the attitude to be observed if the Bulgarians are not accompanied by Germans, I reply that the thing is impossible. But, if such a situation should occur, avoid all engagements and ask for orders.

The present order concerns all the forts. For the moment it applies only to Dovatope, Rupel and Krousovitike. In each of these a section of infantry and a few artillerymen will remain in order to symbolize Greek sovereignty. Likewise at least two officers knowing German or French ought to remain. Among the men it will be necessary that some should know Bulgarian. These detachments will communicate with the Greek divisions by reports. They ought to make every effort to avoid arousing suspicions or attracting espionage upon themselves.

The gendarmeri of the evacuated district will remain in its place, falling back, in case of necessity, upon the forts. It must be well understood that, painful as the execution of this order may be, all must obey the will of the Government in order to safeguard the highest national interests.

IANNAKITSAS.

A little later, when it was known that the French troops, intercepting the Bulgarians, were going to occupy Rupel, the following order was given:

MINISTRY OF WAR.
No. 1228 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, April 27, 1916.

To All the Garrison Troops:

Order 663 has not had time to be put into practice. The forts, with the exception of Dovatope, will resist by force every foreign attempt to take control of them. If the Germans or Bulgarians insist on penetrating for reasons of self-defense into our territory, you must retire. Act in a friendly manner toward the Bulgarians, in order to avoid all conflict. Avoid provocations. If by chance a long engagement occurs, the army corps have orders not to undertake any general measures, but should ask for further orders.

IANNAKITSAS.

At the time of the Bulgarian invasion, May 13, 1916, the following order was issued:

[Telegram.]
MINISTRY OF WAR.
No. 1484 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, May 13, 1916.

Sixth Division, Seres:

In reply to your report No. 1451 and to report No. 3403 of the Third Army Corps, apply my order No. 663, deferring the execution of Order 1,228. Send a protest to the German troops.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

(It should be noted, however, that the fort, in execution of the preceding order, had already fired twenty-four shells at the Bulgars. Upon receipt of the later order the resistance ceased.)

After the surrender of Rupel the following order was given:

[Telegram.]
MINISTRY OF WAR.
No. 1511 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, May 14, 1916.

To All Garrison Troops:

In cases where communications are cut off and the receipt or orders becomes impossible, Order No. 663 must be acted upon along the whole frontier.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

For the surrender of Fort Krousovitiko, which did not take place until August, the following order was given on May 15:

[Telegram.]
MINISTRY OF WAR.
No. 1522 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, May 15, 1916.

Sixth Division, Seres:

Quietly evacuate Fort Krousovitiko, even though there may be no question of its immediate occupation.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

After receiving a report from the division at Seres, announcing that the Bulgarians demanded the railway station at Siderokastron, the following order was given:

No. 1631 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]
Athens, May 15, 1916.

Sixth Division, Seres:

Tell the Germano-Bulgarians that the railway station at Siderokastron is not included in the agreement with the German and Bulgarian Governments. They should, therefore, await the result of negotiations.

Meanwhile, limit yourself to allowing a small detachment to guard the station, a battle being imminent between the Germano-Bulgarians and the Anglo-French. Inquire the meaning of this measure in order to keep up the morale of the men.

[Signed] IANNAKITSAS.

It should be noted that the Sixth Division did not execute this order faithfully. Having strongly guarded the station, it threatened the Bulgarians, and they renounced their demands regarding it.

Regarding the surrender of Rupel the following official report (translated from the German) was prepared:

Fort Rupel, May 14-27, 1916.

The commandant of the fort, Ioannis Mavroudis, Colonel of infantry, has surrendered the fort to the German cavalry (Captain Thiel) with the following war materials:

Two 15-centimeter guns.
Two 7.5 guns with 800 shells.
1,200,000 rifle cartridges.
6,500 "phountia" (cubic decimeters) of powder.
350 "phountia" of sugar.
150 "phountia" of butter and other provisions.

Delivered by Io. Mavroudis. Taken in charge by Thiel, Rittmeister.

The Sixth Division, in its reports Nos. 1676, 1695, and 1993, announced that "the Bulgarians were maltreating the villagers, beating and driving away the local police, trampling under foot the Greek flag." In reply the Chief of Staff, Dousmanis, transmitted to it the following order:

[Telegram.]
Office of the General Staff.
Athens, May 16, 1916.

Sixth Division, Seres:

The facts in question concern the Governments, which have taken measures and are not disturbed, and not the armies. Avoid all friction. [Signed] DOUSMANIS.

On Aug. 17, when the Sixth Division wished to hinder the occupation of Seres by the Bulgarians and to co-operate with the French army, the Fourth Army Corps sent the following order:

[Telegram.]
No. 2995 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]

Sixth Division, Seres:

The Government absolutely forbids all resistance to the Bulgarians. I absolutely forbid all action in common with the French. Evacuate Seres and march to Eleutheras.

Commandant of the Corps,
I. HATZOPOULOS,
Lieutenant Colonel.

On Aug. 25, after defensive measures had been taken at Kavala, Lieut. Col. Hatzopoulos gave the following order:

No. 3274 of the Registry.
[Confidential.]

To All the Corps in the District:

On receipt of this order, call in your outposts, leaving to the Bulgarians the circular region of the forts. I order likewise that all suspicious measures of foreigners should be reported. The Bulgarians should be left free to dig all defensive works.

Commandant of the Corps,
I. HATZOPOULOS.

Kavala, Aug. 25, 1916..

Things were at this stage when the Bulgarians, on Aug. 28, demanded the occupation of Kavala and the withdrawal of the Greek garrison to the interior.

How the Trap Was Laid

On Nov. 14 General Roques, French Minister of War, was received by King

Constantine and asked him to give proofs of his friendship for the Allies, notably by transferring artillery to them. The King referred General Roques to the Ministry presided over by Professor Lambros.

On Nov. 16 Admiral Dartige du Fournet sent to the Athens Government a note in which he demanded the transfer to the Allies of a certain quantity of war material which the Greek Army was not using. It was a matter of eighteen field batteries and sixteen mountain batteries, with a thousand shells for each, besides 40,000 Männlicher rifles with 200 cartridges for each, 140 machine guns with their munitions, and fifty automobile trucks.

On the 21st, before the Greek Government had replied, Admiral du Fournet, obtaining proofs of espionage and other acts of war on the part of the enemy legations, demanded that they depart the next day. On the 22d the German, Austrian, Turkish, and Bulgarian Ministers, accompanied by their personnel, left Athens without incident on the steamer Mykali, proceeding to Kavala, where they were to meet the Bulgarian troops.

The same day the Athens Government responded with a refusal to the note of Admiral du Fournet, which had demanded a surrender of war materials. It declared that such action would constitute a violation of neutrality, and that public opinion would not permit the national defense to be thus weakened.

At the same time M. Venizelos called attention to the fact that the persecution of his followers continued in Thessaly. Those who had been imprisoned at Grevena, having appealed to the court at Larissa, had seen their sentences confirmed at the demand of the Public Ministry, which proclaimed that joining the Venizelist troops to fight the Bulgars was an act of high treason toward the Government of King Constantine.

On Nov. 23 the correspondent of The London Times at Athens telegraphed:

> The rumor runs that the officers have signed a declaration by which they bind themselves, on their word of honor, to oppose the delivery of arms; but the diplomatic circles are optimistic, and are convinced that the King will avoid complications.

The Admiral's Ultimatum

Admiral du Fournet addressed an ultimatum on Nov. 24 to the Athens Government, summoning it to deliver to the Allies ten mountain batteries on Dec. 1 and the rest of the material demanded by Dec. 15. If these conditions were not complied with appropriate measures would be taken on Dec. 1. To make the Entente's intentions perfectly clear, the correspondent of The Times telegraphed the following passage from the Admiral's note:

> The location of the war material which I demand is not in the military storehouse but on the front at Monastir, in Macedonia, where the destinies of the Balkan States are going to be decided. This is what it is necessary to repeat to the patriots who have Hellenism for their sole ideal, an ideal which the protective powers have more closely at heart than any other.

Immediately after receiving this note the President of the Council, M. Lambros, gave the information to the King, who convoked the Council of Ministers and then conferred with Generals Callaris, Sotilis, and Iannakitsas. The same day the Gounaris newspaper Neon Asty declared that whatever the decision of the Government might be, the officers of the army had bound themselves to resist the surrender of arms at any cost, declaring that they would not hesitate at any act.

Still on the same day, Nov. 24, the Nea Hellas declared that on the 19th certain officers gathered at the Military Club had decided to revive the Military League under the command of a General. The object was to prevent any delivery of arms. Several officers had volunteered to go into the mountains of Thessaly with regular troops and reservists in order to harass the Allies from that point of vantage and thus force them to abandon Venizelos and withdraw from the Balkans. The Patris announced that the soldiers in the barracks were being incited, that the reservists were being armed, and that in Athens and the provinces the elements

always ready for disorder were being enrolled for an organized resistance.

The same day it was learned at Athens that the Venizelos Government had declared war on Bulgaria and Germany.

On Nov. 26 a detachment of about 200 French marines disembarked and joined the detachment already quartered in the barracks of the Zappeion, (a public garden belonging to the City of Athens.) It replaced marines who had recently gone on board again.

Greece Defies the Ultimatum

The Ministers, after deliberating in council, declared that the Government would again refuse the surrender of arms. Professor Lambros, President of the Council, when asked regarding the rumors of his resignation, declared that he continued to possess the confidence of the King and would remain in power.

The Nea Hellas announced that the Directing Committee of the Reservist League, recently revived, had conferred in the preceding week at the Military Club with the Presidents of the professional associations, in order to obtain their support in the resistance that was to be offered to the allied demands. The committee distributed arms to the members of the league. A partisan of M. Venizelos had been seriously maltreated the evening before.

The Ministers of France and England demanded of M. Lambros the immediate dissolution of the Military League and the suppression of the agitation organized by the reservists. They likewise demanded the liberation of the Venezelist officers, who were still held in prison by the Athens Government.

On the 27th Admiral du Fournet was received by King Constantine and directed the King's attention to the gravity of the situation. The Admiral also asked for an explanation regarding the works that were being constructed on the neighboring hills, overlooking the barracks of the Zappeion, where the French marines were quartered. He received the reply that these works were not fortifications.

Preparing the Ambush

A telegram from Larissa recounted grave events that had taken place when an attempt had been made to remove the guns placed in the railway station in that city. Reservists seized the two pieces, dismounted them, and removed them to a public garden, where a demonstration was held against the Allies with an accompaniment of rifle shots. The crowd then took the cannon to the commandant of the Third Army Corps, who had sworn not to surrender them to the Allies.

Likewise on the 27th the correspondent of The Times telegraphed:

> The situation remains critical. This morning Admiral du Fournet visited several stores in Hermes Street belonging to Venizelists. He noted that during the night these stores, in common with numerous houses inhabited by Venizelists, had been marked with red circles. If the threats of attack and massacre uttered against the Venizelists are realized even in part, and if no help intervenes in time, the result will be the weakening, if not the immediate crushing, of the Venizelist Party, whose members have cause to fear for their lives.

On Nov. 28 the Crown Council was convened by the King to draw up the definitive terms of the reply to Admiral du Fournet's ultimatum. The Reuter Agency telegraphed on this subject:

> The Crown Council, presided over by the King, deliberated for an hour and a half this afternoon. The council decided that it could not oppose the decision which the Government had already taken regarding the delivery of arms demanded by Admiral du Fournet. This decision has been communicated to Admiral du Fournet and to the Ministers of the Entente.

On Nov. 30 the Royal Government caused to be published in the newspapers of Athens a memorandum announcing its determination not to keep the promise made to the Allies by King Constantine. At the same time the threats against the Venizelists became more definite, and there arose an urgent need to stop the organization of a massacre, even before thinking of taking away the guns from the royal troops. That is why, on the morning of Dec. 1, 1,200 French marines disembarked at Piraeus, where the people welcomed them with the usual sympathy, and marched to the Zappeion, which is situated on the avenue leading up from

Piraeus and in the immediate proximity of the most crowded section of Athens. There Admiral Dartige du Fournet also was stationed.

The aggression began in the afternoon. The artillery of the royal troops fired on the Zappeion several times, while the fire of the infantry and machine guns harassed the French marines until late in the evening. An intense panic was created in the streets of Athens, where all the stores were closed and where the Venizelists feared, not without reason, for their lives. Not until later was the exact number of victims of the royal troops known.

The casualties were estimated at 200. The story of the events immediately succeeding was told in the January CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

Turkey's Declaration of Independence

Text of the Document

TURKEY declared her independence of the collective suzerainty of Great Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Germany, and Austria-Hungary in a long official document received in Washington on Jan. 1, 1917, and addressed to the Governments of Turkey's present allies, Germany and Austria-Hungary. In this form the Turkish Government serves notice to the world that it regards the treaties of 1856 and 1878 as henceforth null and void, and that it has abolished the special status of the Liva of Lebanon, which had been created by the Turkish laws of 1861 and 1864 as a semi-autonomous province under a Christian Governor. The Consuls General of the various Christian powers stationed at Beirut have exercised under those laws a species of supervision over the Liva of Lebanon, a region inhabited principally by Maronite Christians who formerly were an independent denomination, but who now are affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church.

Text of the Communication

The text of the Turkish communication to the Berlin and Vienna Governments follows:

The Imperial Ottoman Government had occasion in the course of the second half of the last century to sign, under various circumstances, two important treaties, of Paris of March 10, 1856, and the one of Berlin of Aug. 3, 1878.

The first established a state of affairs, an equilibrium, which the second treaty destroyed to a great extent, but both were disregarded by the signatory powers themselves, who violated their promises, either openly or secretly, so that after having obtained the application of the clauses which were to the disadvantage of the Otoman Empire, they did not trouble themselves about those which were in its favor, and they even opposed them constantly.

The Treaty of Paris contained a stipulation "to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Otoman Empire," and to guarantee jointly "the strict observation of this agreement." It further excluded all interference in the relations of the Imperial Government "with its subjects and with the internal administration of the empire."

This did not prevent the French Government from exercising in the Ottoman Empire an intervention supported by armed force, and to exact the establishment of a new administration. The other signatory powers were then obliged to associate themselves diplomatically with this act so as not to leave France free in her designs, which were contrary to the above-mentioned stipulations of the Treaty of Paris, and gave rise to fears of aims of annexation.

On the other hand, the Russian Government embarked upon a similar line of conduct by preventing the Sublime Porte in an ultimatum from taking action against the principalities of Serbia and Montenegro which Russia had aroused, and to whom it did not fail to furnish arms, subsidies, officers, and even soldiers, and finally to declare war on the Ottoman Empire, after having demanded that a new internal administration be established in certain Ottoman provinces, and that foreign interference enter into the conduct of their public affairs.

Moreover, the above-mentioned clauses of the Treaty of Paris did not hinder the French Government from occupying Tunis and establishing a protectorate over this dependence of the empire; nor did it prevent the British Government from occupying Egypt and establishing effective domination, nor from making a series of encroachments of Ottoman sovereignty south of Yemen at Nedjid, at Koweit, at El Katr, as well as in the Per-

sian Gulf; nor did these provisions inconvenience the four Governments who are now at war with Turkey in modifying by force the status of the Island of Crete and in creating there a new situation in flagrant contradiction with the integrity which they had undertaken to respect.

Finally Italy had no scruples in declaring war on the Ottoman Empire without any serious reason, simply with the object of conquest and to obtain compensations as a result of the new political situation in North Africa, and it did not even trouble to comply with its promise that it would "before using force enable the contracting parties to prevent such extreme measures by mediation."

The above makes it unnecessary to enumerate still more circumstances when intervention in the internal affairs of the Ottoman Empire took place.

The Treaty of Berlin, which was signed as a result of the events of 1877-1878, modified considerably the Treaty of Paris by creating new situations in European Turkey; these situations were afterward changed by further conventions, which annulled the stipulations of the international convention referred to.

But not long after the conclusion of this treaty the Russian Government showed the degree of its respect for its own promises. Not having conquered Batoum, it had only been able to annex this fortress by declaring in a solemn international clause its intention to transform it into an essentially commercial free port. The British Government had on this basis consented to renew certain arrangements.

However, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, after having realized its intentions, simply repudiated this article of the treaty, and made of said city a fortified place. The British Government did not take a single one of the measures which it had promised, thus showing how little importance it attached to the system established by the Treaty of Berlin.

The Imperial Ottoman Government carried out very scrupulously the onerous clauses of the treaty, but the few provisions inserted therein in its favor have remained a dead letter, in spite of its insistence and that of its creditors, owing to the interest which a certain power had in preventing all improvement in the fate of the Ottoman Empire.

The developments set forth show that the Treaties of Paris and Berlin were constantly being violated in their essential and general clauses by certain States which had signed them. But it cannot be conceived that the same international convention should be violated as regards the duties of one of the contracting parties when all provisions in favor of the latter are invariably disregarded. This fact alone renders it already null and void for said party.

Moreover, the situation in which the two above-mentioned treaties were signed has completely changed. The Imperial Ottoman Government is at war with four of the signatory powers, the powers on whose initiative and assistance, and in whose interest said conventions were concluded, a fact which annuls them absolutely as regards the relations between Turkey and those powers.

Furthermore, the Imperial Government has allied itself with two of these powers on a footing of entire equality.

Hence the Ottoman Empire has definitely abandoned its somewhat subordinate position under the collective guardianship of the great powers which some of the latter were interested in maintaining. It therefore enters the group of European powers with all the rights and prerogatives of an entirely independent Government. This new situation also removes all raison d'être for the above-mentioned treaties.

All these different considerations render the said conventions null and without any contractual value. Nevertheless, in order not to allow any doubts on this point in the minds of those contracting States who have changed their relation of friendship into an alliance, the Imperial Government has the honor to inform the Imperial Government of Germany and the Imperial and Royal Government of Austria-Hungary that it denounces said treaties of 1856 and 1878.

It deems it useful, however, to declare that it will not fail to appeal to the principles of international law in order to have these rights respected which had been stipulated in its favor by the above-mentioned treaties and which until now have been disregarded.

On the other hand, the Imperial Government, under pressure of the French, had to grant to the Liva of the Lebanon an autonomous organization of a purely administrative and limited nature, which admitted a certain participation of the great powers.

Although this state of affairs was created by the internal statutes of 1861 and 1864, and not by a formal treaty, yet, in order to avoid all misunderstanding on this subject, it believes it necessary to declare that for the reasons set forth above it has abolished this situation by establishing in the said Liva the same administrative mechanism which exists in the other parts of the empire.

Whether Turkey's declaration of her "entire equality" with the other States of Europe ever goes into actual effect or not will depend, of course, upon the outcome of the war. The attempted abrogation of her dependence upon the Entente Powers simply represents a part of what Turkey hopes to win from the war if the Central Powers are successful. The action is interpreted as meaning that Germany and Austria-Hungary have agreed, as part of the price for Turkey's assist-

ance to remove the old restrictions from their present ally, so far as they are themselves concerned; it follows that if they can dictate the terms of peace at the end of the war Turkey will have a full voice at the council table. If the Entente Allies dictate the terms, however, they will pay little attention to the Turkish proclamation.

The peace conference also will determine the status of the "capitulation treaties" which Turkey abrogated on Aug. 11, 1914, three months or more before she entered the war. These treaties allowed foreign delinquents on Turkish soil to be tried by Judges, diplomatic agents, or Consuls of their own nations. A month later, Sept. 10, the Porte added to the abrogated list the remaining series of conventions, treaties, and privileges, some originating as early as the eleventh century, whereby foreigners in the Ottoman Empire had been exempt from local jurisdiction in civil and criminal cases.

Several new treaties between Germany and Turkey were signed on Jan. 15, 1917, by representatives of the two nations at Berlin. "The treaties," according to the semi-official announcement, "are based on the idea of reciprocity and mutual acknowledgment of equal rights, and take the place of the capitulations."

War Relief Activities of France

Address by Ernest Lavisse at the Annual Meeting of the French Academy, Dec. 15, 1916

M. Lavisse, Director of the Académie Française, summarized the war charity work of France at the annual meeting of the Academy, when "Prizes for Acts of Virtue" were conferred on thirty-seven persons and societies. The main portions of his address are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

OUR soldiers, writing home from the war front, express astonishment at hearing the birds still singing amid the turmoil of battle; at seeing the grass bend to the breath of the wind, and nature keeping her beauties and graces amid the horror of human actions. In like manner there continue to flourish in our tormented land, glorious with sanguinary glories, the exquisite virtues which we salute each year with our tributes. Women—almost always poor—teachers from public or private schools, workingwomen, domestics, are performing miracles of filial piety, of devotion, and of charity.

Servants, faithful to their masters in spite of misfortune, continue to serve them without pay, and even aid them by the sacrifice of savings slowly amassed, for the payment of the employers' debts: one of them is raising seven children left by her dead masters. An octogenarian servant of an octogenarian curate is bringing up five orphans. A widow, the mother of three children, has taken the care of six minor orphans, her nephews and nieces. A mother of thirteen children has extended her maternal protection over fifteen orphans. These brave people are doing good without effort, as naturally as they breathe. Everything is simple for them, because they have simple hearts. One feels that they are tranquil and satisfied. Blessed, indeed, are the simple of heart, for to them belongs happiness on earth!

Our secretary will announce the thirty-seven laureates of our individual prizes for virtue. I am sorry not to be able here either to proclaim their names or to praise them as justice would require, and as my emotion would have dictated when I read the story of their deeds. My task is long, and I must hasten on to the extensive labors which the Academy has rewarded, seeking to make you realize at least the principal characteristic of each.

The Geneva Committee

The International Committee of the Red Cross, an agency for prisoners of

war, has its base at Geneva, and is presided over by a good man, a friend of France, M. Ador. He began his work in August, 1914, in a little place lent by an atheneum; today he occupies a palace placed at his disposal by the city, and fills it to overflowing. Twelve hundred men and women of Geneva work there, for the most part voluntarily and without pay. From all the belligerent countries the committee receives requests for information: a family seeks some one who has disappeared: "Where is he?" Geneva starts an inquiry and replies: "He is in such and such a place." The family insists, wants details; one mother asks, "Does he look well?" Alas, it is too often necessary to convey fatal news; the relatives wish to know toward what place to address their looks and their prayers; they ask, "Where is he buried?"

Through Geneva passes the correspondence between the families and the prisoners; also the parcels. The committee visits the prison camps and reports what it has seen. It interns in Switzerland the severely wounded. It sends home the civilians whom the Germans, after having torn them from their native soil by one of the most odious crimes of barbarism, consents to release. Geneva has seen the arrival of thousands of these unfortunates, worn out with fatigue and suffering; haggard eyes betrayed the folly of a few. Geneva has given them food, and then flowers, and the tears of its fraternal compassion.

The committee has organized its enormous work with a wonderful system; everything goes with the accuracy of a Swiss watch. On Dec. 31, 1915, 1,500,000 Anglo-French letters relating to cases had been filed and classified, besides 1,000,000 German cases; it was estimated that the committee had received from 1,500 to 2,000 letters a day and that it had sent out daily from 3,000 to 4,000. It had transmitted 1,530,000 orders; 15,850,000 parcels had passed through its hands; 337,181 had been sent from Geneva. These figures were compiled a year ago. Imagine what a sum of good deeds these totals represent. In awarding to the Geneva Committee one of its largest prizes this year, the Académie Française has sought to express the gratitude of France.

Aid for Ill and Wounded

A mutual aid society, despite the gifts it receives, has great difficulty in performing its whole task of assistance. It is called the Saint-Cyrienne, and 4,000 of its members have fallen on the field of honor. I have no need to say more.

We come now to a group of societies that have placed themselves at the service of the ill and wounded.

There is the work of Mr. and Mrs. Tuck, Americans, for whom France is a second fatherland, greatly beloved. Before the war they had overwhelmed the City of Rueil with their beneficences, among which was a very beautiful hospital, to which they have this year given an endowment of 70,000 francs in annuity bonds. They have transformed into an ambulance a school of household instruction created by them. They have multiplied their gifts to various ambulances. These are good examples of the sympathy of the United States, a sympathy which is manifesting itself in magnificent charities and in many enlistments in our just cause. I think of these solemn, deliberate declarations as judgments, in which eminent men who know our French spirit and the German spirit, our civilization and German Kultur, have notified Germany that she has forever fallen from her high place and pretensions of intellectual leadership. The Committee to Assist the Hospitals for the Lame, presided over by Mme. Jules Ferry, and the Committee to Aid Lame or Sick Soldiers, presided over by our confrère Frederic Masson, devote their attention to the slightly wounded, the ill, and the "worn-outs," whom the health service gathers into these hospitals. The two committees have co-operated so as to avoid duplication; the second is now giving all its services to the ill and wounded at Saloniki. They distribute bedding, clothing, shoes, pipes, tobacco, wine, games, books, even plants, to brighten a little the gloomy halls of the hospitals. I have read thanks written by officers, telling of the joy of the

soldiers at the arrival of so many "good things." True, the men have plenty of the chief necessities, but they are very grateful for these little luxuries. They say: "We have not been forgotten back there; we are loved." The committees write to the soldiers; they talk with them at meetings; they send them artists, actors, musicians to entertain and inspire them. They combat the soldier's insidious enemy, despondency.

Many X-Ray Stations

The National Patronage of the Wounded is an auxiliary of the health service for utilizing the X-ray. Under the very competent scientific direction of Mme. Pierre Curie, professor in the University of Paris, it has placed at the disposal of the army 152 stations—fixed or movable—where surgeons make internal examinations of the wounded in order to locate projectiles. More than 300,000 wounded have passed through these stations. The organization has the consciousness of having contributed to the saving of a great number of precious lives.

All the world knows that at the appeal of our confrère Maurice Barrès, which called forth nearly 2,000,000 francs, the National Federation of the Mutilated came into being. It extends, through its twenty-one committees, all over France. It serves as an auxiliary of the State for the furnishing of artificial limbs; but especially it works at the re-education and employment of those who have lost limbs. In its workshops it teaches them by what means, by what movements they can, mutilated as they are, take up their former trades; or else it teaches them a new trade appropriate to the condition in which war has left them. These alternatives are not left to chance. In Paris and the provinces the members of the committees, good men and women, devoted to their tasks, observe the mutilated and discover their aptitudes. The assignment of positions is made with the greatest care. In June of this year 1,951 re-educated men—really and completely re-educated—had been placed, and well placed. Thus a double service is rendered: to the nation, which recovers useful workmen, and to the men, who are again assured a safe livelihood.

Help for the Blinded

Everybody knows, too, that the Society of Friends of the Blind, inspired and directed by M. Valléry-Radot, has become an auxiliary of the Ministry of the Interior and of the National Hospice of the Quinze-Vingts ("Fifteen-Twenties") for the re-education of blinded soldiers. At the beginning of the war Quinze-Vingts, acting on the experiences of previous wars, had reserved twenty places for the blinded; they little realized the power of science when applied to war. They had to enlarge their sanatorium. An enormous house near by — 99 bis, Rue de Reuilly—formerly a boarding house, was evacuated for its new destiny. By a tender deceit it is called the House of Convalescence; is it not necessary to guard against the despair of the first moments of entry into perpetual darkness?

These unfortunates, as M. Valléry-Radot has said, "first learn to be blind"; with the left arm leaning on the arm of a friend, the other on a staff, they walk with rigid necks, as if to raise the head higher toward heaven, of which their darkened orbits seem to ask, "Where, then, is the light?" But soon they refuse the aid of the friendly arm; they walk rapidly, very rapidly, they almost run along the corridors, the stairways, and the long alleys of the garden. In the shop they work with an application that I have marveled at; alas! nothing distracts them from their task; for them the outdoors no longer exists.

They quickly learn the trade that is taught them. A few hours suffice to teach a brushmaker. I have watched one of these workmen at the moment when he was finishing a brush; he gave it a turn in his hand, caressed it, then raised it in the air as if to look at it. There are twenty of these workshops, and 200 blind are distributed among them. I was present at the four hours' rest period. The bugle call that announces luncheon, or, as they say, "the four hours' glass of wine," is greeted with a joyous hubbub. This gayety in a sanatorium whose sadness I had feared to look upon surprised me.

The Society of the Friends of Blinded

Soldiers contributes largely to the support of the establishment by the devotion of the nurses and workshop chiefs whom it furnishes, by little attentions and luxuries, and especially by undertaking to find positions for the blind, to follow them up afterward, and assure them each a home. Already it has helped ten pensioners to marry and establish households of their own, returning to the House of Convalescence as half pensioners. Thanks to their "friends," these victims of the war are not only resigned to their lot; they are reconciled with life, though they will always retain the longing for light. * * *

Godfathers of Reuilly

The work of the Godfathers of Reuilly is a benefaction for permissionaires from our occupied provinces. The soldier from those countries is a mournful exile. Between him and his home rises a formidable barrier of breasts, of iron, of fire, and of horror. What has become of his loved ones, his wife, his children, his old parents? And the dear house, with its roof of thatch or of slate, is it still standing, or is it a gaping ruin, blackened by fire? These men on furlough from the trenches do not know where to pass their six days. Many come to Paris; in Paris one always knows some one. The War Office tendered them 200 beds in the barracks at Reuilly, but a shelter for the night was not enough. What should they do with the long, empty days?

At the barracks there lodges a part of the Twenty-second Section, that of the workmen and clerks of administration, or, as they say in that abbreviated language for which a dictionary ought to be compiled—for it is a collection of puzzling enigmas—the C. O. A. Doubtless the first permissionaires, arriving exhausted, their eyes still full of terrible visions, asked themselves, "What are these idlers doing here?" The C. O. A. showed what they could do. Today the Reuilly barrack is a family home in which the permissionaires are the spoiled children. They get up when they please, after having breakfasted in bed upon a large cup of coffee, accompanied by a piece of bread and a tablet of chocolate. They don't even have to make their beds; the C. O. A. takes care of that. At 10:30 the very copious déjeuner is served by the C. O. A. In the afternoon guides take them over Paris and explain the monuments. On their return they have a dinner as good as the luncheon; in the evening, the theatre or cinema.

Thus these brave men taste the sweets of rest from torment. But how could the Godfathers of Reuilly create such an enterprise? I forgot to say that they know that one of the duties of godfathers is to "give the coin" to their godsons. Each godson receives a 2.50-franc piece. Are they very rich, then, these gentlemen of the C. O. A.? Let us see how their council is composed: President, Administration Officer Aubin; Administrator, Adjutant Angot, founder of the association; eight Sergeants, a Corporal, a soldier of the second class. Evidently these are not millionaires. All that they could do was to sacrifice all or part of their savings; then these men of large hearts appealed to other men with hearts, who responded freely. On the 31st of last October they had entertained, fed, and recreated 38,807 permissionaires for at least six days and distributed 190,000 francs in pocket money and little gifts.

When the godsons are gone the godfathers do not consider themselves done with them; on the date just given they had sent 6,700 parcels to the front. Besides, they write; a soldier likes to get letters; at the hour of mail distribution it is a joy to hear the officer call his name. On the same date 90,000 letters had been exchanged between the front and Reuilly. One of the godsons certainly expressed the feeling of all when he wrote: "Such godfathers as these—well, the Germans don't have them!" Such work of military fraternity is indeed altogether French.

The French Victories of Douaumont and Hardaumont

[A narrative by military eyewitnesses, translated from Le Bulletin des Armées and L'Illustration for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

FROM the slopes of Souville I watched Victory scaling and crowning Douaumont. * * * [Oct. 24, 1916.]

Our modern battles are not showy. They are generally cruel and mysterious. Wide empty spaces pitted with shell holes and cut by long furrows which mark the ground as the veins line the hand; columns of smoke rising from bursting shells; a line of shadows that scud over the earth and then disappear; the ruins of a village bursting into a blaze; a barrier fire which flares up like the footlights on the stage and leaves one guessing as to the drama which is being played out behind this suddenly drawn curtain—and that is all. Those who take part in the battle never know more than one episode of it. It is followed in the posts of the commanders, carried to their dugouts by telephone wires, transmitted by optical signals, sent flying on pigeons' wings, borne by runners. But the victory of Oct. 24 I beheld rising suddenly before me like a living being.

The hill of Souville, alone among the heights which surround Verdun, reaches the altitude of Douaumont. Between the two rivals emerges the ridge of Fleury, which, like the arm of a cross, joins the ridge of Froideterre, whose slopes ascend to Douaumont. Ravines are hollowed out in the frame of that long cross. The formidable fort of Douaumont occupies its crest in the form of a double battlement.

This landscape of ravines and hills which the fort dominates I have watched so long that it was printed on my eyes, on the morning of Oct. 24, when I took my post at Souville. And my eyes sought it in vain before me. A thick fog made it impossible to see beyond the nearer slopes, which are all pierced and mutilated, with a stricken tree trying to stand here and there.

However, this fog was not lifeless. It was stirred, furrowed by the incessant and invisible passage of shells. Their whistling was so continuous that, in spite of one's self, one looked for them in the air, as if they must form a vault of steel. Our artillery was smashing the enemy positions. And I recalled those anxious days at the end of February when the flight of shells alighted upon us. This time it was the opposite impression, our superiority clearly affirmed. The thousand voices of the guns formed a prodigious concert in that fog, and I sought to resolve their skillful orchestration into its elements, from the strident and dry plaint of the 75 to the deep basses of the heavy mortars.

Attacking in the Fog

Would we attack in spite of the mist? Was it not a disastrous condition for the fire which was to accompany the advance? Or, on the contrary, would the fog add to the surprise? I looked at my watch, knowing the hour of the attack, and, while I waited, a kind of unrest little by little took possession of me, the feeling of the deferred undertaking, of the hope adjourned. I knew the operation had been minutely ordered, the troops marvelously prepared. But I knew also the disproportion of the forces, the audacity of the undertaking—three divisions (60,000 men) ordered to dislodge seven (140,000 men) from their formidably organized positions. A daring enterprise, but proportioned like a masterpiece, and destined to work out so exactly that, once it was executed, it looked quite simple. * * *

On this ground that I knew so well, I marked out the divisions ready for the attack: From the quarries of Haudromont on my left to Douaumont before me, the division of General Guyot de Salins with

the zouaves, sharpshooters, and the famous Colonial Regiment of Morocco which retook Fleury on Aug. 17; to the right, General Passaga's division; still further to the right, on the side of Vaux and Hardaumont, General Lardemelle's infantry. I pictured them all, though I could not see fifty yards before me. And I pictured also, not without secret anxiety, the German battle array, the number of battalions in the first and second line, the lines of trenches, the accessory defenses, the redoubts, Thiaumont earthwork, the Haudromont quarries, lastly and most of all Douaumont fort. How could our men overcome such material and human barriers?

At each instant I looked at my watch: 11 o'clock, 11:20, at last 11:40. It was the hour fixed for the attack. I should have been able to watch the attack set out and unfurl itself in the ravine, then mount its slopes; was it taking place even now? Had the artillery lengthened its fire? Impossible to know. It is 11:50. But what do I hear on the right? The tac-tac of the machine guns. If the machine guns are firing, the attack has been launched. If the machine guns are firing, our men have been detected and are meeting resistance.

I no longer hear them. The noise of the guns fills the air. And, anew, it is uncertainty, long-drawn disquiet. At the commander's post, where I go from time to time, news is beginning to flow in; the start has been splendid; the first objective already gained, they are reorganizing, getting ready to start, starting.

An airman's motor snores above my head. He is flying so low that he almost grazes me. I make him out, immense and grayish in the fog. He comes lower. They told me that night that an airman had come near enough to shout "Forward!" to our men, that a dialogue had taken place between air and earth.

"Douaumont Is Ours!"

At 2 the wind, growing stronger, begins to pull the clouds to pieces. * * * I recognize the crest of Fleury, the Chambitoux ravine, the slopes of Douaumont, Douaumont and its double battlement. The clouds are flying so swiftly now that their flock is scattered in a twinkling, and the landscape breaks through with the extraordinary clearness that precedes or follows rain.

With my strong field glasses I scan the horizon. I could count the shellholes. They are full of water! What difficulties our soldiers must have met if they went that way! But the landscape is full of life. There, on the slope of Douaumont, earth-colored men are moving. They advance in single column, to right and left, in good order. They go forward, upward, they draw near. There is one silhouetted on the crest, and then another and another. On each battlement they appear, others descend into the gorge. But they will be seen, the machine guns will find them! Don't expose yourselves like that: it is madness!

They stir, they turn, as if describing a vast circle above Douaumont reconquered, a sort of dance of victory. I want to shout. I must have shouted, but I did not hear the sound of my voice in the din of the machine guns, for the German reply came quickly, and the shells are bursting close to me. I must have shouted, for I am chewing a piece of earth, which the bursting of a shell has splashed into my open mouth. Douaumont is ours! The formidable Douaumont, whose massive height dominates from its observatories both banks of the Meuse, is French once more.

I remember that sad evening of Feb. 25 last, when, in the mud and snow, we learned that Douaumont was lost. We did not want to believe it. We could not believe it. And now, in less than four hours, this same Douaumont, with a whole region, stretching from the Haudromont quarries to the Fausse-Côte Ravine, is in our hands again. In less than four hours we have annihilated the German accomplishment of eight months. In his turn, the German does not wish to believe that Douaumont has been wrested from him. He does not shell it; he will wait another hour before daring to shell it; and the extraordinary dance of our poilus continues to unfold itself from one battlement to the other, in tranquillity and joy, while the setting sun, finally clear, gives colors of glory to the sky,

and in that evening light the fleet of our triumphant airmen fills the air. * * *

Story of the Attack

[*Another Military Eyewitness tells the story of the attack from a more inclusive viewpoint:*]

The general preparation lasted three days. * * * On Oct. 24, until 11:35, our bombardment redoubled in violence: heavy batteries and trench mortars pounded the enemy line with a final smashing fire. But our troops, slightly withdrawn to avoid "short" fire, left in advance only posts of lookouts and machine guns to guard against surprise. At the time fixed the "heavies" quickly lengthened their fire; during the next five minutes gales of 75, firing high explosive, ball, percussion shells, rapidly finished smashing and stamping out the enemy's resistance. At 11:40 the 76 lengthened fire; it was the signal for the assault.

Then you saw our infantry pouring out of their trenches; from one end to the other of the battlefield, from the heights of Haudromont to the crest of Fleury, to the ridges of Vaux Chapitre and Damloup, it leaped forward with a single magnificent dash, throwing itself upon the narrow band, 100 to 150 yards wide, that separated it from the enemy. The German position was carried in an instant, without a single shot, without a machine gun firing; it was all "bomb and bayonet," it was over in a trice. Soon our divisions dashed forward, passing beyond the first enemy trenches. The first prisoners, who escaped our fire in their demolished shelters, looking as if they had been dug out of the earth, were flowing toward our rear.

Our progress continued with imperturbable rhythm. Its movements had been fixed beforehand, like those of a watch. Artillery fire, forward leap of the infantry, co-ordination between guns and men, system of information, observations, signals, all worked like a charm, like clockwork. The enemy has not the monopoly of method. Our troops were already on his supporting line before he dreamed that the first line was carried.

In less than an hour the line was reached from the Haudromont quarry, through the Thiaumont ridge, to the north edge of the Bazil ravine. Only on the right, isolated centres showed a vigorous defensive, which slightly delayed our progress on that side. Everywhere else the enemy failed to react. Our losses were extremely light.

We start again; it is a question of gaining the essential objective: the road from Bras to Douaumont and the legendary fort. This new phase of the assault is carried out like the first, with the same impeccable method, and with an ease almost magical. The assault is like a triumphal march. It was in this rush of two kilometers that one of our regiments lost only one man wounded; a neighboring division had to regret only the death of a single officer. Thanks to the mastery of our artillery, our troops advanced freely, across open ground, as coolly as at manoeuvres, with no obstacles but the mud, the puddles, and the shell holes. Gayety overflowed: our airmen who were escorting the assault swooped low above the undulating lines in the mist, and saw our men go forward joyously, with slung rifles, signaling with their hands, waving their handkerchiefs. The attack against the formidable hill had the gay movement of a festival.

Then a strange thing happened. The sky which, since morning, had looked rainy, and which, since the attack began, had grown darker, was suddenly lit up. The fact was so remarkable that it struck our enemies. The three previous days had been exceptionally bright. The morning of Oct. 24 opened so gloomy, with weak, pale light, that a German officer taken prisoner by us, as he confessed to us, believed that we possessed the secret of a cloud-generating shell, able to produce artifiicial night, so strong is the human tendency to magnify one's enemy, and to credit him with chimerical powers which he does not possess. * * *

Results of the Battle

The battle of Oct. 24 is one of the finest successes of the war. It has echoed through the world. Germany has vainly tried to palliate her loss and lessen its

importance. * * * The moral result in itself would justify the undertaking. But, for our command, it was only secondary. The goal was more substantial. It is not only a question of the ground won back, nor of matériel captured, even though fifteen cannons, fifty bomb-throwers, and 144 machine guns form a respectable booty, without counting the rest. It would be more if we had the time to dig in the shell holes; more than 200 machine guns remained buried there, pellmell with their crews, in what was once the German trench.

But the taking of Douaumont transforms the situation before Verdun. He who holds Douaumont holds the country; he commands all the views, sweeping the horizon for immense distances.

But there is more. However important is the occupation of the fort, however great the radiance it adds to our victory, that victory would be almost equally great without it. On the eve of the battle a General said, pointing out on the map the emplacements of the enemy: "Shall we take Douaumont? Perhaps. But we shall surely take twenty-two German battalions." And the General was as good as his word. Twenty-two battalions annihilated—either killed or taken prisoner. (The prisoners exceed 6,000, including 138 officers.) This is the real victory. * * * The German artillery suffered not less than the infantry. Of 130 batteries which we had before us, 99 were effectively hammered, and half of them smashed, put out of action. * * * Germany will not bring to life again the army corps which she has lost. She will not obliterate the effect of our victory. She will not efface, in the hearts of her men, the fear of our ascendency, or the memory of the day when seven German divisions were knocked about and broken by three French divisions. * * *

Victory of Hardaumont

[*The same writer in Le Bulletin des Armées tells the story of the later victory that completed this chapter in French history.*]

From the Meuse to Bezonvaux, the victory of Dec. 15 completes that of Oct. 24, which so brilliantly won back for us the fort of Douaumont. It tears from the Germans, on a front of six and a quarter miles and to a depth of two miles, the village of Vacherauville, the part of Pepper Hill which they still held, the village of Louvemont, 378-Meter Hill, Les Chambrettes, the Caurières Wood, the heights of Hardaumont, the earthwork and village of Bezonvaux.

A glance at the map will suffice to show the importance of this result. The Germans lose the last observatories that could facilitate operations against Verdun. Besides the ground gained, the victory has brought us more than 8,000 prisoners. More than forty-five cannons have already been sent to the rear; the number of those taken or destroyed is probably twice as great. The enemy has left in our hands the greater part of his machine guns and bomb throwers.

Like the victory of Oct. 24, that of Dec. 15 was most carefully prepared. General Nivelle, commanding the army at Verdun, had confided its execution to General Mangin. The nature of the ground made it particularly difficult. The Germans, in withdrawing, left the ground broken up, without roads, while it was comparatively easy for them to reorganize further back by using their numerous railroads. It was, therefore, necessary to transform the ground gained on Oct. 24 into a veritable work yard, to build twenty-five or thirty kilometers of roads, including a corduroy road for the passage of the artillery, and more than ten kilometers of sixty and forty centimeter gauge railroads for the carriage of munitions and food supplies. Thanks to these constructions the artillery was pushed forward close to the lines and was thus able to support the infantry attack. It was the part of the artillery to direct the fight; the infantry followed it.

The enemy order of battle included, from the Meuse to Bezonvaux, five divisions: the Fourteenth Reserve Division, the Thirty-ninth Division, which forms a part of the Fifteenth Corps, and which had just relieved the Thirteenth Reserve Division; the Tenth Division, the Fourteenth Division, and the Thirty-ninth Bavarian Reserve Division. New trenches had been dug, with flanking works, in imitation of our methods. On Pepper Hill

a work of considerable age, at which the enemy had been working since March, was fitted with barbed-wire entanglements, concrete galleries, redoubts, shelters, munition depots, which made the place a sort of fortress.

The troops of General Mangin, charged with the attacking sector, included four divisions, two of which had already gained glory in the last battles before Verdun. They were, from left to right, General Muteau's division, General Guyot de Salins's division, General Garnier du Plessis's division, and General Passaga's division. The work of the different staffs which directed the preparation had demanded a long effort. As on Oct. 24, the outcome proved the excellence of the method. The execution had to be delayed because of the weather. Although the weather remained bad, the commander decided to go ahead, and the artillery preparation began, in spite of the rain and snow, which made control difficult and impeded the work of the airmen. But the energy of all triumphed over these obstacles and succeeded in making possible an attack which appeared chimerical at such a season.

The front of attack, from Pepper Hill to Hardaumont, measured six and a quarter miles. The artillery preparation carried out by numerous batteries of all calibres had destroyed the villages of Vacherauville and Louvemont, as well as the works of Hardaumont and Bezonvaux, which were found nearly empty. On the eve of the attack seven German deserters from the Ratisbon trench reached our lines; they were all that remained of a whole company.

On Dec. 15, after a night of rain and snow, the weather cleared and visibility became excellent. The enemy artillery, paralyzed by ours, was reduced to silence an hour before the attack.

Exactly at 10 A. M., our assaulting troops left their trenches. The attack was led, as if by a stop-watch, with a rapidity, a dash, and an enthusiasm that passed belief. All objectives were attained at the stated times. In one hour we were masters of the whole line from Vacherauville to Louvemont, 378-Meter Hill. Considerable obstacles, such as the Le Helly Ravine, were crossed by General Guyot de Salins's division with such rapidity that the accounts do not even mention that there was any obstruction.

The airmen accompanied the assaulting troops and carried disorder to the enemy's rear. Adjutant Violette, during the afternoon, bombarded and dispersed groups of three or four hundred men in the neighborhood of Saint-Andre and the Jolicoeur Farm, who were coming as reinforcements. A German "sausage," which had ascended, was set on fire in the air by one of our airmen.

In the villages of Vacherauville and Louvemont the resistance of the enemy was immediately stifled.

At 11:30 A. M. all the crests of Louvemont were in our hands, as well as the Hardaumont and Lorient works. Our troops met with greater difficulties in the Vauche Woods. But their progress was not stopped, and toward 3 P. M. General Passaga's division reached the Bezonvaux work. At the same time we were seizing the Chambrettes Farm. Prisoners were pouring in; their number exceeds 8,000.

Up to the last moment the Germans had remained uncertain as to the point of attack. They undoubtedly expected an attack on the west bank of the Meuse, where our artillery preparation was extended pretty far toward the west. It was there that they directed their principal barrier fire, while we made our attack on the east bank.

Great Britain's New War Plans

Address by Earl Curzon

Lord President of the War Council and Leader of the House of Lords

[Delivered Dec. 19, 1916]

After paying graceful tributes to Lord Lansdowne and Lord Crewe—also to Mr. Asquith and the late Coalition Cabinet—Lord Curzon said:

THE record of the Coalition Government is not one of which we need be ashamed. They retrieved the fortunes of the war in the first year of the fighting and converted them into the notable and glorious victory of the Somme, and they have paved the way, as we hope, for the victory which will ultimately be obtained. In these circumstances, it may be asked of what spirit or feeling is the change in the personnel of the Government the outcome. I hope I shall not be wrong if I state my belief that the friendly welcome which has been accorded to the present Government, not least by your Lordships, has been due to the conviction that a greater and more concentrated effort, more effective and universal organization, a more adequate and rapid use of the resources, not only of ourselves alone but of our allies, are required if we are to carry the war to the successful termination we all desire.

LORD CURZON

This country is not merely willing to be led, but is almost calling to be driven. They desire the vigorous prosecution of the war, a sufficient and ample return for all the sacrifices they have made, reparation by the enemy for his countless and inconceivable crimes, security that those crimes shall not be repeated and that those sacrifices shall not have been made in vain. They desire that the peace of Europe shall be re-established on the basis of a free and independent existence of nations, great and small. They desire as regards ourselves that our own country shall be free from the menace which the triumph of German arms, and still more the triumph of the German spirit, would entail. It is to carry out these intentions that the present Government has come into existence, and by its success or failure in doing so will it be judged.

It will not be denied that the reconstruction of the Government has been attempted on novel lines. Only twice during the last 150 years of our history have there been Cabinets of numbers as low as ten, and only four times in the same period have the numbers of the Cabinet been as low as twelve. The whole of the rest of the Ministries of the last 150 years have varied in numbers from thirteen upward, culminating in the figure, not always spoken of with reverence, of twenty-three in the recent Coalition Cabinet. Now we have a Cabinet of five, or, as it often finds, itself in session, of four.

The principles upon which the Prime Minister has formed his Cabinet are three: First, the concentration of executive authority in the hands of a small number of persons, the majority of them not holding portfolios, the object being to secure promptitude in decision and vigilance in action. The second principle is the prominent part assigned to labor. Without labor the war could not be won—without the organization of labor it could

not be effectively pursued. Labor is entitled therefore to a powerful voice in its direction. The third principle has been the employment of expert ability in high official posts and in important departments, whether or not it has been previously connected with Parliamentary associations. At this moment there are sitting on the bench beside me Lord Devonport and Lord Rhondda, who have had long Parliamentary experience, but who owe their posts to their special qualifications for the posts conferred upon them. Mr. Prothero has both a practical and a scientific acquaintance with agriculture, and he enjoys the confidence of the agricultural world. Dr. Fisher, who has gone to the Board of Education, is a historian, a writer, and an administrator, and is himself an exponent of the highest educational ideas.

The War Cabinet

The supreme executive authority in the conduct of the war is vested in the small committee or body of men whose names are familiar to all. That committee sits every day, and sometimes two or three times a day. It is in truth, as it is called, a war Cabinet. There is no other Cabinet constituted as a body and meeting regularly under the Presidency of the Prime Minister with collective responsibility for all the acts of the Government. That, of course, does not mean that the members of the War Cabinet are divorced from close association with their colleagues, or that departments of Government not directly represented in the War Cabinet are run on independent lines. An effective liaison between the two must be maintained by means of conferences and meetings intended to bring about common action. Similarly as to the conduct of the war, no one would imagine that the War Cabinet can act independently or without constant and almost hourly consultation with its technical advisers. In all matters affecting the conduct of the war by land and by sea the Chief of the Imperial General Staff and the First Sea Lord are invariably in attendance, and when the affairs of other departments are concerned, the heads of these departments are also consulted.

The plan adopted is closely analogous to the Committee of Imperial Defense. But the essence of the arrangement as applied to the Cabinet is that high officials come when they are required and go when their work is completed, and the one body that is in permanent session and is finally responsible is the War Cabinet, under the Presidency of the Prime Minister. I do not say that in practice it will always be an easy arrangement to work. It is, like the Government itself, somewhat in the nature of an experiment, but we may count upon the public spirit and patriotism and individual self-abnegation which have characterized the inception of this venture to give it a fair chance of continuing success.

Now I come to the problems with which the Government have to deal. We have to keep up our armies in the field and to give to our commanders in all the theatres of war the men whom they require to maintain their forces at full strength for the greater work that lies before them. Secondly, we have to keep or to obtain the men, and also the women, who will give us increased supplies of food, munitions, and shipping, and who will maintain the essential industries of the nation. Thirdly, we have to organize our resources of manhood, material, and money so as to devote them, along with our allies, with whom there must be even closer co-operation and co-ordination in the future than there has been in the past, to the successful prosecution of the war.

Extending Government Control

I do not conceal from your Lordships that far greater sacrifices will be called for from our people than any to which they have hitherto been subjected, that far greater restraints on individual conduct and personal liberty will be entailed. We shall have in the next few months to revise many of our ideas and much of our practice.

I wonder if the country at all fully realizes the extent to which the British people, the most liberty loving, the most individualistic, and in some respects the most independent in the world, have already parted with their traditional rights and privileges and handed them over to the State. Early in the war we took over the railways. We have now done the

same with the railways in Ireland. The merchant shipping of the country has now for more than a year been almost entirely under Government control. Compulsory acquisition of property has become a matter of almost daily occurrence. We are all familiar with the control of the press. Under the Munitions act we have introduced compulsory limitation of profits, compulsory arbitration, prohibition of strikes and lockouts, and compulsory fixing of wages. Recently we have begun to control the raw materials of industry and articles of common consumption. Sugar and imported wheat are under Government control. The same is true of steel and wool and leather. We began to ration with petrol, and I shall be very much surprised if Lord Devonport does not before long take us a good deal further. Last night those of us who dined at clubs found no difficulty in accommodating ourselves to the modest exigencies of a three-course repast, and I have no doubt that we shall be all the better in a short time for the one meatless day a week. Prices have already been fixed for many articles of food. Finally, we took the step of applying compulsory military service.

All this began with a Liberal Government; it went on with the Coalition Government, and it will find new developments and proceed with accelerated speed under the administration now in office. Does any one complain? I think not. Many years ago I remember Sir William Harcourt saying: "We are all Socialists now." What he would say now I can scarcely conceive. I think he would gasp at some of the restraints on personal liberty, but the fact is that there is no sacrifice of convenience, personal liberty, or comfort to which the people are not prepared to submit provided they can be sure that they will not be in vain.

New Developments

The new Government propose new developments. They have appointed an experienced and eminent shipowner as Controller of Shipping. He is already in consultation with his colleagues, but it would be premature to discuss the actual form his recommendations will take. The two great problems are the utilization of all available shipping to the best advantage, and ship manufacture so far as labor and material can be obtained. It is in contemplation by the Government to nationalize the shipping of the United Kingdom, and if this be successfully carried out one result, I hope, will be a reduction of the extravagant freights that have contributed to high prices.

One of the latest acts of the last Administration was to take over the South Wales coal fields. The late Government intended to extend that, and we propose to take over the whole of the coal mines of the country. Regarding the question of food, the real danger is the failure of our crops, and drastic action is required to meet the deficiency. That action must be twofold—first, as affecting distribution, and, secondly, as affecting production. Both are likely to involve compulsory methods of a somewhat far-reaching character.

It is essential that the excess consumption of the affluent should not be allowed to create a shortage for the less well-to-do. As regards production, it means the utilization of every available acre of land and all available labor. One of the difficulties is the dearth of skilled men—drawn away, some times taken away, by the action of the Government. But by proper distribution it would seem that one skilled man working with unskilled labor may be able to do the work not of one farm, but, by a system of co-operation, of several.

In the organization of production your Lordships may play a very prominent part. There is a good deal of ornamental land that might be used. Still more there is a good deal of ornamental labor that might be converted, concerned with the familiar amenities of country life, men who are keeping up gardens, hothouses, lawns, and so on, and very likely engaged in some cases in the preservation of game. I am well aware of the very great sacrifices already made by many in the positions of your Lordships, but in the months that lie before us, when every man will be wanted, I feel sure we can rely on your Lordships' House. But we must proceed much further than this.

The German Challenge

At the very moment when she is talking of peace Germany is making the most stupendous efforts for the prosecution of the war, and to find new men. She is squeezing possibly the last drop out of the manhood of her nation. She is compelling every man, woman, and boy between 16 and 60 to enter the service of the State. At the same time, with a callous ferocity and disregard of international law, she is driving the population of the territory she has occupied into compulsory service. She is even trying to get an army out of Poland by offering it the illusory boon of "independence."

That is the nature of the challenge we have to meet. It has been our object to establish such a system of recruiting as will insure that no man is taken for the army who is capable of rendering more useful service in industry. We ought to have power to see that every man who is not taken into the army is employed on national work. At present it is only on men fit for military service the nation has the right to call. Unfit men, exempted men, are surely under the same moral obligation. We need to make a swift and effective answer to Germany's latest move, and in my opinion it is not too much to ask the people of this country to take upon themselves in a few months and as free men the obligations which Germany is imposing on herself.

As our army grows our need of munitions grows. A large part of our labor for munition purposes is at present immobile, and we have no power to transfer men from where they are wasting their strength to places where they can be of great service. We have not the organization for transferring them as volunteers. These are the powers we must take, and this is the organization we must complete. The matter is not new. It was considered by the War Committee of the late Government and others, and it was decided that the time had come for the adoption of universal national service. It was one of the first matters taken up by the present Government.

It was proposed to appoint a Director of National Services. The military and civil sides will be entirely separate, and each will have a director. It is proposed that the Director of National Service shall proceed with the scheduling of industries and of services according to their essential character during the war. Certain industries will be regarded as indispensable, and the departments concerned will look to the Director of National Service for the labor they require. We are taking immediate steps to get the men we want, and we shall begin as soon as we can to classify industries and enroll volunteers. If we fail to get the numbers we require we shall not hesitate to ask Parliament to give us the necessary powers to make our plans effective.

The Military Situation

Having dealt so far with the domestic program of the Government, I will now refer to the military and political situations. While I do not believe in painting too rosy a picture of affairs, I think we ought not to take a gloomy view. It is true that Germany has captured the capital of Rumania, but your Lordships must not imagine that she has gained all the success even in Rumania that the words of the Imperial Chancellor would appear to suggest. It may be a consolation to your Lordships to know that the oil refineries and stocks in that part of Rumania which is now in the occupation of the Germans were destroyed before the arrival of the Germans.

It would be invidious if I were to discuss the cause of Rumania's failure. It is one of the tragic incidents of the war. The only military power which could come to the assistance of Rumania was Russia. Russia has done all in her power. The utmost we could do was to send supplies, as we did, and to engage the common enemy by an active offensive from our military base at Saloniki.

What changes have taken place in the external aspect of the war during the present year? I distrust the statistics, at any rate in casualties in war, nor do I attach too much importance to the fact that since July 1 the combined armies of France and England have taken 105,000 German prisoners, 150 heavy guns, 200 field guns, and 15,000 machine guns. There have been much more important consequences than this. The Allies have

established an incontestable superiority not merely in the fighting strength and stamina of their men, but in artillery and the air. It is clear that the morale of the Germans is greatly shaken and that their forces are sick of it. Evidence is accumulating of the bad interior condition of Germany, in some cases the admitted hunger and in some cases almost starvation and the progressive physical deterioration of her people.

Germany's Peace Talk

It is at this moment that Germany has come forward with offers of peace, or rather, let me say, vague adumbrations and indications of peace. What has been the course of events? First, there has been the speech of the Imperial Chancellor in the Reichstag. Next there is the note to the powers. The note proclaims the indestructible strength of the Central Powers, and proclaims that Germany is not only undefeated but undefeatable. It advances the plea that Germany was constrained to take up arms for the defense of her existence. It avows German respect for the rights of other nations, and expresses a desire to stem the flood of blood, and, finally, after this remarkable preamble, it declares that they propose even now, in the hour of their triumph, as an act of condescension, to enter into peace negotiations.

As regards peace, is there a single one of the allied powers who would not welcome peace if it is to be a genuine peace, a lasting peace, a peace that could be secured on honorable terms, a peace that would give guarantees for the future? Is there a single Government, statesman, or individual who does not wish to put an end to this conflict, which is turning half the world into a hell and wrecking the brightest prospects of mankind? In what spirit is it proposed and from whom does it come?

Lord Curzon read passages from the German Chancellor's speech and continued:

Is this the spirit in which your Lordships think that peace proposals should be made? Does it hold out a reasonable prospect of inducing the Allies to lay down their arms? Is there any indication of German desire to make reparation and to give guarantees for the future? So far as we can judge from that speech, and it is all we have to judge by, the spirit which breathes in every word is the spirit of German militarism. While that speech is being made Belgian deportation is going on. It is said that the "peace of God passeth understanding." Surely, the same thing can be said in a different sense of the peace which Germany proposes. We know nothing of that. We have only the menacing tone of the note and the speech which accompanied it.

Let me put one more reflection before you. Let no one think for a moment that it is merely by territorial restitution or by reversion to the status quo ante that the objects for which the Allies are fighting will be obtained. We are fighting, it is true, to recover for Belgium, France, Russia, Serbia, and Rumania the territories which they have lost, and to secure reparation for the cruel wrongs they have experienced. But you may restore to them all, and more than all, they have lost, you may pile on indemnities which no Treasury in Europe could produce, and yet the war would have been in vain if we had no guarantees and no securities against a repetition of Germany's offense. We are not fighting to destroy Germany. Such an idea has never entered into the mind of any thinking human being in this country. But we are fighting to secure that the German spirit shall not crush the free progress of nations, and that the armed strength of Germany, augmented and fortified, shall not dominate the future. We are fighting that our grandchildren and our great-grandchildren shall not have, in days when we have pased away, to go again through the experience of the years 1914 to 1917. This generation has suffered in order that the next may live.

We are ready enough for peace when these guarantees have been secured and these objects attained. Till then we owe it to the hundreds of thousands of our fellow-countrymen and our allies who have shed their blood for us to be true to the trust of their splendid and uncomplaining sacrifice and to endure to the end.

Recruiting Britain's Great Armies

History of the First Phase

Great Britain now has about 5,000,000 men under arms. The full story of how the first brave little expeditionary force of 100,000 in Belgium and France grew under Lord Kitchener's hand to such vast dimensions has only lately been given to the world through British official channels. A condensed account of the first phase of the recruiting campaign, written by one of the editors of The London Telegraph, is here offered as by no means the least wonderful chapter in the history of the war.

MANY an immortal page in the history of the world will be consecrated to the effort of England in this greatest of wars. There can be none more amazing than that which tells of the levying and enlistment of millions of fighting men from the least military of European nations. The student of war, enemy or friend, would have made oath two years ago that to think of the United Kingdom creating in the shock and strain of war such armies as those which now threaten the power of Germany was mere mad delusion. Even yet the enemy can hardly persuade himself to believe that the overwhelming miracle has been wrought. But the armies are there in his trenches, and the hour of his conviction draws nearer.

How great is the achievement which, within two years, has magnified the military power of Britain tenfold, which has given us armies of millions instead of armies to be counted by the hundred thousand, we who have watched the work done day by day, who see only that little fraction affecting ourselves, can hardly yet realize. There is no doubt that in the future it will be recognized by the military historian as an example of national vigor and determination in war without precedent or parallel.

We have now come to a stage in the struggle and in the progress of recruiting whence it is possible to take a survey of the growth of our armies, showing the various phases in something like their true proportion. Such a survey, guided by the authoritative information which has been placed at our disposal, will be found of the deepest interest, and, what is more to the purpose, rich in material for national confidence and pride.

Before we knew what a modern conflict of nations must be, it was supposed that if Armageddon ever were fought England's main task in support of her allies of the Entente would be to enforce and maintain the command of the seven seas, and to supply the material of war from her deep purse and her highly organized industry. That she had an army second to none Englishmen profoundly believed, but no one in England or abroad expected her to produce an army upon the Continental scale.

In August, 1914, the whole military forces of England, with the colors and in the reserve, fully trained and partially trained, liable for foreign service, and only available for home defense, amounted to no more than 700,000 men. The regular army, counting in every class, reserves and special reserves, produced on mobilization about 450,000 men. The territorial force, which could not, except by men or battalions volunteering, be employed overseas, could muster some 250,000. These men, however eager to do their part, could not be reckoned as fully trained. It was in the scheme of things that the territorials would require six months under arms before they ranked as first-line troops. Thus the paper total of 700,000 does not represent the number available to meet the shock of the German advance.

Moreover, of this nominal 700,000, 100,000 and more were serving in India or on other foreign stations. When Lord Kitchener took up the seals of the War Office he found that for the defense of the United Kingdom and for giving aid to our hard-pressed allies he had at his disposal less than 600,000 men, more than half of whom were not fully trained. We may or may not be proud of it, but if ever a country gave pledges of its de-

sire for peace that country was twentieth-century England.

From the first Kitchener believed that the war must be a war of years, and not of months, and with grim vigor he acted on his belief. When we remember the excited optimism which in those days swayed not only the masses, but many who had been trained to war and high politics, we may be inclined to reckon it a signal example of the historic good fortune of England that she had in her service the rare foresight, the courageous judgment, and the invincible energy of Kitchener. His first action on going to the War Office was to announce that the addition of 100,000 men to the army was "immediately necessary." They were to be between the ages of 19 and 30, and they must enlist for "three years or the duration of the war." The length and elasticity of the term caused a good many smiles. The theory that the struggle would be short and sharp was in favor with the expert as well as the layman. But those smiles are a queer memory in 1916.

Kitchener decided that his recruits should not be brought into any of the old organizations of the regular army, the special reserve, or the territorial force, but enrolled in new formations called service battalions. A second expeditionary force was to come into being behind the old. But the value of what the old could teach was not forgotten. By attaching these service battalions to the territorial regiments, to which the regular and territorial force battalions also belong, and numbering them consecutively after the old formations, the feeling of unity, the traditions, and spirit of the old army were from the beginning implanted in the service battalions. That they can fight and die not unworthily of that "contemptible little army" which broke the first onset of the barbarian at Mons and Le Cateau they have shown all the world in the rush at Loos and the steady advance on the Somme.

The First Hundred Thousand

Kitchener wanted 100,000 men to start with. Within a fortnight he found them. It was swiftly clear that the trouble would be not to obtain recruits, but to deal with them as they came. The rush to the colors had begun, indeed, before Kitchener issued his appeal, before he entered the War Office. The officer in charge of Great Scotland Yard, the principal recruiting office in London, has an odd story to tell of those early days. During the whole of Saturday, Aug. 1, he recalls, he had attested only eight men. On Aug. 2 and 3, Sunday and Bank Holiday, his office was closed. When he came back early on the 4th he found it besieged by a seething mass of men eager to storm their way into the army. It took him twenty minutes and the desperate efforts of twenty policemen to force his way into his own office, and he was attesting men as hard as he could all that day and for very many other days. But the experience of Scotland Yard was the experience of every recruiting office in the kingdom. "Duke's son, cook's son," men of all classes, married and single, childless and with families, rich and poor, artists and artisans, barristers and plowmen, parsons and loafers, crowded to the doors where once Sergeants with persuasive tongues had cajoled to little purpose.

This wave of men overwhelmed all organization and machinery. Nobody in the War Office or out of it had dreamed of such a flood. Before the war our army expected to enlist no more than 30,000 men in a whole year, and it is to be confessed that the staff and establishment of the recruiting department were hardly adequate to manage the affairs of even this unpretentious host. It is an odd example of the irony of circumstance that less than a month before war broke out there were anxious assemblies in Whitehall debating whether they could not find some less arduous way of mustering and handling those 30,000 per annum. Four weeks passed, and the men and the system, which had struggled inadequately with their 30,000 a year, had to cope with more than 30,000 a day. There was for a while chaos. But the enthusiasm of the recruits refused to be baffled by a broken-down organization, and before

long the organization was re-established upon an adequate scale.

The civilian came to the aid of the soldier. Zealous members of Parliament commissioned themselves with a scrap of paper in Lord Kitchener's hand, fled forth to their constituencies, and began to break all the most holy regulations. In one Midland city, it is related, the local member of his own autocratic motion removed the recruiting office from a room in a poky back street to the Town Hall, engaged eight civilian doctors to help the one struggling medical officer in his work of examination, printed locally the sacred army forms for recruits, with all their apparatus of seventeen elaborate questions, and, climax of daring, ordained that the bath, which in the old days of leisure every recruit had to enter, would be cut clean out of the ritual. But this heroic reformer was only one of many. From John o' Groats to Land's End Provosts and Mayors commandeered the largest halls which their towns contained, and mustered volunteers to help the professional recruiting clerks, who were struggling for breath in the sudden avalanche of forms, pay sheets, and other complicated documents. And volunteers were sorely needed. When war broke out some 500 men were employed on recruiting. At the present moment the department commands a staff of nearly 7,000. But the local authorities did not limit their help to filling up forms. They improvised quarters for the attested recruits and organized the supply of food necessary during the hours or days which passed before the army could find a depot for each new cohort.

250,000 In One Week

Many an ardent recruit had his cause to grumble in those strenuous weeks, some may have lost for a while their eagerness to serve, and it is probable that a few men who tried hard to be among the first in the New Armies were allowed to slip through the too crowded hands of the recruiters. But there is no doubt that they were but a few. The general enthusiasm was more than enough to triumph over many rebuffs and a host of difficulties. The recruiting officers with their staffs, old and new, paid and voluntary, kept at their work day in and day out, and night in and night out, too, so long as there were men at their doors. The time for mystery about their numbers has passed. In one week, the fifth of the war, the week which saw the first German onset hurled back, 175,000 men were enlisted for the regular army alone. Many more went into the Territorial Force. If we include those rejected by the doctors, the total number of men offering themselves to the army must have been in that one week little short of 250,000.

Within a month an army of some 250,000 had become an army of 1,000,000 and many more. That statement, precisely true in itself, quite fails to express the truth about the situation. For the 500,000 of peace were not all in England, and of those who were in England not all were with the colors. So the War Office, called on at a month's notice to feed, equip, and train these new armies of far more than double the demands of peace time, was enmeshed in difficulties. We should be cautious of exaggerating our unreadiness. Due preparations had been made in peace for the military establishments in prospect. Adequate reserves of material had been accumulated. But the wave of recruits swept these reserves away as the tide blots out a child's sand castle. Shelter, food, clothing, equipment, arms, training grounds, instructors, officers—what there was of all these necessities was as nothing for the gathering battalions. Food, indeed, existed, but none of the other things were in the world at all. Even food could not be had in the right place and at the right time, in the lack of any organization for collection and distribution.

If the provision of clothing and equipment was difficult, the provision of arms seemed to be a task demanding miracles. Yet the supply of arms was a simple matter compared with the supply of Drill Sergeants and instructors. Machinery can make rifles. But we have no machinery for making noncommissioned officers. The raw recruit, how-

ever intelligent, however zealous, needed months of training. Most of the officers and noncommissioned officers to whom the task of instruction should have fallen were at the front. If every one of them had been available they would have been all too few for the new armies. So before the work of making the recruit into a soldier could be begun the War Office had to discover instructors and Drill Sergeants and put them to the test.

End of the First Phase

A month after Kitchener's first call for men he had more than he knew what to do with. Swarms of recruits for whom no proper provision could be made were obviously mere waste of the national substance. And still more men came in. Everybody now can see what ought to have been done. If some organizer with the gift of prophecy had, in the September of 1914, conceived and brought into use Lord Derby's group system, attested every man who came, and sent him back home to wait his turn, the ardent enthusiasm of those first days of war might have given us every man who can usefully be taken for the army. The controversies and the anxieties of later months might all have been spared. But since nobody thought of a group system in 1914, we can hardly blame the War Office for not adopting it.

Something had to be done. Like a fairy tale heroine buried in the gold for which she had prayed, the War Office was in danger of being overwhelmed by its hordes of recruits. The rush could not be allowed to go on. On Sept. 11 it was decided to raise the standard of physique. The hint was quickly taken. The expedient was only too successful. Men naturally supposed that the War Office had got all and more than all the men it wanted. At the end of a week of the new standard the recruits obtained for the regular army were less than a third of those of the previous week, and the weekly number went on falling till it became less than one-ninth of the rate of those early days.

So we pass from the first phase of recruiting. We may, perhaps, regret the rather prosaic end. We may fancy that something more of ingenuity, of foresight, of imagination in high places might have served the nation well. But we shall not easily be persuaded that the fall in recruiting was evidence of any failure of the national resolution, any weakening in the spirit of her manhood. "The crucial period in the history of recruiting," as Mr. Lloyd George reminded us the other day, was not that of the group system nor of the controversy upon compulsion, but those first weeks of enthusiasm. What was done then decided the part which our country is to play in the contest, the issue, if not the course of the war.

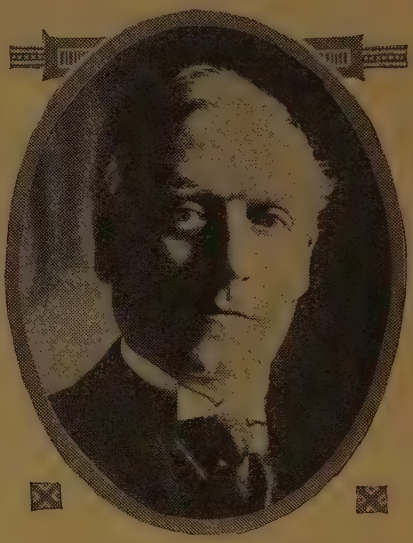
Two Years of British Achievement

Address by ex-Premier Herbert H. Asquith

[Delivered Dec. 19, 1916.]

Mr. Asquith's first speech in the House of Commons after his resignation of the Premiership was delivered at the same session as that of Premier Lloyd George, (which appeared in full in the January CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.) It presented a valuable survey of what Great Britain had achieved in the direction of victory during his term of office, and was punctuated with an amount of friendly applause such as has seldom been accorded to the leader of a retiring Ministry.

MY first duty, and it is a very agreeable one, is to congratulate my right honorable friend [Lloyd George] with all my heart upon his accession to the highest and most responsible place in the service of the Crown. No one knows better, no one knows as well as I do, the extent and the degree of the care, labors, anxieties which at a time like this incumbency of that office brings with it. I earnestly hope for him, not only for his own sake, but for the sake of the country and the empire, that he will sustain a full measure of physical strength and energy, and I can assure him he will have in the prosecution of a task of unexampled magnitude and difficulty the whole-hearted sympathy of persons of all classes and all parties in this House. * * *



HERBERT H. ASQUITH
British Premier, Resigned

It is eleven years now since I spoke from this side of the House, and if I speak from it today it is not because I claim in any sense to be the leader of what is called an Opposition. Opposition I believe there is none. It is not even because I have had in the course of the last few weeks most gratifying testimony that I retain the confidence of my old political associates, at whose side, and in later years at whose head, I have fought in all the great domestic controversies of the last thirty years. I do not stand here and speak here as the head of the Liberal Party. I have been for the last two and a half years the person mainly responsible for the conduct of this war. I do not care for the moment by whom the Government is conducted, although I am very glad to see a man of such ability as my right honorable friend in the place which he so worthily occupies—whatever experience I have gained, for whatever it is worth, is at the disposal of the Government.

I would not, indeed, devote a sentence to my own personal position were it not that I have had the honor of being leader of this House for the best part of nine years, and, with that record behind me, I am proud to think that, to whatever quarter of the House I turn, I see the faces not only of fellow-members, but of friends. They will understand me when I say, on the one hand, it is to me a relief, and in some ways an unspeakable relief, to be released from a daily burden which has lately been carried under almost insupportable conditions, and, on the other hand, a matter for natural and deep regret that I should be compelled to leave unfinished a task at which I have so long and so strenuously worked. Let that suffice on the personal question.

But, apart from and beyond any per-

sonal consideration, I wish to deal with the suggestion, not, indeed, I agree, put forward in the least by my right honorable friend—he would be the last to do it—but industriously circulated outside, that in some vaguely defined way the late Government had failed or were failing in the resolute and effective prosecution of this war. I am not going for a moment to assume the attitude or to adopt the language of apology. Errors of judgment, defects of method, there may have been, and there undoubtedly have been. Not only our gallant allies, but the enemy himself, if he were for once in a candid mood, would make the same confession. But that there has been slackness or lethargy, infirmity of purpose, above all, want of thoroughness and want of wholeheartedness in our concentration upon our common task, not only on my own behalf, but on behalf of my late colleagues, as well those who sit upon that bench as those who sit upon this, I emphatically deny.

Slingers of Mud

The full story cannot, of course, be yet told. The critics in time of war—I refer not merely to irresponsible slingers of mud, but to honest and patriotic lookers-on—have the enormous dialectical advantage that, while they are free to speak and write—some people think a little too freely—the men whom they are attacking are of necessity, by the responsibilities of their position, by their duty to our naval and military officers, and by their obligation to our allies, to a large extent tonguetied. That is not a new phenomenon. It is one that has been observed ever since public opinion found daily or weekly articulate expression. It was so in the days of Lord Chatham, in the days of Pitt, in the time of the Napoleonic struggle, and never more conspicuously than in days most critical, when Castlereagh and Wellington were the favorite targets for the darts of the omniscient amateur.

I would only say this: that I am quite content, when all the facts come to be disclosed, to leave my administration and the part which I myself played in it to the judgment of history. Meantime I ask the House to accompany me in a brief general survey. When this war was forced upon us and our allies, after every conceivable effort had been made by my noble friend, Viscount Grey—who had justly earned in the preceding years the title of "the peacemaker of Europe"—we had not an army on a continental scale. It was never any part of our policy to create or maintain such an army. What has been done by this country since the outbreak of war is no inconsiderable achievement. But there were two factors from the first which we have been able to contribute to the common cause which are peculiarly and essentially our own—naval supremacy and financial resource. I do not intend at this moment to appraise the relevant importance of these three factors—military, naval, and financial—but I am certain the last two, taken together, have not been less potent or less weighty than the first.

It very soon became apparent that in all three domains not only we, but all the allied powers, had to confront entirely novel conditions. On land we have seen a combination of the last refinements of modern science in the arts and mechanism of destruction, and a revival of methods and practices of mediaeval, or even earlier, times.

Work of the Navy

On the sea—and I want to call particular attention to this—it took a comparatively short time for our navy to clear the ocean of the cruisers and the armed merchantmen that were preying on our commerce, and the enemy has very rarely indulged our sailors in the luxury of a stand-up fight on the open sea. But the novel feature of the war in that respect, of course, has been the development of the mine and the submarine. Even that development would have been far less formidable if it had not been accompanied, as it has been, by the systematic violation of all the established conventions and practices of international law.

You cannot protect the oceans of the world against the possible torpedoing of trading ships. It is an impossible task. This practice is carried on, I am certain

—let us say so much for the quality of our foe—by men who are acting against their own will and under instructions of a superior power which compels them to defy all the rules in regard to capture and prizes which have hitherto been held sacred in maritime warfare. Much has been done in the course of the last eighteen months by a vigilant and ceaseless observation and by devices I need not describe to minimize the danger. For months past we have been anxiously engaged in providing armament for our merchant ships, which is the best, and in the long run the most efficient, safeguard.

But important as that is, it does not compare with the vital urgency of what has become the primary duty of our fleet —the maintenance of the blockade. To enable it to perform that duty with ever-increasing efficiency the number of auxiliary vessels has during the last two years been multiplied to enormous dimensions. There are complaints, I know, that out of tenderness for neutrals the blockade is not as stringent as it should be. There is no department of the war in which the problems to be confronted are more delicate and difficult. For my part I rejoice to think this department is still in the skilled and most capable hands of my noble friend, (Lord R. Cecil.) But great as the difficulties are, the evidence which comes from many different quarters is irresistible and overwhelming that it is the steady, ever-tightening pressure exerted by our navy which is sapping the springs of German vitality and turning the thoughts and hopes of the mass of their people in the direction of peace.

The Question of Finance

As to finance, here again we have to deal with unexampled conditions. We have as our enemy in this war—and it lies at the root of almost all our difficulties—in the two Central Powers we have two countries which are geographically contiguous, which are on the economic side to a large extent mutually self-supporting, and which were fully equipped at the outset of the war with a practically unlimited supply of munitions. In this respect, as in the sphere both of diplomacy and strategy, he started with, and he has maintained, the initial advantage of waging war on interior lines.

Exactly the reverse has been the case of the Allies. It is sufficient to say that, while their power of exporting goods, particularly in the case of France, to some extent, of Italy, and, of course, the whole of Belgium, has been largely curtailed, gigantic imports of food, munitions, and a hundred other necessities of war have had to be taken from neutral countries, and for the financing of these transactions, as well as for the transport of the commodities themselves, Great Britain has made herself primarily and mainly responsible.

Serious as the prospect is in many respects, that there has been no breakdown in the performance of a task so unprecedented reflects the greatest credit on the departments and on the members of the various committees who have assisted in their work—committees wholly composed of volunteers, who have given unstintedly their time and energy to the public without notoriety and without reward.

I trust and believe that in the reorganization of some of the departments and in the creation of the new offices—with the general purpose of which I am in complete sympathy—full use will continue to be made of this invaluable reservoir of organized voluntary effort. You cannot get on without it; you cannot dispense with what has been to us one of the most valuable auxiliaries in the discharge of the great responsibility of carrying on the war. The prospect in regard to finance and transport is, in my judgment, a very serious one. It is not so serious as to justify misgiving, and still less alarm. It will not be solved, any more than will any other of the problems of the war—as some of our outside critics, who are apt to mistake bustle for business and vehemence for strength, are inclined to think—it will not be solved by short cuts or by a series of coups-de-main.

The Military Situation

Before I speak of the future, let me add one word as to the military situation. I agree with what my right honorable friend said about Rumania. It has been

a bad business. It is not possible at this moment, even if it were desirable, to apportion the different degrees of responsibility for it, yet I agree that it is a very good illustration of the desirability, nay, the urgent necessity, of more intimate co-operation between the General Staffs and the politicians of the allied Governments. It is very easy to say: Why have you not brought that about? An alliance of this kind, working under these conditions, is without any example in history, and during the last twelve months at any rate the constant interchange of communication and confidence between ourselves and the French has grown into a practice which may now be regarded as one of the normal incidents of our allied conduct. If the Prime Minister and his colleagues can bring about more intimate communication he will have rendered one of the greatest services it is possible to render to the Allies, and I wish him all success in that effort.

But the outstanding military feature of the last few months is undoubtedly the operations on the Somme. So far as our own army is concerned, I believe there is universal agreement that they have been carried out with the utmost skill, tenacity, and courage by Sir Douglas Haig and his officers. Their primary and immediate object was the relief of Verdun. Verdun had been for months the principal objective of German strategy. The Crown Prince had hurled against it the finest troops in his army. It sustained, I suppose, the most terrific and prolonged bombardment of any fortress in history. The loss of Verdun would have been the greatest blow to the allied cause since the beginning of the war. How do we stand today? Not only is Verdun not lost, but the work which took the enemy months of costly effort has been wholly undone, and today we congratulate the gallant General Nivelle and his heroic army on the glorious success of their new offensive. But the operations on the Somme have done much more than to relieve Verdun. They have prevented the withdrawal of large bodies of troops from the west to the east, inflicted enormous casualties on the enemy—far greater, I believe, than he has inflicted on us and the French combined—and last, and perhaps most significant of all, there is overwhelming evidence that while the morale of our troops, always magnificent, has steadily enhanced, the morale of the enemy has steadily declined.

The German Peace Proposals

I think what I have said is sufficient to show that the use we have made of the methods open to us—naval, military, and economic—has not been ineffectual, and if further proof were required it is to be found in the so-called peace proposals which have been somewhat clumsily projected into space from Berlin. It is true that these proposals are wrapped up in the familiar dialect of Prussian arrogance, but how comes it that a nation which after two years of war professes itself conscious of military superiority and confident of ultimate victory, should begin to whisper, nay, not to whisper, but to shout so that all the world can hear it, the word "peace"? Is it a sudden access of chivalry? Why and when has the German Chancellor become so acutely sensitive to what he calls the dictates of humanity? No; without being uncharitable we may well look elsewhere for the origin of this pronouncement. It is born of military and economic necessity.

When I moved the last vote of credit I said there was no one among us who did not yearn for peace, but that it must be an honorable and not a shamefaced peace; it must be a peace that promised to be durable and not a patched-up and precarious compromise; it must be a peace which achieved the purpose for which we entered on the war. Such a peace we would gladly accept. Anything short of it we were bound to repudiate by every obligation of honor, and, above all, by the debt we owe to those, and especially to the young, who have given their lives for what they and we believed to be a worthy cause.

Since I spoke two months ago their ranks have been sadly and steadily reinforced. I should like to refer in passing for a moment to one of them, a friend and colleague of mine, Lord Lucas. Apart from the advantages of birth and fortune, he was a man of singularly winning personality, fine intelligence, and with the

strongest sense of public duty. He worked inconspicuously but hard in the early days of the territorial army. He served for some years at the War Office, and afterward became a member of the Cabinet. At the time of the coalition he stood aside without a murmur and volunteered straightaway for the Royal Flying Corps. Now he has met his death in a gallant reconnoitring raid over the German lines. He was not, I think, more than 40. He had a full and fruitful life. Nor can we nor ought we forget the countless victims, both among our own people and among our allies, of the ruthless and organized violation of the humane restrictions by which both on land and sea the necessary horrors of war have been hitherto mitigated. For my own part, I say plainly and emphatically that I see nothing in the note of the German Government which gives me the least reason to believe that they are in a mood to give to the Allies what the last time I spoke I declared to be essential—reparation and security.

The Only Way of Peace

If they are in the right mood—if they are prepared to give us reparation for the past and security for the future, let them say so. While I was at the head of the Government, on several occasions I indicated, I believe, in quite unambiguous language, the minimum of the Allies' demands before they put up their swords, as well as the general character of the ultimate international status upon which our hopes and desires are set. I have no longer authority to speak for the Government or the nation, but I do not suppose the House or the country is going back from what I said in their name and on their behalf. It is not we that stand in the way of peace when we decline, as I hope we shall, to enter blindfold into parleys which start from nothing, and therefore can lead to nothing. Peace we all desire, but peace can only come—peace, I mean, that is worthy the name and that satisfies the definition of the word—peace will only come on the terms that atonement is made for past wrongs, that the weak and the downtrodden are restored, and that the faith of treaties and the sovereignty of public law are securely enthroned over the nations of the world.

[French Cartoon]

Germany's Olive Branch

—Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.

FRENCH SOLDIER: "It is true, then—you are as badly off as that!"

Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill
United States Navy

Lieutenant Gill of the superdreadnought Oklahoma is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE *a series of articles covering all the chief naval events of the present war, with a view especially to the lessons they convey. In this article, the second of the series, he tells the story of the outstanding naval engagements of the first year. In his battle descriptions he aims less at completeness of detail than at the selection of those features which supply data useful for the deducing of lessons in naval warfare.*

II.—Coronel, Falkland, and Dardanelles Engagements

IN following the naval developments of the present war it is of interest to note that nothing startling has happened to upset expert predictions, either as to the part sea power would take, or as to which of the belligerent navies would dominate. In the course of the fighting there have not been any great surprises. Generally speaking, results have squared with the degree and kind of naval preparations made by the respective warring nations during the previous years of peace. This war seems to have pretty well exposed the fetich that an untrained citizenry, armed with wonderful inventions supplied on the spur of the moment by native ingenuity, can be depended upon to overcome skilled armies and navies.

Neither an army nor a navy can be improvised, but it is an important difference between them that an army can be prepared more quickly and easily than can a navy. At the outbreak of this war Great Britain's army was small and relatively insignificant, but her powerful fleet was ready. Under the protection of this first line of defense a great army has in two and a half years been recruited from British possessions all over the world, and equipped and trained. Navies cannot be so readily built up, and, unless there are marked discrepancies between the losses sustained by the belligerents, their relative naval strength will remain about the same. There is always the chance, of course, that one side or the other will hit upon some revolutionizing invention. It does not necessarily follow, because none has appeared in the first two and a half years of the conflict, that none will appear, or even that, had we been a party to the fighting, Yankee ingenuity would not have produced one; but there is, nevertheless, evidence that in shaping a policy of defense it is safer to heed the lessons of experience than to rely upon a mere theory of inventive abilities adequate to meet any situation. The large defense appropriation voted by the recent Congress indicates the attitude of the American people on this point.

The next step is to determine as accurately as possible just what these lessons of the war are.

Careful analysis of the battles fought in previous wars has contributed much to naval science. There is, however, by reason of improvements in ships and guns, a continual changing of conditions, which affects the application of strategic and tactical principles. If useful conclusions are to be arrived at, it is advisable, therefore, to examine naval activities of the present war as closely as is possible in the light of all available information. In attempting this, the handicap of insufficient and unreliable data is admitted, but even if some of the premises are slightly in error, still, the inferences drawn will have value so long as they are logical and agree with accepted naval opinion.

Sea Events of Early Months

In the first month of the war there were no big naval battles. Liveliness, however, was shown in numerous ways. On Aug. 6, 1914, the British light cruiser Amphion was sunk by striking a mine in the North Sea. On Sept. 22, 1914, the British armored cruisers Aboukir, Hogue,

and Cressy, while patrolling in home waters, were sunk by a single German submarine. When the Aboukir was torpedoed, the two sister ships went to her assistance, thereby presenting easy targets to the waiting submarine. By this disaster the obvious lesson was learned that areas near torpedoed ships are dangerous, and should be avoided by large vessels, or at least approached with caution.

In the early months of the war, besides using mines and submarines, both sides were busy mobilizing their fighting strength and making various strategical dispositions of ships and fleets. Incident to this and to commerce destroying carried on in all parts of the world, there were some brisk encounters between single ships and a few minor engagements between cruiser detachments. A noteworthy piece of fighting occurred off Heligoland Bight on Aug. 28, 1914, when the Germans lost three light cruisers and one destroyer, while the British suffered minor damages, without losing any ships.

The chief point of interest in this spirited action is that Admiral Beatty, in supporting his light cruisers and destroyers, dared mines and torpedoes, took six battle cruisers almost under the guns of the German fortress, struck his blow, evaded submarine attacks by manoeuvring, and escaped without losing a ship.

These activities are interesting, and sometimes important in result; but the scope of this paper is limited to a consideration of the more important operations. The first to be taken up is the battle off Coronel, in which a German cruiser squadron defeated a British cruiser squadron.

The Battle Off Coronel

At the beginning of the war the British armored cruisers Good Hope and Monmouth, together with the light cruiser Glasgow and transport Otranto, were in Atlantic waters off the coast of the Americas. These ships rendezvoused off Brazil and proceeded south around Cape Horn, evidently with the mission to find and destroy German vessels. The old battleship Canopus was also in these waters, but apparently did not cruise in company with the other ships because of her inferior speed.

At this time German ships in the Pacific included the armored cruisers Scharnhörst and Gneisenau, the light cruiser Nürnberg, and the light cruiser Leipzig. These ships in the Pacific, together with the light cruiser Dresden, then in South Atlantic waters, proceeded at the outbreak of the war, apparently in accordance with a prearranged plan, to rendezvous off the coast of Western South America.

Comparing the strategic dispositions of the belligerents in this rather remote theatre of war, it is seen that in the latter part of October, 1914, the British Admiral, Sir Christopher Cradock, had under his command two armored cruisers, one light cruiser, and one battleship, while the German Admiral, Count von Spee, had two armored cruisers and three light cruisers, thus giving the British a superiority of about 8,000 tons in displacement and about 2,200 pounds in weight of broadside. These figures, however, are misleading, because they do not truly measure the fighting values of the two groups. The German ships were newer and their squadron more homogeneous in both guns and speed. The British ships were a heterogeneous collection of less modern vessels, with the principal fighting strength in an old battleship of only sixteen knots speed, which did not get into the engagement at all. With the Canopus out of the battle line, the Germans had considerable advantage in tonnage and in weight of broadside.

The information now available seems to afford evidence of superior strategy on the part of Germany. All the more credit is due on account of Germany's marked inferiority in total of sea power, with consequently greater difficulties confronting Admiral Spee, beset as he was by Japanese squadrons as well as by British squadrons, and without any naval bases in which to seek refuge and comfort.

The movements of these squadrons up to the day of the battle have been considered as strategical because they were in preparation for fighting. We now turn

A FRENCH ARTILLERY BATTERY IN ACTION ON THE SOMME

These Heavy Guns Are Keeping Up a Steady Fire Against the German Positions, Miles Away, Depending Solely Upon Telephonic Directions for Their Aim

(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)

A SECTION OF THE GERMAN TRENCH LINES IN FRANCE

This Unique Photograph Was Taken from a French Aeroplane Which Flew So Low That the Germans Can Be Seen in the Trenches. Note the Holes Made by French Shells. The Place Is Soyecourt

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

to the tactical phases which have to do with the execution of the fighting.

Positions of Opposing Squadrons

On the afternoon of Nov. 1, 1914, the British squadron was spread out in scouting formation, steaming along the coast of Chile, looking for enemy ships. The light cruiser Glasgow had been dispatched to Coronel to send cables. She left there at 9 A. M., Nov. 1, and while steaming to the northward sighted the German squadron at about 4 P. M. At about 5 P. M. the British ships formed in line ahead, the Good Hope leading, followed by the Monmouth, Glasgow, and Otranto. The battleship Canopus was about 250 miles to the southward. Admiral von Spee formed his ships in line ahead, the Scharnhörst leading, followed by the Gneisenau, with the Dresden about one mile in the rear and the Nürnberg far behind. At 6:07 P. M. the two squadrons were on nearly parallel southerly courses, about 15,000 yards apart, with the German line inshore.

There was a heavy sea and strong wind from one to two points to the eastward of south, and the German ships were able to make their course a little to the westward of south, bringing this heavy sea on their unengaged bow. On the other hand, the British carried wind and sea a little on the engaged bow, a marked disadvantage, making their six-inch guns, especially the lower tier, practically useless. It is to be noted that the German 8.2-inch guns were mounted higher and were better for fighting in a seaway. Practically all that the British had to oppose the twelve 8.2-inch guns of the Germans were two old 9.2-inch turret guns on board the Good Hope. An additional disadvantage was that the British ships were silhouetted against the twilight sky, supplying an excellent point of aim for the Germans.

At this time Admiral Cradock was no doubt doing some hard thinking. Should he engage with such big odds against him? There was the Canopus, his main fighting strength, 250 miles to the southward. By bearing off sharply to the westward, even at this late hour, the speeds of the two squadrons were so nearly equal that he could have avoided engaging that night and by morning he could have most likely joined up with the Canopus and fought the battle on a more equal footing. It would be interesting to know what thoughts flashed through the Admiral's mind and what counsels prevailed upon him to make the courageous but fateful decision embodied in his signal to the Canopus at 6:18 P. M., "I am going to attack the enemy now."

Admiral Spee's Report

The two squadrons gradually neared each other on converging courses, and Vice Admiral von Spee describes the battle as follows:

Wind and swell were head on and the vessels had heavy going, especially the small cruisers on both sides. Observation and distance estimation were under a severe handicap because of the seas which washed over the bridges. The swell was so great that it obscured the aim of the gunners at the six-inch guns on the middle deck, who could not see the sterns of the enemy ships at all and the bows but seldom. At 6:20 P. M., at a distance of 13,400 yards, I turned one point toward the enemy, and at 6:34 opened fire at a distance of 11,260 yards. The guns of both our armored cruisers were effective, and by 6:39 already we could note the first hit on the Good Hope. I at once resumed a parallel course instead of bearing slightly toward the enemy.

The English opened their fire at this time. I assume that the heavy sea made more trouble for them than it did for us. Their two armored cruisers remained covered by our fire, while they, so far as could be determined, hit the Scharnhörst but twice and the Gneisenau only four times.

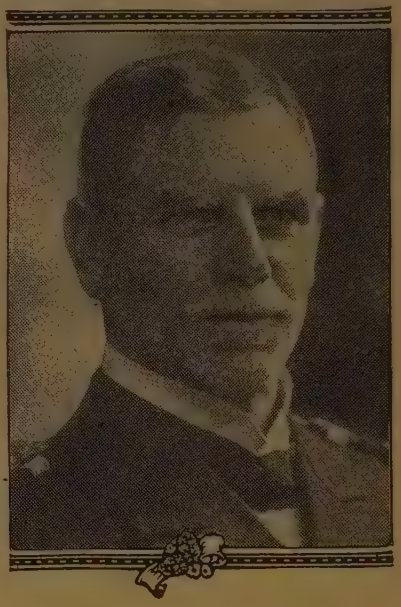
At 6:53, when 6,500 yards apart, I ordered a course one point away from the enemy. They were firing more slowly at this time, while we were able to count numerous hits. We could see, among other things, that the top of the Monmouth's forward turret had been shot away and that a violent fire was burning in the turret. The Scharnhörst, it is thought, hit the Good Hope about thirty-five times.

In spite of our altered course the English changed theirs sufficiently so that the distance between us shrunk to 5,300 yards. There was reason to suspect that the enemy despaired of using his artillery effectively and was manoeuvring for a torpedo attack. The position of the moon, which had risen at 6 o'clock, was favorable to this move. Accordingly I gradually opened up further distances between the squadrons by another deflection of the leading ship at 7:45. In the meantime it had grown dark. The range

finders on the Scharnhörst used the fire on the Monmouth as a guide for a time, though eventually all range finding, aiming, and observations became so inexact that firing was stopped at 7:26.

At 7:23 a column of fire from an explosion was noticed between the stacks of the Good Hope. The Monmouth apparently stopped firing at 7:20. The small cruisers, including the Nürnberg, received by wireless at 7:30 the order to follow the enemy and to attack his ships with torpedoes. Vision was somewhat obscured at this time by a rain squall. The light cruisers were not able to find the Good Hope, but the Nürnberg encountered the Monmouth, and at 8:58 was able by shots at closest range to capsize her without a single shot being fired in return. Rescue work in the heavy sea was not to be thought of, especially as the Nürnberg immediately afterward believed she had sighted the smoke of another ship and had to prepare for a new attack.

The small cruisers had neither losses nor damage in the battle. On the Gneisenau there were two men slightly wounded. The crews of the ships went into the fight with enthusiasm, every one did his duty and played his part in the victory.



VICE ADMIRAL VON SPEE
(Photo © Brown Bros.)

In concluding the account of this battle it may be said that little criticism can be advanced against the tactics used by Vice Admiral Spee. He appears to have manoeuvred so as to secure the advantage of light, wind, and sea. He also seems to have suited himself as regards the range. The Good Hope and Monmouth were destroyed, the Glasgow had a narrow and lucky escape, while the German losses were two slightly wounded.

Falkland Island Engagement

After the battle off Coronel, while the German squadron coaled at Valparaiso and made its way in no great hurry around Cape Horn, the British were not idle. Within ten days of the receipt of the news of the British disaster in the South Pacific the dreadnought battle cruisers Invincible and Inflexible, under command of Vice Admiral Sturdee, were on their way to the Falkland Islands, a wireless and coaling station off the southeast coast of South America. It would appear that Admiral Spee contemplated an attack on the Falklands, and it would also appear that he did not anticipate the vigorous and alert strategy of his enemy. Had he done so he surely would have either tried to time his visit earlier or else have abandoned it entirely.

As a matter of ordinary precaution it seems strange that he did not send a scout ship ahead to reconnoitre, or at least he might have planned to arrive in the late afternoon, which would have given his ships a good chance to escape from a superior force under cover of darkness. On the other hand, little criticism can be made of England's strategy, which provided, on the morning of Dec. 8, when the German squadron hove in sight of the lookout ship off the Falkland harbor entrance, an opposing fighting force at anchor within, consisting of two battle cruisers, the Invincible and Inflexible; three armored cruisers, the Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Kent; the light cruisers Bristol and Glasgow, and the predreadnought battleship Canopus.

The German squadron was the same as off Coronel—two armored cruisers, the Scharnhörst and Gneisenau, and three light cruisers, the Leipzig, Nürnberg, and Dresden.

The total tonnage of the British ships was 87,000—nearly three times that of the German total, which was 35,500, while the total weight of the British broadside was 9,566 kilograms, nearly five times that of the German total, which was 2,032 kilograms.

In addition to the above-mentioned

fighting ships, the converted cruiser Macedonia was acting as a lookout ship for the British, and the steamships Baden and Santa Isabel were in the train of the German squadron. The British ships had arrived at 10:30 A. M. the day before and had begun coaling at once. At the time of the engagement the battle cruisers, though not filled up, had plenty of fuel on board, and the fact that they were a little light in draft favored their speed.

At 8 A. M. the German ships were sighted, and orders were given to raise steam for full speed. The high land hid the main British force, and at 9:20 the Gneisenau and the Nürnberg, with guns trained on the wireless station, had closed to within 11,000 yards of the Canopus, which opened fire at them across the low land with her twelve-inch guns. The Germans hoisted their colors and turned away from their hidden foe, but a few minutes later turned to port, as though to close on the Kent, at the entrance of the harbor. Then the British battle cruisers were sighted, and the two German ships altered course and increased their speed to join their consorts.

At 9:45 A. M. the British squadron, less the Bristol, got under way and headed for the German ships, which were clearly in sight hull down. The sea was calm, with a light breeze from the northwest. The visibility was at a maximum, under a bright sun in a clear sky. At 10:20 signal for a general chase was made, but the battle cruisers eased speed to twenty knots, to allow the other cruisers to get in station.

Tactics of the Battle

Three enemy ships, probably transports or colliers, were sighted off Port Pleasant, and the Bristol was ordered to take the Macedonia in company and destroy the transports. It is to be noted that the Bristol, a sister ship to the Glasgow, was faster and better armed than any of the German light cruisers, and was also three and one-half knots faster than the British armored cruisers Carnarvon, Cornwall, and Kent. The reasons for sending a twenty-six-and-one-half-knot ship instead of a twenty-three-knot ship after the transports are not very clear, especially as the Bristol and the Glasgow were the only two ships besides the battle cruisers fast enough to catch the Nürnberg and the Dresden.

The British squadron, as a unit, was not able to close on the German squadron, and at 11:20 Vice Admiral Sturdee decided to atack with his faster ships, the Invincible, Inflexible, and Glasgow. These three all had a speed of twenty-six and one-half knots, and were able to close quickly on the Scharnhörst and Gneisenau, which had a speed of only twenty-three and one-half knots. At 12:55 the battle cruisers opened fire on the German light cruiser Leipzig at a range of 16,500 to 15,000 yards. A half hour later the German light cruisers turned to the southwest and spread, in an effort to escape. The armored cruisers Cornwall and Kent and the light cruiser Glasgow gave chase, while the battle cruisers and the Carnarvon kept on after the Scharnhörst and Gneisenau. Admiral Sturdee kept, for the most part, at a range of between 16,000 and 12,000 yards, destroying the enemy with his twelve-inch guns in rather leisurely fashion, without getting within the effective range of the German 8.2-inch guns. At 4:17 P. M. the Scharnhörst sank, with her flag flying. The Gneisenau kept up the unequal fight, but at 6 P. M. she also sank with her flag flying.

In the chase after the light cruisers the Glasgow was the only ship with superior speed, but she was able to engage the Nürnberg and Leipzig, delaying them enough to give the Cornwall and Kent a chance to get into action. The Leipzig sank at 9 P. M. and the Nürnberg was sunk by the Kent at 7:27 P. M.

The Dresden escaped. Hindsight is always better than foresight, and we should be slow to criticise without knowing full particulars, but one cannot help wondering at the tactical disposition of the Bristol and questioning if the Dresden would have escaped had the Bristol been on hand to help the Glasgow. The Bristol, to be sure, accomplished her assigned mission in destroying the German steamships. But could not the three-knot slower armored cruiser Carnarvon

have done this equally well? As it was, the Carnarvon served no useful purpose, and no avail was made of the valuable speed asset of the Bristol.

The British lost nine killed and about the same number wounded. All the German ships except the Dresden were sunk, and only about 200 men were saved from the total complements. This decisive naval action gave the Allies practically undisputed control of the high seas.

The Dardanelles Operations

Turning now from the South Atlantic to South European waters, the next event to be taken up is the attack on the Dardanelles, an attempt on the part of the Allies to cut off Asia Minor from Turkey, capture Constantinople, and open up ship communication with Russia's Black Sea ports.

If this enterprise had succeeded it would have completely changed the Balkan situation to the advantage of the allied cause; but it failed, and, measured by the losses in ships, in soldiers, and in prestige, it was a costly failure. In view of the confusing tangle of rumors, half-truths and truths, we had better not try to look too closely at the details, but rather limit our present discussion to the broader and more general aspects of the operations.

The allied fleet at the Dardanelles included the British ships, one superdreadnought, one battle cruiser, sixteen predreadnoughts, and nine cruisers; seven French predreadnoughts, three French cruisers, and one Russian cruiser. Altogether, a powerful fleet of twenty-four battleships and fourteen cruisers, with attending destroyers, submarines, and auxiliaries. It is reported that later this fleet was reinforced by monitors and cruisers especially fitted to resist mines and torpedoes.

Just what the plan of attack was is not very clear. In fact, there seems to have been a lack of definite plan, or, if there was one, it may be that unity of action was lacking. There is a report that miscarriage in the arrangements for collecting and transporting troops caused much delay. Finally, it appears to have been decided to make an attempt to dominate the forts with the gunfire of the fleet.

On March 18, 1915, a violent attack was begun, in which three battleships were lost and other vessels damaged. The Commander in Chief, Vice Admiral Carden, had been incapacitated by illness two days before the attack. His successor, Vice Admiral de Robeck, made this significant report on the day following the attack: "The power of the fleet to dominate the fortresses by superiority of fire seems to be established. Various other dangers and difficulties will have to be encountered, but nothing has happened which justifies the belief that the cost of the undertaking will exceed what has always been expected and provided for."

It appears, however, that due to improperly loaded transports and general mismanagement the army was not ready and orders were received to discontinue this naval attack and wait. About six weeks later (April 25 to 26) took place the famous combined land and sea attack, in which the allied troops attained at a great cost a slight footing on the peninsula. The guns of the fleet afforded a covering fire for the troops, but do not appear to have made a very heavy bombardment at the time of this landing. The Turks evidently had made the most of the six weeks' delay and were well prepared. On June 4 attempts to advance were made without great success.

On Aug. 6 to 8, having been strengthened by reinforcements, the Allies made another great effort, in which the navy took an important part. This battle also was unsuccessful. There was not much hard fighting after the month of August. Sir Ian Hamilton, the British Commander in Chief, asked for numerous reinforcements, but they were denied, and he was recalled to England. In the early part of the following January the allied armies evacuated the ground they had fought so hard to gain and re-embarked. The Allies lost five British predreadnoughts, one French predreadnought, and about 120,000 men. The cost of the expedition, ship losses not included, was about $1,000,000,000.

The decision to attempt forcing the

Dardanelles has been much criticised, and it appears indeed to have been a formidable undertaking. But whether or not it was unwise to attempt it is a debatable question. A successful attack upon the Dardanelles might well have become of the very first importance and produced results which would have quickly been felt in the main eastern and western theatres of the war. Consider for a moment the position of Russia at that time: A vast empire, with millions of men mobilized, crammed with surplus stores of wheat, yet for all practical purposes more cut off from the rest of the world than Germany. The White Sea was ice-bound, and Archangel, which is indifferently served by its railway, would not be open until some time in May. The Baltic was practically sealed. The way to the Black Sea was closed by the Dardanelles and the Bosporus. Vladivostok was too far away to be of much use. Russia was in bonds, and it was the duty of her allies to burst them if they could. Immeasurable advantages would follow from the opening of a clear way to Odessa. Ships laden with wheat would stream outward and ships laden with the stores and equipment, which Russia so greatly needs, would stream inward. Moreover, the resources of fighting men, food supplies, and raw materials from Turkey in Asia would be cut off from the Central Powers and any possible menace to India, the Suez, and Egypt removed.

The political results would have been equally great. The effect upon the hesitancy of the Balkan kingdoms and other neutrals would have been instant, and would have counteracted the impression created by the successful German operations against the Russians. The fall of Constantinople would probably further have meant the collapse of the Turkish offensive. The Turks would never survive a blow at their heart. The bombardment of the Dardanelles, therefore, if the Allies had been able to carry it to its logical conclusion, would have had far-reaching effects on the conduct of the war.

It is interesting here to note the analogy between the circumstances influencing the Allies to attempt to force the Dardanelles and the circumstances during our civil war which influenced the North to open up the Mississippi. In the civil war it was desired to cut the Confederacy in two, so as to shut off the resources of Arkansas, Texas, and Louisiana from the Confederate armies and at the same time to open up communications between the Gulf and the Northern States via the Mississippi and its tributaries. Moreover, just as forcing the Dardanelles would have been a deterrent to Bulgaria's entering the war on the side of the Central Powers and would perhaps have influenced Greece and Rumania to declare for the Allies, so Farragut's capture of New Orleans deterred France from action hostile to the Union and caused Louis Napoleon to abandon his scheme to dispatch a formidable fleet to the mouth of the Mississippi and join an equal force from England with the object of repudiating the blockade as ineffectual and demanding free egress and ingress for merchantmen.

There is also some analogy between the conditions confronting Admiral Farragut, requiring him to force his way by the Confederate forts in the lower Mississippi on his way to attack New Orleans, and the conditions facing Admiral de Robeck, supposing that his mission was to force the Dardanelles in order to attack Constantinople. Admiral Farragut was brilliantly successful in running the forts and capturing New Orleans, while the Dardanelles operations ended in bitter disappointment to the Allies. It would not be wise to push the analogy too closely, because such a method of argument is full of pitfalls, and erroneous inferences might be drawn; but one cannot help reflecting upon and comparing the circumstances, methods, and results attending these two great enterprises.

Instead of condemning offhand this attempt to capture Constantinople as foolhardy in conception, it might be better to bear in mind the confident tone of Admiral de Robeck's report after the naval attack of March 18, and to ponder other possible causes of failure. Failure certainly was never due to lack of fighting qualities in the allied sailors

and soldiers, for there is probably no more heroic page in history than that recording the brave deeds done in this struggle for the Dardanelles.

Principles Vindicated

It is thus seen that in the first year of the war the allied navies converted potential control of the high seas into active control. The German cruisers in American and Far Eastern waters were skillfully drawn away from enemy-infested areas and concentrated under the command of Vice Admiral Spee off the west coast of South America. Here they gained a brief respite by defeating an inferior British squadron. But they were doomed ships, and it was only a question of time before the more powerful enemy navies would find and destroy them. This happened in the Falkland Islands engagement, which took place a month after the German victory off Coronel. Disregarding a few scattered commerce destroyers, the destruction of Admiral Spee's squadron gave the Allies practically undisputed control over all waters not closely adjacent to enemy home ports.

The undertaking at the Dardanelles was a different kind of strategic problem in that it was an attempt to wrest from Turkey waterways over which she had exercised authority practically since the beginning of history. This enterprise failed; and the potential defensive power proved adequate when put to the test of active resistance.

So far these naval events supply corroborative evidence to inductions grounded in the experience of past wars, thus clarifying rather than confusing the principles already more or less firmly established.

[*The next article of this series will appear in the March issue of* CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

[Italian Cartoon]

A Feast in Berlin

—From Il Numero, Turin.

"Waiter, I ordered a beefsteak with peas, but I don't see the beefsteak."
"It is under the second pea on the left."

The New "Old Guard" of France

By John Joseph Casey

Of the French Foreign Legion

The author of this article is one of the many Americans fighting in the French Foreign Legion. Before enlisting under the tricolor in August, 1914, Mr. Casey had served for years as a newspaper artist in New York, Boston, Chicago, and Philadelphia; had been graduated by the Boston Conservatory of Art, and had opened a studio in Paris and exhibited portrait paintings in the annual salons of the Société Des Artistes Français in the years 1910 and 1914. He was injured in the Champagne offensive in September, 1915, and for several days was reported missing. From January to June of the present year the badly shattered Foreign Legion underwent a stage of reorganization, in the course of which Soldier Casey found opportunity to make many sketches like the one published with this article. In July, while on leave in Paris, he married a young Frenchwoman, Mlle. Berthe Marie Arnaud. Since September he has held the dangerous post of runner, carrying military dispatches from one commander to another when the telephone lines are cut by the enemy's shell fire.

JUST by stepping into their ranks distances and distinctions are erased and the whole world becomes an exceedingly small place. Hobnobbing together are a shoe-black negro from French Dahomey, a Dane from our new island of St. Thomas, a college professor from Columbia, a former banker of Geneva, a Japanese veteran of the Russo-Japanese war, an Annamite from Tonkin, an upstanding fellow with the clear eye and chiseled face of an American Southern gentleman, a Turkish interpreter from Constantinople, and a snub-nosed Russian, an Archduke perhaps. They are all one in their blue frocks, red, baggy trousers, red képis adorned with the regimental seven-flamed grenade in brass, heavy shoes, black leather gaiters, and blue capotes with the skirts buttoned back to give the legs free play. They are the Foreign Legion of France, the Legion of Strangers from every cubbyhole of the globe.

JOHN JOSEPH CASEY

They compose that body of 8,000 foreigners which, though organized by a decree of the French Chambers in 1831 with the stipulation that it was not to be employed on the soil of France, has won back for the republic, in the last two years, many yards of trench-gutted Gallic ground. They constitute that corps which, though admittedly the finest fighting unit in the world, had languished for nigh a hundred years without first-class standing until, on a day in August of last year, the Second Regiment of the Legion was presented with a standard by President Poincaré and thereby entered to an equal footing with regiments of the line. A twelvemonth of fighting in the greatest of all wars had won, at last, tardy recognition for La Légion Etrangère.

General de Negrier, whose memory is still beloved by the Legion, once said, "With a French regiment I could not go two hours' journey from the town, but, voila! with a single company of the Legion I could make the tour of Tonkin." Again, when on the night of Sept. 23, 1915, the Second Regiment of the Foreign Legion trudged into the first-line trench to lead the offensive in the Champagne dash, the line regiments asked:

"And who are you, that you take precedence over us in the attack?"

"La Légion."

"O-oh, La Légion Etrangère! Trés bien, trés bien!"

The answer was significant. Then was the manoeuvre understandable. In the French Army of today the Legion fills much the same position as the famous Old Guard once occupied in the army of Napoleon. To the ordinary French private the Légionnaires are the hearts of oak, atlantean, and adamantine.

And yet these men, who never have been known to turn their backs to the enemy, are some of them the best and more of them the worst in the world. They are foregathered from everywhere. It is an astounding, appalling admixture, the Legion, of all manner of breeds and men and rakehells, of professions honorable and proscribed, of virtues and fatuities.

On a time the men of the Legion were distributed into battalions according to their respective nationalities. Then the Legion, with its First Battalion of Swiss, its Third of Germans, its Sixth of Belgians, and its Seventh of Poles, was much similar to the old-time Knights of St. John, with their companies of Provence, Auvergne, Castille, and Aragon. But today they are all jumbled together in a terrific hodge-podge, singing in the one tongue the "Marseillaise," sharing one another's dugouts, eating the same biscuits and singe [monkey] or beef stew, and going through the engagements shoulder to shoulder, with gas masks, mouth pads, and bayonets set, with racial honors even.

SERGEANT BOULIGNY
A Typical Legionary

It used to be said: "If you are thinking of committing suicide, join the Legion first. The Legion will cure you of all ennui; it will make a man of you." That was in the day when the two regiments were engaged in fighting outlandish tribes in Algiers, Dahomey, the Sahara, and Indo-China, and when the Legion proved the haven of all men who sought anonymity, refuge, and forgetfulness. That was the day when the corps earned its romantic nickname of "The Legion of Lost Ones."

Today, of course, some of this Delphic type are still recruited to the Legion. There is Voronoff, who recently deserted to Switzerland for five months. He certainly is a Russian, he is supposed to be a Prince in his ain countree, and, of a surety, were only his nativity taken into account, he should be fighting in a green uniform somewhere on the eastern front. There is N. Neamorin, an Oxford graduate from Calcutta, who, for some reason or other, chooses the Legion in preference to the East Indian forces in Picardy. And there are Charpin, from perfumed Grasse, and Doumorgue, a Parisian, both of whom might be serving with regular regiments of the line had not the latter absconded, upon a time, with his employer's funds and the former done something in the past which no man knows, though many have attempted to discover.

Nowadays, however, a new type of man has joined out with the "Lost Ones." They are men from varied walks in life who love France, true, but who love fighting, adventure, and liberty more. Ji Zannis hails from Constantinople and

was formerly an interpreter in an importing house in New York City; Barry is a rufous Irish type from Cork; Bur Bek-kar was a Bedouin of North Africa ere he was transformed into a Legion bugler, and two Danes there are, Hoffman and Sorensen by name, who come respectively from Copenhagen and St. Thomas.

Many American Recruits

And there are Americans, too; Americans galore. An odd, unparalleled democracy pervades Les Etrangères—between the men, between the officers and the privates. Perhaps that accounts for the fact that so many Americans are enlisted in the Legion.

Still another fact remains. Before the war, when the Foreign Legion was skirmishing on the fringe of things, the War Office used to run, in its list of nationalities numbered in the Legion, a standing note to the effect that in that corps there were to be found no Americans at all. Yet James Jury of San Francisco had put in seven years with the First Etranger around Sidi-bel-Abbes ere he was killed shortly after the arrival of his regiment in the Champagne country.

Now the War Office has changed, reversed itself, completely about-faced. France has come to realize her debt to America.

In the beginning of the war, when volunteers for the Foreign Legion were asked of the American contingent, some thirty Americans stepped forth. Among those Americans were Kenneth Weeks, who was a story writer and playwright until he signed on from New Bedford, Mass.; Paul Ayres Rockwell and his brother, the late Kiffin Rockwell, who formerly were newspaper men in Atlanta; Professor Ohlinger of Columbia; Paul Pavelka of Madison, Wis.; Lawrence Scanlon of Cedarhurst, L. I.; Bob Scanlon, the negro pugilist, and Lieutenant Charles W. Sweeny, the son of a Seattle magnate and a former West Pointer. Also, William Thaw of Pittsburgh and the late Victor Chapman, both of whom later won into the Flying Corps.

Sergeant Bouligny's Experiences

Still another American volunteer was Edgar John Bouligny of New Orleans, who wears nowadays the single gold chevron of a Sergeant. Bouligny stands six feet tall. He has the true soldier face, the square jaw and the falcon eye. He is the sprig of one of the old Creole military families of Louisiana.

He went to France at the beginning of the war to offer his services to a country he had never seen but often had read and dreamed of. He has the reputation of being one of the first volunteers accepted. He enlisted Aug. 4, 1914. He has been thrice wounded. His first wound, a bullet in the leg, was received at Croanelle in November, 1914, after he had fetched back, under German infantry fire, one of his wounded comrades who had been caught on the enemy's barb wire and was too weak to move. In September of the following year, during the French offensive at the Ferme de Navarin in Champagne, three days before I myself was shot through the ankle, Bouligny was again wounded by a flying bit of shrapnel.

Bouligny has had one of the narrowest escapes from a horrible death that I know of. Here are the circumstances:

In was in the early hours of a Summer's morning near Rheims, when some German sappeurs blew up a mine under our trenches. Bouligny was asleep, in a canya, some fifteen meters further off. With the blowing up of the mine, the canya caved in and Bouligny was buried under it. For twenty hours thereafter the Germans kept up a bombardment so terrific no one possibly could live through it. Twenty-seven hours later, in rebuilding our trenches, we dug out Bouligny quite by accident. For over a day and a night he had been entombed alive!

He was the only one left living of his entire section. Those who had not been killed instantly by the explosion of the mine had been killed by the shells in that awful bombardment which had followed. After several days' rest Bouligny was himself again, nary a bit the worse for his premature burial. He's an old hand at rubbing cheek to jowl with death.

Sergeant John is about to take exami-

nations for the rank of Sous-Lieutenant. You know, he not only is a relation of General Beauregard, but he holds that old Southern warhorse as his ideal of a great soldier, and he hopes to keep up the reputation of the family. All we Americans in the Legion are hoping each day to hear that he has achieved a commission. He's a man that all his comrades and officers respect and like, a fine example of an American and a soldier. Light a candle for Bouligny!

Men Who Can Die Gallantly

The Foreign Legion of France has always and invariably given a good account of itself. In this war, to give a good account of one's self means to die willingly and to die in hordes for the sake of a gain of a mere hundred yards. The Légionnaires have died, high-handedly, in droves, with songs and sarcasms on their blood-flecked lips. The Legion has gained the yards.

Take an instance. Following the engagements around Neuville St. Vaast and La Pargete in May of last year, the First Etranger was retired to the rear to recuperate. Then it was found that, of the 4,000 men of the regiment who had gone into action, a bare 700 remained!

Up from the depôt at Lyons came thereupon a wholly new battalion of Greek volunteers to help fill out the reduced ranks. A month later, in taking the first and second line trenches of the Germans to the left of the Cabaret Rouge, the regiment was once again blown to little bits. Man after man, company upon battalion went down under the mowing avalanche of gunfire. Russell Kelly of New York, Lawrence Scanlon, Kenneth Weeks the playwright, and John C. Smith of Los Angeles were reported captured by the Germans. Edwin Hall of Chicago was killed. Paul Pavelka of Madison, Wis., with one leg hideously gouged by a bayonet, dragged himself on hands and knees back to the first-aid ambulance. Broken and utterly disrupted, a mere handful of men, the First Regiment was retired to a camp in the south of France.

And then, forthwith, the Second Regiment began to be heard from. It was in the fighting between the Ferme de Navarin and Souain, which is known as the Champagne dash, and which occupied five horrible days of September, 1915. Here, in capturing the first and second line trenches of the Germans, "Shorty" Trinkard of New York and Fred Zinn of Battle Creek, Mich., were instantly killed by being shot through the chest; Dennis Doud, an American lawyer, had his arm almost severed from his shoulder; Lieutenant Charles Sweeny was shot through the lungs in two places, and Sergeant Bouligny received a piece of shrapnel in his stomach.

In this offensive a fellow-Legionary, Bob Soubiron, and myself were shot in the legs. I lost my kit, containing a number of sketches, on the battlefield of Champagne, and was reported missing and probably dead. Later I was located in Red Cross Hospital No. 68, at Grenoble.

Of the 8,000 men who had composed the Foreign Legion, there remained, after these three engagements, only enough to form three battalions. And there formerly had been, in La Légion, as many as ten battalions!

Some of the survivors were transferred to line regiments; for instance, Bob Scanlon, the negro pugilist, is now in the 171st Regiment of the Line. Others like poor Kiffin Rockwell, won to the flying quadrille. Rockwell, by the bye, was decorated with the Military Cross and the Cross of War ere he met his death when a German machine brought him down. Still others were invalided to the States, among them Professor Ohlinger of Columbia, who is now back in New York. But most of the veterans remained with the Legion.

Now, in September, 1916, the reorganized and only remaining regiment of the Foreign Legion has been for two months on the Somme. It has been giving its usual good account of itself, the best work done this time, as every time! You do not know this; the censor is very sharp; but it was the Legion, La Légion Etrangère, who took Beloy en Sauterre on the Somme!

Reviving the Tradition of Marshal of France

[The subjoined historical review of the title of Marshal of France appeared as an editorial in The London Telegraph, Dec. 28, 1916]

BY the decision of the French Government to confer the title of Marshal of France upon General Joffre an ancient and splendid tradition is revived after more than forty years of abeyance, and the honor that used to be the supreme ambition of every French soldier gains new glory. For, although the roll of the Marshals of France includes the names of nearly all her greatest soldiers, it is the unchallengeable distinction of Joffre that his personal decision and action changed the course of the greatest war in history, and saved Europe in saving his country. So, at least, it appears to his contemporaries; and we are fully persuaded that history will raise, rather than reduce, the importance given in our day to the battle of the Marne, and record it as one of the decisive combats which have directly influenced the fate of mankind.

Not since the Saracen host met Charles the Hammer at Tours has the indwelling spirit of European civilization been threatened as it was in those desperate days. None of us will forget while we live what feelings were ours when it was known that the French Government had abandoned the capital, and victory seemed within the grasp of the power which had trampled exultingly upon every moral restraint that distinguishes warfare from a mere riot of assassination, destruction, and plunder. And none of us will forget the hour, so soon after, when the news came that the peril had been averted, and that the invaders had been driven back from the Marne by a defending force far weaker in numbers, armament, and everything but valor and generalship.

The master-spirit of that memorable victory was Joffre, and all the world has since been at one with his countrymen in paying him the tribute of a gratitude that cannot be measured. He put upon the campaign in the west the stamp of German defeat, and the train of consequences set in motion by his hand more than two years ago is still going steadily and inexorably on toward the one end. The intention to reward him with the supreme military honor was formed by the French Government soon after the victory of the Marne. A decree, which did not pass unnoticed in this country, was published on Sept. 21, 1914, dealing with the scale of officers' pay; and in it the remuneration of a Marshal of France was fixed at the mysteriously exact figure of 30,315f 79c per annum. As no officer had borne that designation since Canrobert died in 1895, the purpose of the regulation was clear, and was approved with the whole heart of the Republic.

The title, which has been handed down in almost unbroken succession for 700 years, is one of the oldest in French history. It was first bestowed by Philip Augustus upon Alberic Clement, one of those mediaeval soldiers who laid in that reign the foundations in Europe of French military prestige, and who numbered among their triumphs the breaking of our own Henry Plantagenet, the baffling of Coeur-de-Lion, and the ruin of John. For centuries the dignity was second only to that of the Constable in military eminence, and was a great office of State conferred upon a single trusted General. Under Francis I. the title began to be more freely awarded, and it was attached to most of the great names in the two periods of subsequent history in which the glory of the French arms was most brilliant. Louis XIV. created twenty Marshals, and Napoleon, in the ten years of his empire, created twenty-six.

The First Republic would naturally have none of a distinction so closely bound up with the system of the monarchy it had displaced. It was borne by none of the self-made leaders of men who freed French soil from the invader and carried the music of the "Marseillaise" across the Rhine and the Alps. But it was not forgotten by the greatest

of them, and when Napoleon established himself in autocratic power, many of them received Marshal's rank. The Marshals of the Empire formed an order ranking immediately after the imperial family and the six grand dignitaries of State. These Generals, "made out of mud," as their creator once remarked, held themselves to be the equal of any King or Emperor but their own, and did not conceal that opinion. Vandamme, taken a prisoner before the Czar Alexander, was abused by him as a brigand. "I may be that," replied the Marshal coolly, "but at least I never assassinated my father"—a home thrust which ended the interview.

Napoleon, who was persuaded that the creation of a nobility, to which any man might aspire, was necessary to the support of his throne, employed the Marshalate as a convenient cloak for designs hardly in keeping with the republican system upon which his régime was professedly founded. He began by conferring duchies and principalities located outside French territory. All his Marshals, with only two exceptions, were created Duke or Prince of this or that place in Germany, Italy, or Austria. The practice of ennoblement so begun grew less and less restricted, and at the fall of the Empire the number of titles conferred by Napoleon was well over 2,000. It is not surprising, then, that the office of Marshal was regarded with strengthened suspicion by the succeeding generation of republicans, or that it was restored with promptitude under the Second Empire. But with the secure establishment of the Third Republic the force of these associations has passed away, and the revived Marshalate regains its old character as a purely military honor, the most distinguished in the history of arms. It has never been more worthily conferred than it is today upon the victor of the Marne.

[French Cartoon]

Expulsion of Germans from Greece

—Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.

GERMAN DIPLOMAT, LEAVING ATHENS: "I appeal to all the neutrals."
ENTENTE SOLDIER: "Do you wish the address of King Albert I.?"

The Teutonic Attempt to Solve the Polish Question

THE tentative creation by the Central Empires of an autonomous State in the Polish districts "conquered by their armies," as announced in the proclamation issued in Warsaw and Lublin on Nov. 5, 1916, [see CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, December, 1916, pp. 470-472,] has been the subject of a lively discussion in Russia and the other allied countries. Since the Austro-German proclamation also stated that there is to be a Polish national army, the establishment of autonomy is regarded by the Allies simply as a trick to strengthen the fighting forces of the Central Empires. But the most interesting phase of the situation is the attitude, as far as it can be ascertained, of the Poles themselves. A group of leading Poles coming from all parts of Poland, including Galicia, Posen, and Silesia, and at the present time residing abroad, immediately issued a statement on their own behalf as well as in the name of their compatriots "who are unable to express freely their opinions." It reads:

The Polish Nation is indivisible. It aims at the creation of a Polish State from all the three parts of Poland, and its aim cannot be realized without the unification of these separated territories. From the present war, the watchword of which reads, "The freedom and independence of nations," Poland expects, first of all, reunion. The projected creation of a Polish kingdom exclusively from one territory, which forms but one part of Poland, not only fails to correspond with the aims of the Poles, but, on the other hand, emphasizes the division of their country. Preserving the division of the Polish national forces, Germany and Austria-Hungary condemn thereby the new kingdom to powerlessness and turn it into a tool for their politics. By refraining from rendering final decision as to the rights and prerogatives of the future kingdom, the Central Powers emphasize its dependence on them. At the same time they demand that the Poles create an army for them. This army, being an auxiliary of the German and Austrian armies, will serve to promote the aims of the Central Powers and to defend a cause foreign to Poland, though the Poles will be forced to fight for it. In spite of the appearance with which the Central Powers are endeavoring to mask their measure, international law condemns it, and responsibility for it rests with the two powers only. We consider the military plans of Germany and Austria-Hungary a burdensome misfortune for Poland, and their political act a new confirmation of its division.

In Poland itself the expression of opinion is obviously subject to the influence, direct or indirect, of the Teutonic forces occupying the country. This fact should be borne in mind in reading the following statement issued by the recently formed club, or federation, of national parties in the Kingdom of Poland:

1. In the proclamation of Nov. 5, announcing the reconstruction of an autonomous Polish State, the Club of the Parties sees a political act evidencing the international necessity of solving the Polish question. In consequence, the Club of the Parties declares that the attitude adopted by Russia and her Allies, in reply to the proclamation of Nov. 5, does not respond to the infrangible and general aspirations of the Polish Nation toward the restoration of an independent Polish State.

2. Appreciating exactly the importance of this act, as well as the bearing of efforts with a view to a complete restoration of the Polish State, the Club of the Parties is ready to take an active part in the work which has for its aim the solution of the problems raised by the creation of a State, a work which can be organized apart from military considerations and aims while guaranteeing complete liberty to the decisions of the nation. The Club of the Parties expresses at the same time the conviction that it is an important condition for the accomplishment of the great work of State in question to permit henceforth the free expression of opinion with guarantees for the freedom of the press and freedom of meeting, as well as personal inviolability.

3. So as to determine the proper sphere of the aforesaid activity and assure it authority and respect with the public, it is necessary to the progressive construction of the Polish State that it rest on a basis of fundamental laws, the framing of which can only be intrusted to a Legislative Assembly elected according to democratic principles. Such a Legislative Assembly can alone call into existence a National Government to organize the life of the State in its entirety.

4. The Club of the Parties is profoundly

convinced that in its views and aspirations it has the support of the immense majority of the Polish Nation, animated by the ardent desire of liberating its Fatherland, but knowing how to apply criticism and caution in the means employed to settle, apparently, the future of the nation, and with the understanding that not a drop of Polish blood can be shed but by the considered and conscious will of the nation.

The signatories to this document are the Realist Political Party, the National Democracy, the Polish Progressive Party, the National Union, the Union of Economic Independence, and the Christian Democratic Party.

A. P. Lednitzky, President of the Moscow Polish Committee, who is regarded by his fellow-countrymen as the legitimate spokesman of the Russian Poles, both abroad and in this country, writing in the Russkia Vedomosti, Moscow, declares:

Germany has not solved the Polish problem. She has only put it forth in its full stature. She has unquestionably made it an international affair, and only an international institution will have the right to solve it finally. Germany has not won over to her side the Polish people, for whom there can be no Poland without Cracow, without Galicia and Silesia, without the cradle of Polish civilization—the Grand Duchy of Posen. Neither Polish political thought nor the Polish national conscience will acquiesce in the creation of a Poland which is to exist under the domination of German influence, German interests, and German power. The Polish people need real independence, and not an imitation of it. We are not afraid of the danger of a newly organized army in Poland coming to fight with the Teutons against Russia. It will not be so easy to efface the experiences of yesterday. * * * It is necessary that all the allied nations solemnly declare that one of the war's aims is the complete restoration of a Poland consisting of all the Polish territories. * * * In this supreme hour of history we turn to Russia and her national conscience, expecting the word that was the dream of our fathers and grandfathers.

Another Polish opinion worth noting is that of M. Harusewicz, the leader of the Polish Party in the Russian Duma. At the session of the Duma on Nov. 15, 1916, he made an important speech, in the course of which he said:

We protest decisively against this German act which endeavors to check the historical necessity of the unification of Poland, which cannot be thought of without Cracow, Posnania, Silesia, and the Polish Sea. The fundamental idea that the Polish cause cannot be solved by Germany remains unshaken. The real aim of the German act, the point of which is directed equally against Russia and her allies, as against the coming united Poland, without the slightest doubt, is based on the endeavor to create irreparable strife between Poland and Russia with her allies, and, above all, to blind the eyes of the Polish Nation and the eyes of the whole civilized world to the unlawfulness of forcible enlistment in their armies through a pretended restitution of the natural rights of the Polish Nation to become an independent State.

The attitude of the Russian Government was expressed in an official communiqué, which declared:

The intentions of Russia allow for the creation of an entire Poland, uniting all the Polish territories, which will enjoy, when the war is ended, the right of freely determining its own national, intellectual, and economic life on a basis of autonomy under the sceptre of the Russian sovereigns while preserving the principle of the unity of the State.

At the other extreme of Russian opinion we have the following comments by Vladimir Burtzeff, the well-known revolutionary leader and historian, who is now in Petrograd writing for the Retch:

In Germany they now talk of Poland and her independence because they think only of Germany and her safety. Even now the Germans do not think of Poland's free existence in the future, but of making use of it in the face of the oncoming chariot of history so as to alleviate the difficult position of Germany with the blood of a nation alien to her. To assure their own safety they calmly assume the rôle of an executioner of an entire nation. The Poles must not be deceived. They must understand the aims of their present saviors. Neither does Germany wish to part with Posen, nor Austria with Galicia. They grant independence only to that part of Poland which they cannot hope to retain. They want to throw at Russia hundreds of thousands of Polish soldiers, creating at the same time a gulf between the Poles and Russians, planting a deep-seated hatred between them. That is the hidden meaning of the Polish independence granted from Berlin and Vienna. From the beginning of the war, to our shame and sorrow it must be recognized, there have been certain persons, tendencies, and parties among the Poles who were prompted by their conscience to fight for German victory and the defeat of the Allies. But should such an error now be committed by the entire nation, and should its leaders be carried away by the German promises and become tools in German hands against the Allies, those who loved Poland heretofore would poignantly exclaim: Finis Poloniae!

Professor P. Migulin, writing in the

New Economist, (Novy Ekonomist,) deals with the Polish question from another Russian standpoint:

There can be no doubt whatever that a certain portion of the Polish public before the war gravitated, and even now gravitates, toward Austria, (in no case toward Germany.) Many Galician Poles at the beginning of the war undoubtedly dreamed about the annexation of Russian Poland to Austria as a certain ideal; even now several dream about the same thing. There were, and are, also Russian Poles (can this be seriously denied?) who hate Russia and thirst even for annexation to Austria, if it is impossible to win an independent existence. But what of this? What relation has this to the problem of a Great Poland, which has been propounded in all its magnitude?

Germany and Austria can promise the Poles everything you please—the broadest autonomy, complete independence with a separate dynasty in union, and even without union, with the Central Empires; annexation to Poland of the Lithuanian and Russian Governments; egress to the Black and Baltic Seas, ("Poland from sea to sea,") &c. But they cannot promise one thing—annexation to Poland, in any form, of Posen with Dantsic and Silesia. And without Posen there is no amalgamation of Poland; there is no "Polish Kingdom," there is no "Polish Commonwealth"! And only a Russian victory can restore Poland in her ancient boundaries and unite Poland. The Grand Duke's proclamation promised, not an independent Poland, but only a Poland under the sceptre of the Russian Czar; it promised only self-administration, (*samoupravlenie*) (even the word "autonomy" was not mentioned.) This is so.

But is, then, independence, a self-supporting dynasty, &c., the main thing for Poland? The main thing is union of the dismembered parts of a living, cultured body and at one time great State.

In our opinion Russia cannot promise Polish independence. But autonomy? This is a question on an entirely different plane. Once Russia has promised the reunion of the dismembered portions of the former Polish Kingdom into a single whole, the autonomy of Poland is guaranteed irrespective of the sentiments of Russian governing spheres.

The British Foreign Office has made public an official communiqué, which was issued simultaneously in London, Paris, and Rome, and the substance of which is as follows:

It is an established principle of modern international law that military occupation resulting from operations of war cannot, in view of its precarious and de facto character, imply a transfer of sovereignty over the territory so occupied, and cannot therefore carry with it any right whatsoever to dispose of this territory to the advantage of any other power whatsoever.

In giving a "de jure" application to their occupation of these territories the German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria have not only committed an illegal act, but have also disregarded one of the fundamental principles on which the constitution and existence of the society of civilized nations are based.

Moreover, in proposing to organize, train, and dispose of an army levied in those "Polish districts" occupied by their troops, the German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, have once more violated the engagements which they have undertaken to observe, and by which, in accordance with the most elementary principles of justice and morality, "a belligerent is forbidden to force the subjects of its opponents to take part in operations of war directed against their own country." (Article 23 of the Provisions annexed to the Fourth Hague Convention of 1907, as ratified by the German Emperor and the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary, Nov. 29, 1909.) * * *

The Allies' attitude is supported by leading American authorities, such as Sterling E. Edmunds, lecturer on International Law, St. Louis University Law School, who says:

It will not do to say that Russia has formally promised autonomy to her Polish provinces, and that, therefore, Austria and Germany are but carrying out the Russian will. That has no more validity than the confiscation by Napoleon of American vessels, which violated the American embargo, upon the plea that he was aiding in the execution of the laws of the United States.

It is certain that no State not a partisan of the Central Allies can recognize the existence of the new kingdom, however deep may be the desire to see the nation given new birth. The Austro-German action is not only illegal, but is palpably lacking in good faith; wherefore, for a neutral State to enter into official relations with it would constitute, at the very least, an unfriendly act toward Russia, besides involving the recognizing State in the guilt of condoning and sustaining the plain violation of law.

Further Teutonic Move

On Dec. 8, 1916, the publication was announced of a joint decree by the German and Austrian Governors General at Warsaw and Lublin regarding the organization of a provisional National Council of twenty-five members. The council, which is to sit at Warsaw, is to elect one of its members as Crown Marshal and President of the Council. Business is to be transacted in the Polish language. Among the Council's functions

are to be the development of a system of Government, domestic legislation, industrial and financial reorganization, and co-operation in the creation of a Polish army.

How the invaders are really treating the inhabitants of Russian Poland has recently been described in the German Reichstag itself by the Polish Deputy, Tronpczynski, in a speech which was suppressed by the German censorship, but published in a Polish newspaper. The Polish Deputy's allegation was that Russian Poles have been subjected to a policy of forced labor and deportation similar to that in Belgium, and that the hardships and cruelties inflicted upon them were of the most heartless description. Tronpczynski said that the number of men affected was 300,000. He concluded his speech with the following statement:

> Numbers of workmen perish under the bullets of frontier sentries in trying to escape or in attempting secretly to cross the frontier by swimming. Generally the fugitives are retaken and thrown into prison. In peace times thousands of Polish workmen went to Germany in spite of the fact that they could more easily have found work in the Kingdom of Poland than now. If now they are unwilling to emigrate, it is because they do not wish to submit to modern slavery.

The German reply to all criticism resolves itself into the declaration that Poland is being freed from Russian despotism; that volunteers "who are now rushing to the colors" are doing so "to defend their national freedom," and that the work of organizing the new autonomous State is going on. The fate of Poland, however, is still in doubt, and can be settled only when all matters in dispute between the belligerents are finally disposed of in the terms of peace.

Emperor Charles with His Soldiers

By Karl F. Nowak

[This sketch of the young Austrian Emperor decorating his soldiers was written for the German press shortly after the death of his uncle, Francis Joseph, on Nov. 21, 1916.]

IT is a sunny morning at Horozanka. It is August. Here is a broad meadow. Close to the edge of a long strip of forest infantry and cavalry are in readiness. The day before yesterday, yesterday, and last night they hurled back the Russians from before their fortifications. Besides, they are the same soldiers who a week before so thoroughly smashed a charging Russian brigade composed of freshly arrived and unweakened Finnish regiments that it disappeared from the scene of battle immediately after this first clash. Only after several weeks were the Finns seen again, when they bobbed up some place before the Transylvanian passes to relieve the Rumanians. That's how long it took them to recuperate.

But the men who defeated them are to be rewarded today. They don't know why they have been marched up here on the meadow, directly from the trenches, many of them with the earth and clay still on their clothing and shoes, upon which the war has left but little of their original colors. Automobiles go rushing along the road. Back of the woods, not too far distant, the guns are roaring. Aviators are seen in the clouds. They always make the same circle, flying a little way toward the east, then returning and starting again on their rounds. They are on patrol. A couple of officers step out from the side of the road. Signals are blown by the trumpeters and the bands play. The troops on foot and the troops on horseback form a single wall. The bands play the national hymn. Archduke Charles is there—this time in the place of the Emperor. Everybody looks closely and thinks, "What is the future Emperor to be like?"

Archduke Charles is there to decorate the troops. He wastes no time on introductory speeches, but at once begins the work. There against the forest stand ten companies; next to them are drawn up three squadrons of gray horsemen.

AN IDYLLIC SCENE ON THE SOMME FRONT IN SUMMER

This Photograph, Which Has the Quality of a French Painting, Shows French Troops Resting in the Grounds of a Picardy Chateau

(Central News Photo Service.)

GLIMPSE OF A TYPICAL GERMAN AVIATION SCHOOL

A Group of Pupils of the Imperial German Flying Corps, with a Military Aeroplane, in the Aviation School at Lubeck

(Photo © Brown & Dawson.)

The commander of the first company reports; already the first man to get the medal is pointed out.

"Where didst thou distinguish thyself?"

"At Horozanka, Imperial Highness."

"And what didst thou do there?"

"I most respectfully report that I captured a machine gun, Imperial Highness."

The Archduke takes the medal from the tray that is carried along back of him, begins to adjust the strings, and fastens it upon the infantryman. "Thou hast done well, my dear boy." He slaps him a couple of times on the shoulder in a friendly way, and now he is already by the next one.

This next one is a Pole. The Archduke lets his hand rest on the soldier's shoulder, smiles at him affably, and talks with him in Polish. The third man is a Hungarian. Now the dialogue is in Hungarian, then it turns to Polish again. To be sure, there are "intermezzi" in fluent Czech, and two minutes later in fluent Italian. "In this camp Austria is personified," my companion remarks.

Now curious sounds are heard from the third file of the company. Are they Ruthenian, Rumanian, or Croatian? In any case, the Archduke talks fluently. The conversations gradually become intermingled. It seems to be always the same, but still it is always something different. The Archduke looks the men squarely in the eyes. Naturally, he wishes the men to remember his glance.

Now he is talking to a Lieutenant. The latter has the small silver, the large silver, and the gold medals for bravery. He has been everywhere already. Heavens, the war is long! Now he also gets the service cross. "I am very glad to be able to give you this decoration. You have done very well. And you will continue to be just as good, isn't it so, Mr. Lieutenant?" He gives the young officer a more than hearty handshake. The Lieutenant's face is wreathed in smiles.

From the first file of the second company we hear these words: "But that was certainly well done. Thou art a fine soldier. Let's hope that thou remainest so!" I have this translated for me, for the language used was again some kind of Slavic.

The Archduke's German is also quite remarkable. It is far removed from North German. The Saxon peculiarities which have been attributed to him because he might have got them from his mother are also not to be found. The old Emperor spoke a fine, smooth, modified Vienna German. The Archduke also likes to drop a couple of vowels occasionally, and he likes to contract the consonants in the Vienna style. But it is not the Viennese as spoken in Vienna. Many of the officers of the Imperial and Royal Army speak this kind of German. The Croatian speaks this way, and so do the Pole and the Hungarian. The language is common; like the army, it is the binding element. The Archduke's speech also has something of the intonation of this element. He was in the army in his early years, now he is with the army, and he is to be its Supreme War Lord.

He halts before the fourth company. He began at 8:30 o'clock, now it is 10 o'clock. There is no visible end to the line before us. The Archduke turns sharply on his heel. "Why, then, do the men remain at attention? Battalion commander! Please, at rest! And let those with whom we have finished sit down!" Now he is talking Hungarian again, for he is occupied with a sub-Lieutenant from Debreczin. Talking with the next man he is at a loss for a word. He is provoked. To the Adjutant: "What is the Hungarian for candidate for a cadetship? Candidate for a cadetship, quick, please!" The aspirant for the cadetship is very proud of such attention. The Archduke passes on.

At 12 o'clock he is with the cavalrymen. Thus far he has spoken in all kinds of languages with some 300 men. He is particularly interested by a solid, gigantic master of the guard who sits his horse as if graven in stone and whose breast is covered with decorations. A trooper from the days of Wallenstein. He must relate every detail. He is a Hungarian. He speaks shortly and sharply, with his eyes trained directly to the front and neither himself nor his horse making the slightest move. The

eyes of the heir to the throne sparkle. He gives the horse a slap and reaches up and grips the hand of the master of the guard long and heartily. "Just write home how glad I was to see thee! Hast thou understood me?" The soldier never moves. But from his lips comes a trumpet-like shout of "Igen!" My Hungarian colleague is deeply touched. "Just look, for four weeks he was back of the Russian front. And did you hear how he shouted the 'Igen'?" The Hungarian master of the guard is from Alsöld; from the most genuine Hungarian, the best Magyar soil. The Hungarian newspaper man has tears in his eyes. And so has the master of the guard from Alsöld.

And so it goes until 2 o'clock. And nobody is forgotten. Such a carrying out of the task delegated to him is really a terribly hard piece of work. It means talking to several hundred men, to each one differently, and to each one in the manner calculated to impress him. And every one of them is to be able some time to tell the children at home and the people of the village: "The young Emperor pinned this on me himself. That time at Horozanka, you know. And I had to tell him the whole story about the machine gun! Once! Twice! Thrice! He never seemed to be able to hear enough about it." Then the soldier will begin to indulge a little in reveries. He will show ten times over how and with what degree of warmth the amiable young Archduke shook his hand. But every one of the men he has slapped on the shoulder will go through fire for the Archduke, for the young Emperor.

The psychological display lasted for hours. Only after he was quite sure that he had not overlooked anybody, not even the two men in civilian clothing, whom, as newspaper men, he had presented to him and with whom he had chatted about experiences at the front in Tyrol, did the Archduke leave, satisfied, fresh and pleased. On the way it was learned that his cook wagon had been damaged and had been left behind. So on they went without breakfast, to a second division in an entirely different region, some seventy kilometers to the north. There some reservists were waiting in a meadow. They were about to be rewarded. There was talk in German, Hungarian, and Slavic. One thing is certain: The Archduke already was aware of the value of the popular psychology, and he did not spare himself in cultivating it.

At that time, now here, now there, he decorated thousands and tens of thousands of soldiers. Now Archduke Charles has become the young Emperor, the supreme war lord of hundreds of thousands and millions of soldiers. And already, on the first day of his ascension to the throne, he aspires to be something still greater and higher. In his manifesto he declares to the tens of millions of his peoples in all lands "I shall do everything to banish the horrors and sacrifices of war in the shortest time and to win back for my peoples the sorely missed blessings of peace."

Germany's Effort to Avert the War

First Full and Accurate Text of von Bethmann Hollweg's Reply to Viscount Grey

CHANCELLOR von Bethmann Hollweg's reply to Viscount Grey, delivered before the Chief Committee of the Reichstag on Nov. 9, 1916, was summarized in the December issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, but the reports then obtainable were meagre. The version here presented—the only full and authentic translation that has thus far appeared in the United States—shows it to have been one of the most important German utterances of the war. Among other things it contains the assertion that Russia and Austria-Hungary had reached an agreement which would have averted the war, and that this agreement had been brought about through the earnest solicitation of Germany at Vienna. The full text follows:

The exhaustive debates which have taken place in the Chief Committee during the course of the last few weeks have in the end always turned on questions regarding the prosecution and the termination of the war. On the enemy's side they usually speak about the prosecution of the war. Lord Grey also spoke of it in his speech at the banquet to the Foreign Press Association. The British Minister then said that there was one thing which deserved to be kept in mind, namely, that one could not revert too often to the consideration of the origin of the war, because that origin would have its influence on the conditions of peace.

In view of the fundamental importance which Lord Grey has again recently attached to this question of peace conditions, and which we, too, have attached to it, I am obliged to state the facts in order to disperse the clouds with which our enemies endeavor to disguise the real situation.

In reply, I can only repeat what is known. The act which made war inevitable was the Russian general mobilization, which was ordered on the night of July 30-31, 1914. Russia, England, France, and the entire world knew that this step must make further waiting impossible for us. Even in England people are beginning to understand the fateful significance of the Russian mobilization. The truth is coming to light. An English professor of world fame wrote some time ago that many people would think differently about the end of the war if they were better informed about its beginning, especially about the fact of the Russian mobilization.

No wonder, then, that Lord Grey, in his recent speech, could not pass the Russian mobilization unnoticed, but felt himself obliged to speak of it. He could no longer deny that the Russian mobilization preceded the German and the Austrian mobilization, but as he desires to remove all blame for the war from the Entente, he makes a daring endeavor, by means of quite a new version of the case, to represent the Russian mobilization as Germany's work.

Lord Grey's explanation is that Russia ordered her first mobilization only after a report had appeared in Germany that Germany had ordered a mobilization, and after this report had been telegraphed to Petrograd.

A Belated Interpretation

It took about two and a quarter years for Lord Grey to discover this interpretation, which is as new as it is objectively false, of the cause of the war. The occurrence to which he alluded is well known. The document which forms the basis of his proof is an extra edition of the Berlin Lokal-Anzeiger. You will remember, gentlemen, perhaps, that on Thursday, July 30, 1914, in the early afternoon, the Lokal-Anzeiger issued a false report in an extra edition that the Emperor had ordered a mobilization. You also know that the sale of this extra edition was at once stopped by the police, and the available copies were seized. I can also declare that the Foreign Secretary immediately informed the Russian Ambassador, and simultaneously all other Ambassadors, by telephone, that the news issued by the Lokal-Anzeiger was false. The Russian Embassy was also informed as soon as possible from the Lokal-Anzeiger's office that there had been a mistake.

I can further confirm that the Russian Ambassador, immediately after the issue of the extra edition, telegraphed a cipher message to Petrograd, which, according to the Russian Orange Book, reads as follows:

"I learn that an order for the mobilization of the German Army and fleet has just been published."

But this telegram, after Herr von Jagow's telephonic explanation, was followed by a second telegram "en clair," which read as follows:

"Please consider my last telegram canceled, (nichtig.) Explanation follows."

A few minutes later the Russian Ambassador sent a third cipher telegram, which, ac-

cording to the Russian Orange Book, said that the German Foreign Minister had just telephoned to him that the news of the mobilization of the army and fleet was false, and that the extra edition in question had been seized. The immediate intervention of Herr von Jagow, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in order to rectify the false news—an intervention which in the official Russian Orange Book is confirmed by the telegram of M. Sverbejeff, the Russian Ambassador—of itself contradicts the assertion of Lord Grey that we intentionally desired to deceive Russia for the purpose of bringing about a mobilization. I can, however, also confirm, according to investigations of the Imperial Postal Administration concerning the periods of the sending of the Russian Ambassador's three telegrams, that these must have arrived in Petrograd almost simultaneously.

Cites Czar's Message as Proof

The Russian Government itself, which, after all, must be best acquainted with the reasons for its mobilization, never had an idea of explaining its fateful step by appealing to the Lokal-Anzeiger's extra edition. Lord Grey, I assume, will not desire to reject the Czar as a witness. On Friday, July 31, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, when the mobilization order had already been issued to all the Russian forces, the Czar telegraphed in reply to the Kaiser's last appeal for peace:

"It is technically impossible to discontinue our military preparations, which have become necessary owing to Austria-Hungary's mobilization."

No mention of the Lokal-Anzeiger. No mention of the German mobilization.

As early as July 29 Russia had already answered this measure with the mobilization of thirteen army corps. After July 29, Austria-Hungary had taken no further military measures which could have furnished Russia with any grounds for a general mobilization, which was equivalent to a declaration of war. Only after the general mobilization had taken place in Russia did Austria-Hungary, on the morning of July 31, also proceed to a general mobilization. We ourselves even then exercised forbearance and patience to the utmost limits of consideration for our own existence and our duty toward our allies. As far back as July 29, when Russia mobilized against Austria-Hungary, we ourselves could have mobilized. The text of our Treaty of Alliance with Austria-Hungary was known, and nobody could have considered our mobilization aggressive. We did not do it.

But to the news of the Russian general mobilization we at first replied only with the announcement of a state of affairs threatening danger of war which did not yet signify mobilization. We informed the Russian Government, and added that mobilization must follow if Russia did not cease every war measure against us and Austria-Hungary within twelve hours, and give us a definite declaration in regard to this. We gave Russia thereby, even when war seemed already inevitable owing to her fault, another opportunity to come to her senses, and even at the last moment to save the peace. By this delay we also gave Russia's allied friends the world-historical opportunity to influence Russia in favor of peace.

It was in vain. Russia left us without a reply, and England persisted in silence toward Russia. France, through the mouth of her Premier, in the evening of July 31, simply denied to our Ambassador the fact of the Russian mobilization, and ordered her own mobilization some hours earlier than when we ourselves had proceeded to mobilize. Moreover, as regards the alleged defensive character of the Russian complete mobilization, I will here emphatically declare that on the outbreak of war in 1914 a general instruction of the Russian Government issued in 1912 for the contingency of mobilization was in force, which, word for word, contains the following passage by the All-Highest:

"It is ordered that the announcement of mobilization is at the same time an announcement of war against Germany." Against Germany! In 1912, against Germany!

It is incomprehensible how, in view of these documentary facts, Lord Grey can come before the world and his own country with the story of a manoeuvre by which we enticed the pacific Russian into mobilization against his own will by grossly deluding him about our own measures. No! The truth is, Russia would never have decided on the fateful step if she had not been encouraged to it from the Thames by acts of commission and omission.

I recall the actual situation at the time when Russia issued the order for a general mobilization. The instructions which I gave our Ambassador in Vienna on July 30 are known. Lord Grey also well knows that I retransmitted to Vienna with the most peremptory recommendation the mediation proposal which he made to our Ambassador on July 29, and which appeared to me a suitable basis for the maintenance of peace. At that time I telegraphed to Vienna:

German Efforts in Vain

"Should the Austro-Hungarian Government refuse all mediation we are confronted with a conflagration in which England would go against us, and Italy and Rumania, according to all indications, would not be with us; so that with Austria-Hungary we should confront three great powers. Germany, as the result of England's hostility, would have to bear the chief brunt of the fight. The political prestige of Austria-Hungary, the honor of her arms, and her justified claims against Serbia can be sufficiently safeguarded by the occupation of Belgrade or other places. We therefore urgently and emphatically ask the Vienna Cabinet to consider the acceptance of mediation on the proposed conditions. Responsibility for the consequences which may

otherwise arise must be extraordinarily severe for Austria-Hungary and ourselves."

The Austro-Hungarian Government acceded to our urgent representations by giving its Ambassador in Berlin the following instruction:

"I ask your Excellency most sincerely to thank Herr von Jagow, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, for the information given through Herr von Tschirschki, and to declare to him that despite the change in the situation which has since arisen through the Russian mobilization we are quite ready to consider the proposals of Sir Edward Grey for a settlement between us and Serbia. A condition of our acceptance is, of course, that our military action against Serbia should meanwhile proceed, and that the English Cabinet should induce the Russian Government to bring to a standstill the Russian mobilization directed against us, in which case also we, as a matter of course, will at once cancel our defensive countermeasures forced upon us in Galicia."

Against this I place the following steps of Lord Grey. On July 27, 1914, in reply to a remark of the Russian Ambassador at London that the impression in German and Austro-Hungarian circles was that England would remain quiet, he (Viscount Grey) said that that impression had been removed by the orders which "we gave to the first fleet." On July 29 Lord Grey immediately acquainted the French Ambassador with his confidential warning to our Ambassador at London, that Germany must be prepared for speedy decisions, that is, for her (England's) participation in the war against us.

Could Lord Grey suppose that such a disclosure would serve peace? Must not France thereby have been encouraged to give Russia a promise of unconditional war support, which Russia had for days urgently demanded? Must not Russia have been strengthened to the utmost in her bellicose intention by the certainty of a Franco-British alliance? The Russian reply to Lord Grey's morning conversation was, in fact, not long in coming. On the evening of the same day, July 29, M. Sazonoff instructed the Russian Ambassador in Paris to express his sincere thanks for the declaration made to him by the French Ambassador that Russia could rely fully upon the support of her ally, France.

Puts the Blame on Russia

Russia, therefore, during the night of July 30, was given the fact of Austro-Hungarian compliance, due to our influence, which gave an open road to the maintenance of peace. She was simultaneously faced with the certitude of Anglo-French support, disclosed by Lord Grey to M. Paul Cambon, which alone gave her the possibility of war.

She chose mobilization, and with it war. Who now is to blame for this fateful decision? We, who recommended with the greatest emphasis to the Vienna Cabinet utter complaisance and the acceptance of the English proposal for mediation, or the British Cabinet, which, in a critical hour, held out to France and Russia a prospect of its support? Lord Grey did not speak of these decisive things, but, on the other hand, he turned the attention of his audience to minor things.

The resort of The Hague Tribunal which the Czar proposed sounds on first sight very important, but it was proposed after the Russian troops had already been put in motion against us. His own conference proposal (I have repeatedly pointed out this in the Reichstag) Lord Grey set aside in favor of our mediation.

And Belgium! Before a single German soldier had set foot on Belgium territory Lord Grey explained to the French Ambassador, after the latter's report to his Government, that in case the German fleet should enter the Channel or pass from the North Sea with the intention of attacking the French coast, or the French fleet, or disturb (Beunruhigen) the mercantile fleet (I repeat the word "disturb," gentlemen,) the British fleet would interfere, and give its protection in such a manner that from this moment England and Germany would be in a state of war.

Can he who declared that our fleet's putting to sea would be a casus belli still seriously maintain that the violation of Belgian neutrality was the sole cause of England's entering the war against her will? And finally, with regard to the statement that, in order to keep England out of the war, we made a discreditable proposal to the British Government to shut its eyes to the violation of Belgian neutrality and allow us a free hand to take the French colonies, I challenge Lord Grey to investigate the real facts in his Blue Book and in his documents.

In an earnest endeavor to localize the war, I assured the British Ambassador in Berlin on July 29 that, on the condition of England's neutrality, we would guarantee the integrity of France. On Aug. 1 Prince Lichnowsky asked Lord Grey whether, in the event of Germany's undertaking to respect the neutrality of Belgium, England would also undertake to observe neutrality. He further held out the prospect that, in the event of English neutrality, the integrity not only of France, but also of the French colonies might be guaranteed. On my instructions he gave an assurance that we were ready to give up the idea of an attack against France if England would guarantee the neutrality of France.

At the last moment I promised further that so long as England remained neutral our fleet would not attack the French northern coast, and on the condition of reciprocity would undertake no hostile operations against French merchant ships. Lord Grey's sole reply to this was that he must finally decline all promise of neutrality. He could only say that England wished to keep her hands untied. If England had given this declaration of neutrality she would not have

been exposed to the contempt of the whole world, but would have gained the credit of having prevented the war, (das Verdienst den Ausbruch des Krieges zu verhindern.)

I ask here, too, who willed the war? We who were prepared to give England every imaginable security for France and Belgium, or England, which declined all our proposals and refused even to indicate the way for the preservation of peace between our two nations, (zwischen unsern beiden Ländern.)

Concerning a Peace League

Lord Grey finally dealt exhaustively with the period after peace and with the establishment of an international union to preserve peace. On that subject, too, I will say a few words. We have never concealed our doubts whether peace could be lastingly insured by international organizations such as arbitration courts. I will not discuss here the theoretical part of the problem, but in practice now and in peace we shall have to define our attitude toward the question.

When, after the termination of the war, the world shall fully recognize its horrible devastation of blood and treasure, then through all mankind will go the cry for peaceful agreements and understandings which will prevent, so far as is humanly possible, the return of such an immense catastrophe. This cry will be so strong and so justified that it must lead to a result. Germany will honorably co-operate in investigating every attempt to find a practical solution, and collaborate toward its possible realization, and that all the more if the war, as we confidently expect, produces political conditions which will do justice to the free development of all nations, small as well as great. In that case the principle of right and free development must be made to prevail, not only on the Continent, but also at sea.

Of that Lord Grey, of course, did not speak. The guarantee of peace which he has in mind appears to me to possess a peculiar character, devised especially for British wishes. During the war the neutrals, according to his desire, will have to remain silent and patiently endure every compulsion of British domination on the seas. After the war, when England, as she thinks, will have beaten us, when she will have made a new arrangement of the world, then neutrals are to combine as guarantors of the new English arrangement of the world. To this arrangement of the world will also belong the following:

From a trustworthy source we know that England and France already, in 1915, guaranteed to Russia territorial rule over Constantinople, the Bosporus, and the western shore of the Dardanelles, with its hinterland, while Asia Minor was to be divided among the Entente Powers. The English Government avoided replying to the questions which were asked in Parliament on this subject, but certainly these plans of the Entente are also of interest for the International Peace Union which later is to guarantee them. These are the annexation intentions of our enemies, to which also must be added Alsace-Lorraine, while I, in the discussion of our war aims, have never indicated the annexation of Belgium as our intention.

Such a policy of force (Gewaltpolitik) cannot, of course, form the basis for an effective international peace union, and it is in the strongest contrast to Lord Grey's and Mr. Asquith's ideal state of things, where right governs might and all States form a family of civilized mankind, and can freely develop themselves, whether big or small, under the same conditions and in accordance with their natural capabilities. If the Entente wishes seriously to take up this position, then it should also act consistently upon it; otherwise the most exalted words about peace union and harmonious living together in an international family are mere words, (Schall und Rauch.)

Opposes Aggressive Coalitions

The first condition for the development of international relations by means of an arbitration court and the peaceful liquidation of conflicting antagonisms would be that henceforth no aggressive coalitions should be formed. Germany is ready at all times to join the union of peoples, and even to place herself at the head of such a union, which will restrain the disturber of peace. The history of international relations before the war lies clearly before the eyes of the entire world.

What brought France to Russia's side? Alsace-Lorraine. Why did Russia desire Constantinople? Why did England join them?

Because Germany, in peaceful work, had become too great for her. What did we desire? Lord Grey says that Germany, with her first proposal concerning the integrity of France and Belgium, desired to purchase England's permission to take what she wanted of the French colonies. Even the most hare-brained German did not entertain the idea of attacking France for the purpose of seizing her colonies.

It was not this which was fateful to Europe, but that the English Government favored French and Russian predatory aims which were unattainable without a European war. As against this aggressive character of the Entente, the Triple Alliance had always found itself in a defensive position. No honorable critic can deny that. Not in the shadow of Prussian militarism did the world live before the war, but in the shadow of the policy of isolation which was to keep Germany down.

Against this policy, whether it appears diplomatically as encirclement, militarily as a war of destruction, economically as a world-boycott, we from the beginning have been on the defensive. The German people wages this war as a defensive war for the safety of its national existence and for its free development.

We have never pretended anything else; we have never intended anything different. How otherwise could this display of gigantic forces, this inexhaustible heroism, determined to fight to the last, be explained? There is no precedent for it in all human history. At the obstinacy of the enemy's will to war, at the calling up of military material and auxiliary forces from all parts of the world, our resistance hardened to still greater determination. However England may still supplement her strength—and there is a limit even to England's command of strength—it is predestined to fail before our will to live. This will is unconquerable, imperturbable. We wait for our enemies to recognize this, confident that this recognition must come.

A Reply to Bethmann Hollweg's Speech

By F. H. Howard
Of Williams College

SINCE the Washington Government has entered into the discussion of peace, it is highly important for Americans to hold just views as to the cause of the war. In the fear that the Chancellor's speech of Nov. 9, 1916, will tend to obscure the actual facts in the minds of some Americans, the following considerations are offered. Even though not new, they may be of value at this time.

Lord Grey had asserted that Russia ordered her general mobilization only after the German mobilization order had been issued. This the Chancellor flatly denies, and it is probable that his denial is technically correct. But actually there is abundant proof that very extensive military preparations were made in Germany during the week prior to the final mobilization order.

Conceding, however, the priority of the Russian general mobilization, the act had an explanation quite different from that officially given by Germany. To quote from the Chancellor's speech, "The act which made war inevitable was the Russian general mobilization ordered on the night of July 30-31, 1914." But this explanation of the war is rather naïve, if not deceitful. The Chancellor's view of the cause of the war does not go back of July 30, when the Russian mobilization was ordered. He consequently holds Russia responsible. Every event has many causes. Strictly speaking, every antecedent of an event is a cause thereof. But in human affairs we regard as the cause the act morally responsible for the event. If a robber enters a house, and the householder resists and is killed, the law holds the robber responsible, although it is still true that the householder's resistance is the immediate cause of his death. The murderer cannot make in such a case a plea of self-defense. Therefore, allowing that Russian mobilization preceded that of Germany, Americans should not, with puerile simplicity, accept that fact as determining the responsibility for the war.

Historical facts and the official documents relating to the origin of the war show plainly that the responsibility should be placed in the light of words and acts prior to July 30. The reason for Russian mobilization has not been stated as frequently as is desirable, but it is of vital importance. In brief, it is that Russia was forced by the Teutonic allies to choose between these alternatives: Either she could remain a quiet spectator while Austria waged unlimited war on Serbia, with the possible result of complete extinction of Slavic independence in the Balkans, or she could intervene with the certainty that she would have to fight Germany as well as Austria. If she chose the latter course and mobilized on the night of July 30-31, and then waited, who can charge her with responsibility for the war already begun on July 28 by Austrian attack on Serbia, with German acquiescence and assurance of military support, and in spite of Russia's warning? (See German White Book, Exhibit 4.)

Having chosen to protect Serbian independence as well as her own vital interests, that she would be compelled to meet Germany as well as Austria was well known to Russia. The terms of the alliance between Germany and

Austria-Hungary were well known. They had been given vivid reality when Germany stood by Austria "in shining armor" at the time of the Bosnian coup, and compelled Russia's submission. The decision of Germany to give unlimited military support to Austria in July, 1914, was frankly stated in the German White Book, (Exhibit 2, last paragraph.) But Germany, evidently desiring that Russia should not be left in doubt, gave direct warnings at St. Petersburg that she would tolerate no interference by Russia with Austria's procedure against Serbia. On this point one should consult a telegram of the Kaiser (German White Book, Exhibit 22) and a statement of the German Ambassador to the Russian Foreign Minister, (Russian Orange Book No. 58,) as well as the German ultimatum. This warning received by Russia from the German Government is the most important point in the diplomatic conflict preceding the German declaration of war. It is frankly recorded in the German White Book, but is never referred to by later German apologists.

In spite of this certainty of what she would eventually have to face, Russia at first mobilized only against Austria, and extended her mobilization only after efforts at mediation and direct conversations with Austria seemed fruitless (Austrian No. 50, Russian No. 63, British No. 93) and German preparation for war apparent, (Russian No. 68, French No. 118).

It is not easy in the German official statement to distinguish between Prussian naïveté and insincerity. For those who wish to attempt the distinction the following will be an interesting exercise:

(a) Germany condemns Russia because the latter, foreseeing a conflict with Austria, mobilized also against the Teuton ally; but Germany herself, foreseeing a conflict with Russia, mobilized also against France, the ally of Russia.

(b) Germany mentions the recall of the French troops from manoeuvres on July 27 as signifying a hostile intention, (German Exhibit 9,) but she herself recalled her troops from manoeuvres some time prior to July 30 and denied that she had taken any hostile measures, (Russian No. 68.) The old adage that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander is evidently not of Prussian origin.

The Chancellor's speech contains, besides his main indictment of Russia, a discussion of several phases of the diplomatic and military strategy that preceded the declaration of war, viz., the abortive edition of the Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger announcing prematurely the unborn German order of mobilization, the alleged priority of French mobilization, the stiffening of the war spirit in Russia by the alleged promise of British support, the Austro-Hungarian compliance in mediation proposals, (in fact, agreed to on July 31, but only on condition that Russia should stop all military preparations, and that Austria herself be allowed to continue the war on Serbia, vide Austrian No. 51,) and the question of the British motive for entering the war. The German interpretation of these matters is of doubtful validity and sometimes wholly deceptive. Candid opinion can allow them no force as arguments for the Chancellor's main contention. Two communications that passed between Berlin and Vienna are here published for the first time. They only confirm the obvious fact that German restraint on Austria was ineffectual.

If Americans will visualize the situation at the end of July, 1914, they will see on the one hand Austria-Hungary, deaf to all pacific appeals, and backed by the mighty forces of Germany, hurling her army at the Serbian frontier in defiance of Russia; on the other hand, Russia, jealous of her prestige and determined to protect her small sister State, but striving for a peaceful solution, and finally arming herself only when no alternative remained but ignominious submission to Germany's demand for non-interference.

Germany, like the Roman legate at Carthage, having formed a fold in her robe of diplomacy, said, "Here we bring you war and [ignominious] peace; take which you please." Shall Russia's answer be called the cause of the war? Common candor requires that Germany be held responsible.

Wartime Methods in Germany

Address by Herr Dittmann, Socialist Deputy, delivered in the Reichstag

A system of arbitrary imprisonments adopted as a wartime measure by the German Government has caused serious protest, especially among the irreconcilable Socialists. The full text of Herr Dittmann's speech on this subject in the Reichstag Oct. 28, 1916, has recently reached this country, and is herewith translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE as an interesting record of wartime conditions:

THE object of the projected law relating to the preventive prison (Schutzhaft) is very acceptable to us; we will co-operate with the commission to obtain an ordinary procedure in legal form, with an obligation of damage rights for persons wronged. But one thing should be understood: this projected law gives the character of a State institution to a species of prison which is absolutely illegal and which, in my opinion, is not justified by any military or political necessity. It would be preferable, therefore, to be guided by our demand and to suppress all reference to the state of siege, and with it the preventive imprisonment.

The preventive prison is today a means of combating parties and individuals who find themselves in political opposition. As far back as last May this form of imprisonment had already created a veritable terror, and since then the situation has only grown worse. The Government has revived the laws of execrable memory that preceded the revolution of 1848 and those voted against the Socialists; the system of police denunciation and the régime of spies are flourishing anew, and, as in the days of the law against the Socialists, hide themselves under the mask of the patriot and the savior of his country.

For years the authorities have kept up these imprisonments, which do not rest on any juridical basis. The safety guaranteed by the laws has been shattered; all protection of the laws has been abrogated, and, as if in derision, this whole procedure has been denominated one of "security and protection." The more benignant this phrase appears, the more does it conceal of baseness and villainy.

A military chief of police openly declared to an Alsatian victim of this system: "In fact, more than one man profits from this chance to get rid of a good friend." Infamy and debauchery at this moment are feasting in veritable orgies, [the speaker is called to order.] The victims, defenseless, have to bear everything; the denial of justice is crushing them in a way unworthy of a human being, and destroying their material resources and their family life. And this terrible fate has been imposed upon them because no crimes punishable by the laws can be proved against them—in comparison with them criminals are to be envied. For this situation, as terrible from the moral as from the material viewpoint, these gentlemen of the Government appear not to have a spark of intelligence.

The Mehring Case Typical

In the Mehring case Mr. Helfferich naïvely said to the Budget Commission: "It is, however, preferable that Mehring should be in the preventive prison rather than that he should be at liberty and be able to commit an act for which he would have to be punished." According to that logic everybody in the world ought to be arrested in order to preserve everybody from breaking the laws. Mr. Helfferich's ideal seems to be a German national house of detention.

Mehring objects in most energetic fashion to this benevolent intervention of the State, and is ready at any moment to bear the responsibility of his acts.

The Mehring case is a classic proof that we are not very far away from Mr. Helfferich's ideal. Mehring was arrested because, in an intercepted letter addressed to Deputy Herzfeld, he had declared himself in favor of a demonstration for peace in Potsdam Square, and had offered to draw up a manifesto inviting the public to it—that is all that could be charged against him. There was

no punishable act. And that is why this man of more than 70 years was arrested. How long will it be before even thoughts will no longer be free from punishment in Germany?

Mehring is one of our most distinguished historians and authors. He belongs in the first rank of German intellectual life and is known far beyond the boundaries of Germany. The moment that it is learned abroad that such a man has been imprisoned "preventively," simply to eliminate him from public life, you need not be astonished if both inside of Germany and outside of it the German Government is held in very low esteem. A Government must be in a bad plight, indeed, to lock up the brightest minds in the country for the purpose of stifling their valid impulses—that is the first reflection that will occur to every one upon hearing such news.

The Case of Mme. Luxemburg

In the same fashion Mme. Dr. Rosa Luxemburg has been in prison for long months without the law's being able to establish the slightest misdeed against her. She is in disfavor because of her political views; men fear her intellectual influence upon the laboring masses and the creation of an energetic socialistic opposition. That is why they have put her in prison. The Government does not appear to know that by this act it has aroused the deepest indignation of all the woman Socialists in Germany—that it has given a blow of the fist to the whole socialistic labor movement in Germany by such arrests.

Neither does it appear to understand the effect produced on other nations, whether neutrals or enemies. Its members ought to reflect that to fight against a Government which imprisons without reason some of the most widely known members of the international proletariat must appear a socialistic duty, so to speak, in France, England, Italy, and Russia, and that by such measures the German Government is reviving among its enemies the will to prosecute the war. That is the effect of such a policy of violence.

As for the treatment endured by the persons arrested, it is truly infamous and revolting. In spite of his great age and his uncertain health, Mehring has been kept for months in a miserable hole; it is only in recent days that his friends have suceeded in having him transferred to the infirmary of the Moabit Prison. As for Mme. Luxemburg, about four weeks ago she was suddenly sent for one evening when she was in bed at the women's prison in Barnim Street and transferred to the police station in Alexander Place. There she was locked in a small cell where only prostitutes arrested in the street are ordinarily confined until they are brought before the Judge. The cell has only half the normal space.

All visits to Mme. Luxemburg are forbidden; the newspapers which she received at Barnim Street have been taken away, and even the visits of her physician have been interdicted. The food is absolutely impossible for her to eat, so that she has had to have her meals brought in from the neighborhood and pay very dear for them. Her health is poor, and only her extraordinary energy keeps her up. One of her close friends writes to a colleague of mine in the prefecture: "The situation at the police station is a direct menace to her life." A moment before this session I was informed that Mme. Luxemburg had suddenly been transferred from that station to Wromke, a province of Posen; exile is thus added to imprisonment. Thus does the preventive prison serve the reactionaries as a weapon against the socialistic opposition in this country.

Case of Mme. Duncker

In the same fashion, the authorities are hounding the Socialist movement among the young people. The military Government in the Marches has forbidden Comrade Katy Duncker to take any action in favor of the young workingmen's classes under threat of preventive imprisonment. Comrade Duncker asked the military Government for explanations of the juridicial basis for this order, and wrote: "I add, besides, that the order must evidently rest upon inaccurate information. In the young workingmen's classes I discuss scientific subjects re-

lating usually to the political sciences and to economic history. It is incomprehensible how such work can be a menace to public safety. Through my class lectures and study courses I have earned a part of my livelihood, and I can the less easily give this up for myself and my three children because my husband has been absent on military service since August of last year."

Thus you see how, as the result of some wretched denunciation, they are taking away from the wife of a soldier the possibility of earning a living by intellectual labor for herself and her children. The example of a pupil of whom I shall speak later proves what high moral character and intellectual force is created in the young workingmen's classes through Mme. Duncker's activities. But first I am going to touch upon yet another case of a young married workingwoman.

Mme. Spahn in Prison

On the 1st of August of this year a woman, Anna Spahn, was thrown into the preventive prison at Berlin. She wished to attend a meeting called at a public place. On a street corner near the designated place she learned that the meeting had been forbidden and demanded the reason; at this moment some one put a few leaflets into her hand, and she threw them into the air. A policeman came up and arrested her. Up to the present day, after more than three months, that woman is still in prison. [Interruption: "She has just been released."] If she has been released it was done probably because it was known that the question of the "preventive prison" was going to be discussed here. She is the mother of two children of 2 and 6 years, and her husband is at the front. Until her arrest she was earning her living; at that time relatives had to take charge of the children.

Treatment of Young Girls

The authorities have acted in the same way in many other cases: Young working girls of 17 or 18 years, mere children, as the prison director said, have been held under arrest for months, though they had been living with their parents, had steady employment, and were helping to support their families. One young girl of 17 years was kept in a cell for months, and finally the injurious charges against her ended in a verdict of no grounds.

Two young girls of 18 years were arrested in Berlin on June 27 for having distributed invitations calling the workingwomen together en masse at Potsdam Place to protest against the Liebknecht trial. The wording of these invitations infringed upon no penal law. Even the words, "Down with the Government!" on that invitation are not punishable. Junius Alter has gone so far as to say that the chief end of the war is to eliminate the Chancellor, and one of his intellectual friends, as you know, has given the lethal advice to blow out the brains of the Chancellor. Then, though the invitations contained nothing punishable, these young girls were taken by the district police of Charlottenburg to the police headquarters of that borough, and, on the morrow, to the police station in Alexander Place. For two months they have been held in prison contrary to all law. The authorities have not been ashamed to put them with a prostitute part of the time. If these young girls are released from that royal Prussian prison without damage to body or soul they will owe the fact primarily to the high moral philosophy which, as they themselves testify with pride, was instilled into them by the Society for the Education of the Young, and notably by Mme. Duncker.

A Young Girl's Letter

A passage from a letter of one of these girls shows, on the one hand, the great moral and physical danger in which they find themselves, and, on the other hand, the moral elevation which they derived from their knowledge of socialistic philosophy, and which protected them from all impurity. The young woman writes:

> The fourth woman was a prostitute held under restraint; she said that she desired to lead an honorable life again. I have not been able to feel the least moral indignation against her. Her moral and intellectual inferiority are accounted for by her heredity, her education, and her previous life. Her

father and mother were half-witted; the former is dead, the latter is in an insane asylum. The woman herself was raised in an orphanage. She has been subjected by turns to forced education, several times in the House of Correction, and latterly in prison and in the institution for the control of manners. She was choleric and nervous; in order to have peace we said nothing, even when she told her past in most shameful fashion. We took our precautions when using the common wash basin; that wounded her, and there was a break which rendered quite insupportable our life together, a thing painful enough in any circumstances. After eight days she left us, and we experienced great relief.

This passage from the letter of a working girl of 18 years is a document for our civilization. It is a brilliant witness to the high value of education for the common people, but also a document of the shame and ignominy of a system of violence which thus tramples under foot the moral consciousness of young girls. The danger for such girls exists also in the preventive prison, for the arrangement of rooms compels the inmates to hear through the windows the conversations carried on by persons who are expiating crimes by imprisonment.

Those two girls and many of their unhappy companions were left for months in that kind of atmosphere. Our language is too poor to excoriate such shamelessness as it deserves. We demand protection against such a prison of protection, which in reality is a prison of filth. (Schutz for diezer Schutzhaft welche eine Schmutzhaft ist!)

Brutality of the Police

If the Berlin Prefect of Police, in his functions, is still capable of feeling shame, he ought to be ashamed in the presence of these Berlin workingwomen. Respect for the most elementary human sentiments is trampled upon in these arrests; for eight days that young girl was forbidden to announce her arrest to her mother, who was in a torture of fright to know what had happened. They told the girl that the matter would be attended to, but no actual news was given to the mother; it should be remembered, too, that this girl was helping to support her mother and little sister. In consequence of the arrest she lost her place; her father has been at the front for two years and is wounded. By way of thanking him, they brutalize his daughter behind his back. What must be the feelings of such a father?

After having been released the 11th of this month the young woman was again present at a meeting of the Society for the Education of the Young, at which she did nothing more than attend to matters of business, elections, &c. She was summoned to police headquarters, and an examining magistrate harangued her, telling her that her presence at the meeting was an unheard of impudence when she had just been released. It seems to me that the unheard of impudence was on the other side. She was threatened with imprisonment for the remainder of the war if she took part in another public political meeting. As the girl objected that the Society for the Education of the Young had no political character, and that the meeting was neither political nor public, the magistrate denounced her anew, threatening to arrest her immediately if she said another word.

There you have police brutality in all its purity.

That is how, in a country which has been promised a new official attitude and in which the way was to be opened up for all kinds of ability, they treat a workingman's daughter who, with firmness of will, seeks, despite all difficulties, to follow her path toward instruction and education. By these means the Government is trying systematically to kill all spirit of independence. This is why members of the Social Democratic Party who desire an energetic opposition are arrested. By eliminating the directing elements of the opposition the Government thinks to crush the head of the serpent: it has learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

Meyer and Regge Cases

The director of Vorwärts, Dr. Meyer, who can be reproached with nothing except political ideas that are not agreeable to the authorities, has been confined for months in preventive prison. He is suffering from an affection of the lungs, and is at the present moment in the infirmary of the Moabit Prison; all his re-

quests to be allowed to go to a sanatorium have been denied.

The Director of the organ of the Furriers' Association, Companion Regge, the father of six children, has been in preventive prison since Aug. 17 of this year. Why? Because he condemns and combats the war policy of the committee of the Social Democratic Party. There has been issued at his expense a circular which he had published a half year before his arrest, under his signature and that of two others, which treated of an internal difference in the Teltow-Beeskow faction. By energetic insistence he succeeded, on the 11th of September, in being at least told why he was under arrest. At that time the following reasons were imparted to him: On May 27 he had been Secretary of the general meeting of the electoral association, and had proposed at that meeting a resolution advocating a refusal of contributions to the Social Democratic committee, at the same time urging a more active policy in the Reichstag on the part of the Social Democratic Labor Union. Furthermore, he had signed the protest addressed to the committee of the party. In June he had taken part in the demonstration for Liebknecht, though he had not made himself prominent in any way. The charges against him, therefore, were purely political.

Case of Editor Kluers

Another signer of the manifesto, Editor Kluers, has been in preventive prison for eight months, and, despite all his efforts, cannot obtain his liberty; all sorts of charges have been invented against him. Thus he is said to have called a conference of young men on Feb. 5 at Neukölln, but he has been able to prove that he was not there at all; the spies had made a false accusation. But, even if he had been there, and had spoken, that would not have justified preventive imprisonment. If he had said anything punishable, he could have been proceeded against under the criminal code.

He was reproached, besides, with desiring to publish a manifesto against the Social Democratic Party committee; that also rests on a false affirmation. His principal crime consists in having cooperated in the publication of the manifesto regarding the split in the Teltow-Beeskow faction, but on the next day after the police seized that manifesto they had to give it back, because the Military Government could not justify the confiscation; yet in spite of this the imprisonment of Kluers was persisted in.

The treatment inflicted on Editor Kluers in prison cries to heaven for vengeance and is a mockery of all human sentiment. On Aug. 22 he received from his daughter the news that his wife, who was living at Kiel with the children, was seriously ill, had been taken to the hospital, and desired greatly to speak with him. He asked to be released, inclosing the telegram, but only after weeks of delay did he receive a negative reply. On Sept. 10 Kluers was again informed that his wife, who was dying, begged to be allowed to speak with him; again the Military Government refused the request. On Sept. 22 the attending physician certified that she was at the point of death. The next day this certificate was in the hands of the local commandant, but it was not sent to Kluers until six days later, on the 28th of September. Meanwhile, on the 25th he had received a telegram from his daughter that his wife was dead and would be buried on the 27th. Immediately, inclosing the telegram, he demanded to be allowed at least to attend the funeral. On the evening of the 26th he was still without a reply. He telegraphed to his lawyer, begging him to come immediately and confer with him; but this telegram was not allowed to be sent until the 30th, three days after the burial.

Having received no reply whatever, he had to give up taking any part in the funeral.

Finally, on Oct. 2, he received a notice, dated Sept. 30, that his request was denied, since the burial of his wife had already taken place.

Really, one wonder whether these are men of flesh and blood who are capable of giving such answers, or whether they are modern torturers, executioners who play with the moral agony of others and

who martyrize the most sacred feelings of the human heart.*

There are other facts which prove that this was a deliberate and conscious torture of a defenseless man. In order to explain his absence at the funeral Kluers telegraphed to Kiel that he had not yet received a reply; this telegram was not sent until three days after the funeral. His son, who is at the front and who had received permission to attend the funeral, was painfully impressed by his father's absence. He wrote to him on Sept. 29 that he desired to speak to him, as his furlough extended to Oct. 4. The letter reached the local authorities on Sept. 30, but was not delivered to Kluers until Oct. 4, the day when the furlough expired; that is the way they prevented an interview between father and son. Even before the death of the mother, when the son was leaving for the front on Sept. 9, he tried in vain to be admitted to see his father. In all this, therefore, there is a method and a system.

There are other rascalities besides. On Oct. 1 Kluers's lease expired, and on Sept. 22 he asked for permission to rent a new apartment and make preparations for removal. On Sept. 28 and 30, and again on Oct. 2, he renewed his demand for a decision; the result was that they sent a police agent to him, who advised him to get a friend to look for a new house and take care of the moving. The landlord cited Kluers in court to have him evicted, but the permission asked by Kluers to attend the trial was refused.

Through these and similar persecutions the authorities are making this man's life a hell; yet there is nothing against him, except political ideas which are in disfavor, and for which, without any legal justification, he has been thrown into preventive prison. We are compelled to conclude that he is being pursued systematically with the purpose of destroying him.

*In replying to these facts Mr. Helfferich contented himself with saying that Mr. and Mrs. Kluers were estranged. It was merely a matter, then, of the wife's desire to reconcile herself with her husband on her deathbed!

Public "safety" has nothing whatever to do with all this. This system, which grows worse the longer it lasts, is purely a matter of arbitrary brutality.

Tyranny in the Provinces

This system is applied to the provinces as well as to Berlin. At Düsseldorf six of our members were thrown into the so-called preventive prison at the end of July for having distributed leaflets. Among them were Schotte, an editor, and Kulich, Secretary of the syndicate. They have been in prison more than two months and a half, and up to the present moment none of them has been allowed to communicate with a lawyer.

Two of these imprisoned persons were shut up for weeks in the police station with criminals; in the cell there was no bed, and they had to sleep on wooden planks without undressing. It was impossible to bathe, the food was unfit to eat, and they were not permitted to exercise. Amid the most primitive and outrageous conditions these men had to remain without redress until, after repeated complaints, they succeeded in obtaining better quarters. One of these prisoners, having asked the reason of his arrest, received from the military authorities of Münster the reply that perhaps he would be heard as a witness before the Leipsic court, and that is why this man has been three months in prison!

The case of Editor Oerter of Brunswick is similar. On Aug. 22 he was arrested and thrown into preventive prison; he has been there more than two months, and with him Genzer, a syndicate functionary. He has not been told why he was arrested. In the beginning he was accused of having taken part in the publication of a manifesto; of that there was not the slightest proof; absolutely nothing has been proved that could incriminate him in any way. No preliminary hearing has been given him, though the prisoner has asked for one, and though he has demanded, ceaselessly but vainly, to be brought before the common court.

These men have been imprisoned on the strength of a miserable, lying denunciation; it is evidently the intention

to punish them—as it is in all the cases I have cited—because of their political convictions, which are those of the opposition.

The Prison or the Trenches

It is true that the Minister of War published, on the 22d of this month, a decree calling for a more liberal policy; but I cite in opposition a decree of the Military Government at Dantzic issued Sept. 12, which recommends the preventive prison as an effective means for getting rid of the Social Democratic orators who speak against the food monopoly. In this decree, which my colleague Wurn cited during the discussion of the potato question, there is the following characteristic phrase: "The principal chiefs and leaders will be put in preventive prison or called under arms. Good results have been obtained in two regions with this ruling, and we recommend that it be imitated in others."

I am going to show you a striking example of the fact that the authorities are working on the recipe of "preventive prison or the trenches." The case is that of a syndicate Secretary, Sauerbrey of Elberfeld-Barmen, who is represented by our colleague Ebert. On June 20 manifestos were pasted up on the public bulletin boards of that place, and on the same day three persons were accused of having helped to spread these notices. On June 27 the syndicate Secretary Sauerbrey was arrested. In the police headquarters at Elberfeld he was at once cross-examined in the most detailed fashion, but it was established beyond possible doubt that he had not taken the least part in the distribution of the manifestos; in spite of this fact, however, because he belonged to the opposition which has sprung up in the heart of the Social Democratic Party, he was thrown into "preventive" prison. They let him write letters to his family, but the letters were not mailed. After three weeks he demanded to be heard, protested against a situation contrary to right and law, and threatened to let himself die of hunger if he were not brought before the ordinary Judge.

For two whole days he refused food. This produced the first effect. He was taken to the Court House and assused of treason and incitement to revolt, but this accusation soon evaporated. Sauerbrey made an appeal which was admitted by the superior court of the empire with the approval of the Attorney General.

Great care was taken after that not to set him at liberty; on the contrary, he was again taken to the police station. The next day he had to go before a council of revision, and was assigned to the army. Before that he had been declared unfit, because he had lost several finger joints of his right hand. It is a typical example of the Dantzic recipe, "preventive prison or army service." He was called to the service immediately, with only one hour's grace, and with a soldier accompanying him during that hour; when he visited his home he had not even time to see his children again after his long imprisonment. Now he is under instruction at the barracks preparatory to being sent to the front.

This affair provoked measureless indignation in the labor world of Elberfeld-Barmen. Sauerbrey had filled the place of a syndicate Secretary for a year past, and had given free aid to innumerable persons who had come to consult him, especially of families of soldiers at the front. After his call to service it was necessary to withdraw the benefits of these consultations from all those who did not belong to a labor organization. The blow aimed at him therefore strikes most severely many poor people who need aid. Yet the military Government of Münster is astonished that in all the valley of the Wupper the people are more and more discontented, and is hatching new measures to make itself master of the unrest. One might imagine the whole thing to be a madhouse drama, but it is reality and a "state of siege."

Other Typical Instances

This is no isolated case. I could cite many more. Let me recall that of Weinberg. Weinberg was present when an orderly came to announce to the physician who was to examine him that the Recruiting Bureau was well aware that

Weinberg was unfit for service, and that, nevertheless, he ought not to be liberated.

Ever since the beginning of the war there has been in preventive prison at Elberfeld a workman named Albrecht, who can be reproached for nothing unless it be for holding opinions that are frowned upon by the military. Four men arrested with him have already been sent to the army. In general, in the Seventh District, political undesirables are very frequently sent into the army. Army headquarters receive notice from the General Government of Münster that a certain man has been called and assigned to the corps, and his private record follows; this record naturally contains all sorts of secret entries from police spies. In the region of the Rhine a great number of these cases are known and have created an immense animosity.

Many interdictions were also issued more than a year ago forbidding members of our party to speak on pain of imprisonment, because they had signed an address to the committee of the Social Democratic Party demanding a change of policy during the war. At Düsseldorf a workman was forbidden to speak because, at a public meeting, he had uttered a very justifiable criticism of the food furnished by the war kitchen. Such are the rigorous measures which the authorities are using to render impossible all criticism of our internal situation. The arbitrary power of our rulers under the "state of siege" no longer recognizes any limits.

For all these persecutions of inoffensive citizens it has been necessary to create an army of police spies and functionaries of all sorts, which is daily growing larger. All these gentry would no longer need to be paid out of the public Treasury if the persecutions were stopped. A great proportion of these agents and functionaries would immediately become available for useful work in the army. Their present positions are, for the most part, hiding places where they seek to escape military service, and they cling to these with all their strength, seeking to prove daily that they are indispensable through their discoveries of all sorts of misdeeds; because they themselves do not wish to go into the trenches, they send others to prison. Thus it is that they keep up the appearance of work and assume to wear the halo of saviors of the State. It is the duty of the people's representatives to clean out these Augean stables and to remove the basis of such a military reign of terror. Vote, then, for our motion demanding the suppression of siege measures, and thus help us to put an end to a situation that is a shame and disgrace to the German name.

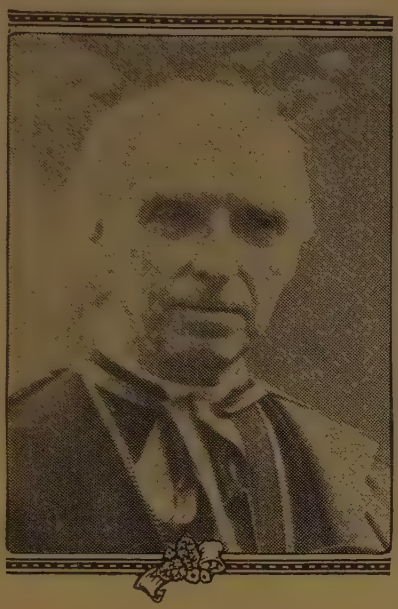
Merchant Ships of Central Powers in American Ports

There are sixty-eight German and Austrian merchant vessels in the ports of the United States, of which number fifty-four are German. Twenty-nine of these ships are in New York Harbor. In addition to these there is a merchant vessel (German) in the port of San Juan, Porto Rico; a gunboat is held at Honolulu, and the two German cruisers, Eitel Friedrich and Kronprinz Wilhelm, are interned at Norfolk. The merchant vessels are not, however, interned. They are free to leave the ports of the United States whenever they ask for and obtain clearance papers.

Enslavement of the Belgians

New Documents in the Case

GERMANY'S military policy of deporting Belgian laborers and compelling them to work in an enemy country has continued to be the subject of strong protests during the month just past. Three thousand persons in mass meeting at Carnegie Hall, New York, on Dec. 15, called upon the Government of the United States to protest with "all its force and earnestness" against the enslavement of Belgians. Bankers, railroad Presidents, college Presidents, Bishops and priests, distinguished lawyers, professional and public men of national reputation, took part in the meeting.



CARDINAL MERCIER
(Photo © Amer. Press Association)

Written protests from Belgians have continued to pour in upon Governor General von Bissing, who, in turn, following the instructions of the Imperial Government, has reiterated the necessity of these deportations and has continued to increase the number of exiles. Cardinal Mercier's further protests to the Governor General have reached the United States, and are placed on record in this magazine, with General von Bissing's reply; also the moving appeal of 500,000 Belgian workingmen to their fellow-laborers in the United States.

The charge that, despite the assertions of Baron von Bissing, the deported Belgians in Germany are being forced to do work of a distinctly military character, is made by neutral eyewitnesses. They state that the exiles are employed in digging trenches, carpentering them, laying electric wires for military works, and preparing ground for wire entanglements. The Belgian Deputies and Senators at Mons drew up a letter replying to von Bissing's assertion that the deportations were for the purpose of bettering the conditions of unemployed men. The facts they cited include the following:

At Quaregnon, of 1,000 workmen compelled to report to the authorities, 304 have been deported. Among the latter are 227 who were not unemployed, including four farmers, five master bakers, six bakers, one master butcher, one brewery engineer, the manager of a large brewery, one conspicuous merchant, the son of a Director of iron works, and one master printer. At Dour, of 137 deportees, there are 117 employed men, among them nine farmers, four students, and numbers of small shopmen working at home. At Wasmes, of 136 deportees, 130 were employed. At Frameries, of 200 deportees, 157 were employed. At Hornu, of 140 deportees, 87 were employed. At Paturages, of 155 deportees, 109 were employed. At Ghlin, of 155 deportees, 109 were employed. At Wavre Burgomaster Indl informed the recruiting officers that all men called up for control were employed. He had himself made inquiry, and he asked to be allowed to produce his evidence. His remarks were brushed aside, and, of 450 men called up for control, 45 were deported, all employed.

Other authoritative documents have come to hand to prove that the state of idleness which Germany has used as an excuse was produced by robbing the country of its raw materials and transporting them to Germany. The most eloquent statement of this phase of the indictment is contained in the letter of the Federation of Managers of Belgian Industries, a translation of which appears in connection with the present article. A similar protest of the Senators and Deputies of

the Belgian Province of Luxemburg shows that in the province named there was no unemployment at all, thanks to extensive public works undertaken by the Belgian authorities to avoid such a condition; but that the forcible deportation of workmen interrupted these enterprises and spread suffering among the population.

A sidelight on the subject is afforded by the following advertisement, which appeared in a Holland newspaper on Nov. 2, 1916, in the early stages of the affair:

NOTICE

The Burgomaster of Hoorn (Holland) informs Belgian refugees resident in this place that the German Government has informed the Netherlands Legation that it desires Belgian refugees to return home, so that normal conditions may again prevail in occupied Belgium, and it has submitted a communication to the Legation, of which a textual translation is as follows:

"A rumor has been spread among the Belgian refugees in Holland that if they return to Belgium the German authorities will forbid their going back to Holland for the purpose of getting their families. The Governor General declares that this rumor, which is absolutely false and contrary to the re-establishing of normal conditions, should be denied, and the refugees convinced that their search for their families is authorized."

A. A. DE JONGH,
Burgomaster of Hoorn.

The course of events in Belgium since then has not tended to allay the suspicions of these refugees.

Cardinal Mercier's Appeal for Deported Belgians

ON the day after the capitulation of Antwerp the terrified people begged Cardinal Mercier to ascertain what the Germans were going to do with young men of military age. Moved by the supplications of fathers and mothers, the Cardinal had an interview with the German Military Governor of Antwerp, Baron von Huene, who authorized him to reassure the frightened parents, declaring that there was no need to fear that young men would be taken away to Germany, either for enrollment in the army or for forced labor. At the Cardinal's request Baron von Huene put this assurance into writing. When Baron von der Goltz became Governor General at Brussels the Cardinal obtained confirmation of these guarantees, but when Baron von Bissing succeeded to the Military Governorship they began at length to be violated on an enormous scale. On Oct. 19 Cardinal Mercier addressed to Baron von Bissing his first protest against the Belgian deportations, saying in conclusion:

In the name of the Belgian citizen's liberty of domicile and liberty of labor; in the name of morality, which would be gravely compromised by this system of deportation; in the name of the promise given by the Governor of the Province of Antwerp and by the Governor General, the immediate representative of the highest authority in the German Empire, I respectfully pray your Excellency to withdraw the measures of forced labor and of deportation with which the Belgian workingmen are threatened, and to restore to their firesides those who have already been deported.

As the deportations continued by thousands Cardinal Mercier at length carried his appeal to the arbitrament of the whole world in a longer protest, issued Nov. 7. Parts of this document were published in the December number of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, but the full text follows:

Malines, Nov. 7, 1916.

Every day the military authorities deport from Belgium into Germany thousands of inoffensive citizens to oblige them there to perform forced labor.

As early as Oct. 19 we sent to the Governor General a protest, a copy of which was handed to the representatives of the Holy See, of Spain, the United States, and Holland, in Brussels, but the Governor General replied to it that nothing could be done.

At the time of our protest the orders of the occupying power threatened only the unemployed; today every able-bodied man is carried off, pellmell, assembled in freight cars, and carried off to unknown parts, like a herd of slaves. The enemy proceeds by regions. Vague rumors had come to our ears that arrests had been made in Tournau, Ghent, and Alost, but we were not aware of the conditions under which they had been made. Between Oct. 24 and Nov. 2 deportations took place in the region of Mons, Quievrain, Saint Guislain, Jemappes, in bunches of 800 to 1,200 men a day. The next and the following days they were extended to the Arrondisse-

ment of Nivelles. Here is a specimen of the announcement concerning the proceedings:

"By order of the Kreischef every male person over 17 years old shall present himself, Place Saint Paul, in Nivelles, on Nov. 8, 1916, at 8 o'clock, (Belgian time,) 9 o'clock, (Central time,) bringing with him his identification card and eventually his card from the Meldeamt.

"Only small hand baggage is permitted.

"Those not presenting themselves will be forcibly deported into Germany, and will besides be liable to a heavy fine and to long imprisonment.

"Ecclesiastics, physicians, lawyers, and teachers are exempt from this order.

"The Mayors will be held responsible for the proper execution of this order, which must be brought immediately to the knowledge of the inhabitants."

Between the announcement and the deportation there is an interval of only twenty-four hours.

Under pretext of public works to be performed on Belgian soil, the occupying power had attempted to obtain from the communities the lists of workingmen out of work. Most of the communities proudly refused.

Three decrees from the General Government prepared the way for the execution which is in force today.

Under date of Aug. 15, 1915, a first decree imposes, under penalty of imprisonment and fine, forced work on the idle, but adds that the work is to be executed in Belgium, and that noncompliance will be adjudged by Belgian tribunals.

A second decree, dated May 2, 1916, reserves the right of the German authorities to supply work to the idle, and threatens a fine of three years' imprisonment and 20,000 marks imposable on anybody executing or ordering to be executed work not approved of by the General Government.

Under the same decree, the right to judge infractions which had remained with the Belgian tribunals passed from the Belgian to the German tribunals.

A third decree, dated May 13, 1916, "authorizes the Governors, the military commanders, and the chiefs of arrondissements to order that the unemployed be conducted by force to the places where they must work." This was already forcible working, although in Belgium.

Now it is no longer a question of forcible working in Belgium, but in Germany, and for the benefit of the Germans.

To give an appearance of plausibility to these violent measures, the occupying power insisted in the German press, both in Germany and Belgium, on these two pretexts: the unemployed constitute a danger to public order and a burden on official benevolence.

To this we replied in a letter addressed to the Governor General and to the head of the Political Department on Oct. 16, as follows:

"You are well aware that public order is in no wise threatened and that all influences, moral and civil, would support you spontaneously were it in danger. The unemployed are not a burden on official benevolence; it is not from your funds that they receive assistance."

In his reply the Governor General no longer urges these two first considerations, but he alleges that "doles to the unemployed, from whatever source they may come at present, must finally be a charge upon our finances, and that it is the duty of a good administrator to lighten such charges"; he adds that "prolonged unemployment would cause our workmen to lose their technical proficiency, and that in the time of peace to come they would be useless to industry."

True, there were other ways in which our finances might have been protected. We might have been spared those war levies which have now reached the sum of one billion francs, and are still amounting up at the rate of forty millions a month; we might have been spared those requisitions in kind, which amount to several thousands of millions, and are exhausting us.

There are other ways of providing for the maintenance of professional skill among our workpeople, such as leaving to Belgian industry its machinery and accessories, its raw materials, and its manufactured goods, which have passed from Belgium into Germany. And it is neither to the quarries nor to the lime kilns to which the Germans themselves declare our specialists will go to complete their professional education.

The naked truth is that every deported workman is another soldier for the German Army. He will take the place of a German workman, who will be made into a soldier. Thus the situation which we denounce to the civilized world may be reduced to these terms: Four hundred thousand workmen have been thrown out of work by no fault of their own, and largely on account of the régime of the occupation. Sons, husbands, and fathers of families, they bear their unhappy lot without murmuring, respectful of public order; national solidarity provides their most pressing wants; by dint of unselfish thrift and self-denial they escape extreme destitution, and they await with dignity and in a mutual affection which our national sorrows have intensified, the end of our common ordeal.

Groups of soldiers introduced themselves forcibly in the homes of these people, tearing the young people out of the arms of their parents, the husband from his wife, the father from his children; at the point of the bayonet they block the entrances to the homes, preventing wives and mothers from rushing out to say a last farewell to them; they align the captives in groups of forty or fifty and push them forcibly into freight cars; the locomotive is under steam, and as soon as a trainload is ready, an officer gives the signal and they depart. Thus are another thousand Belgians reduced to slavery.

without previous trial, condemned to the penalty which comes next in cruelty to the death penalty—deportation. They do not know how long their exile is going to last, neither do they know where they are going. All they know is that their work will benefit the enemy. Several of them have been brought to sign—by coercion or by threats—an engagement which their oppressors dare to call "voluntary."

While they certainly take the unemployed, they also take a large number in the proportion of one-quarter for the Arrondissement of Mons—of men who were never out of work and who belong to diversified professions—butchers, bakers, tailors, brewery workers, electricians, farmers; they even take the youngest men, college and university students, or young men from other high schools.

This in spite of the fact that two high authorities of the German Empire had formally guaranteed the liberty of our compatriots.

The day after the capitulation of Antwerp the frightened populace asked itself what would become of the Belgians of military age or those which would arrive at that age before the end of the siege. Baron von Huene, Military Governor of Antwerp, authorized me to reassure in his name the frightened parents. However, as rumors were running that in Antwerp, Liége, Namur, and Charleroi young men had been seized and forcibly carried off to Germany, I asked Governor von Huene to confirm to me in writing the verbal guarantees which he had given me. He replied that the rumors pertaining to deportations were without foundation, and he gave me without hesitancy the written declaration which was read on Sunday, Oct. 18, 1914, in all the parochial churches of the Arrondissement of Antwerp: "Young men need have no fear of being carried off to Germany, either for enrollment in the army or for forcible employment."

Immediately after the arrival of Baron von der Goltz in the capacity of Governor General at Brussels, I went to ask him to ratify the guarantees given by Governor von Huene to the Province of Antwerp extending them to the whole country without any time limit. The Governor General retained my petition in order to consider it at his leisure. The following day he was good enough to come in person to Malines to express his approval and in the presence of two aides de camp and of my private secretary to confirm the promise that the liberty of the Belgian citizens would be respected.

In my letter of Oct. 16 last to Baron von Bissing after reminding him of the undertaking given by his predecessor, I concluded: "Your Excellency will understand how painful would be the burden of responsibility that I have incurred toward families if the confidence they placed in you through me and at my earnest entreaty should be so lamentably disappointed."

The Governor General replied: "The employment of the Belgian unemployed in Germany, which has only been initiated after two years of war, differs essentially from the captivity of men fit for military service. Moreover, the measure is not related to the conduct of the war, properly speaking, but it is determined by social and economic causes."

As if the word of an honest man were terminable at the end of a year or two! As if the declaration confirmed in 1914 did not explicitly exclude both military operations and forced labor! As if, in fine, every Belgian workman who takes the place of a German workman did not enable the latter to fill a gap in the German Army!

We, the shepherds of these sheep who are torn from us by brutal force, full of anguish at the thought of the moral and religious isolation in which they are about to languish, impotent witnesses of the grief and terror in the numerous homes shattered or threatened, appeal to all souls, believers or unbelievers, in allied countries, in neutral countries, and even in enemy countries, who have a respect for human dignity.

When Cardinal Lavigerie embarked on his anti-slavery campaign, Pope Leo XIII., as he blessed his mission, remarked: "Opinion is more than ever the queen of the world. It is on this you must work. You will only conquer by means of opinion."

May Divine Providence deign to inspire all who have any authority, all who are masters of speech and pen, to rally around our humble Belgian flag for the abolition of European slavery.

May human conscience triumph over all sophisms and remain steadfastly faithful to the great precept of St. Ambrose: Honor above everything! Nihil praeferendum honestati!

In the name of the Belgian Bishops.
[Signed.]

D. J. (Cardinal) MERCIER,
Archbishop of Malines.

Governor Bissing's Reply

P. A. I-11,254 Brussels, Nov. 23, 1916.

Most Honored Cardinal:

I acknowledge receipt of your honored letter dated Nov. 10, and of the manuscript letter dated Nov. 15, concerning the delay in delivery. This is the answer which I have to give:

Your Eminence wrote to me on Oct. 19 last requesting that the utilization of Belgian unemployed in Germany should come to an end. In my answer dated Oct. 28 I have, in spite of my appreciation of your point of view in the matter, indicated the reasons and the ideas which have inspired the decisions of the occupying power with relation to the question of labor. These decisions were not arbitrary or hastily taken without sufficient consideration for the difficulties of the problem; they were the outcome of ripe reflection bearing on the circumstances and the necessity recognized as unavoidable.

On the whole, I feel obliged to remind your Eminence once more of my explanations of Oct. 28. Your objections to these are founded on either a misconception of these explanations or on ideas to which I cannot, on principle, reconcile myself.

The extensive unemployment which prevails in Belgium is a great social evil, and the employment of idle Belgians in Germany brings them great benefit. I said to your Eminence, on my arrival in Belgium, that I wanted to heal the wounds inflicted by the war upon the Belgian people; the recent measures are not in the least in contradiction with this declaration. I must also consider as a misrepresentation of facts the way your Eminence sets aside the many and often successful efforts which I have made to revive Belgium's economic life with the remark that, on the contrary, unemployment has been artificially created.

Regarding the importation of raw materials into Belgium and the exportation of manufactured articles, England has made unacceptable conditions. There were some time ago negotiations between neutral and Belgian organizations on this question; to dwell on them would lead me too far. I can only repeat here that the present regrettable circumstances are the result, fundamentally, of England's policy of isolation, just as the seizure by us of all raw material was only, after all, a forced consequence of the same policy.

I must also firmly maintain that the occupation affords the country, from the economic point of view, all the advantages which can be provided, considering the conditions enforced on us by England.

In the execution of the measures taken concerning the unemployed, my administration has met with a series of difficulties which cause some inconvenience to the population. All this might have been avoided if the communal authorities had made their execution more simple and more effective by their attitude toward them. Under the present circumstances, we are obliged to use a more involved procedure, into which a wider circle of people are necessarily drawn.

Measures, however, have been taken in order to avoid mistakes as much as possible. Some definite classes of professions have been exempted beforehand from submitting to control, and the individual claims, if they are well founded, will be either immediately considered or submitted to further examination.

Your Eminence will understand from what is stated above that it is impossible to comply with the desire concerning the stoppage of the measures which have been adopted, and that, in spite of the difficulties which we have met, their execution is pursued in the interest of all.

I am, your Eminence, &c.,

BARON VON BISSING,
Governor General.

The Cardinal's Answer

Archbishopric of Malines,
Nov. 29, 1916.

To the Governor General, Sir:

The letter (I-11,254) which your Excellency did me the honor to write to me, under date of Nov. 23, is a disappointment to me. In various circles, which I had reason to believe were correctly informed, it was said, your Excellency, that you had felt it your duty to protest to the highest authorities of the empire against the measures which you were constrained to apply in Belgium. I counted on at least a delay in the application of these measures, while they were being submitted to fresh examination, and also on some relaxation of the rigor with which they are applied.

And now, your Excellency, without replying one word to any of the arguments by which I established the illegal and anti-social character of the condemnation of the Belgian working classes to forced labor and to deportation, you confine yourself to repeating, in your telegram of Nov. 23 the very text of your letter of Oct. 26. These two letters are, really, identical in matter and almost in word.

On the other hand, the recruiting of the so-called unemployed continues, generally without any regard for the observations of the local authorities. Several reports which I have in hand prove that the clergy are brutally thrust aside, burgomasters and town councilors reduced to silence; the recruiters then find themselves face to face with unknown men, among whom they arbitrarily make their choice. There are abundant examples to prove this statement. I will give two recent ones, chosen from a quantity of others which I hold at the disposal of your Excellency.

On Nov. 21 recruiting began in the commune of Kersbeek-Miscom. From the 1,325 inhabitants of this commune the recruiters took away altogether, without any distinction of social position or profession, farmers' sons, men who were supporting aged and infirm parents, fathers of families who left wives and families in misery, each of them as necessary to his family as its daily bread. Two families found themselves deprived each of four sons at once. Among ninety-four deportees there were only two unemployed.

In the region of Aerschot recruiting began on Nov. 23; at Rillaer, at Gebrede, at Rotselaer, young men, supporting their widowed mothers; farmers at the head of large families, (one of these, who is over 50 years of age, has ten children working on the land,) who possess cattle and have never touched a penny of public money, were taken away by force in spite of all their protestations. In the little commune of Rillaer they actually took twenty-five boys of 17.

Your Excellency wished that the communal councils should become the accomplices of this odious recruiting. By their legal situa-

tion and by reason of conscience, they could not do so. But they could have advised the recruiters and are entitled to do so. The priests, who know the working people better than any one else, might have been of the utmost assistance to the recruiters. Why is their help refused?

At the end of your letter, your Excellency, you remind me that men belonging to liberal professions are not interfered with. If only the unemployed were removed I could understand this exception. But if all able-bodied men continue to be enrolled indiscriminately the exception is unjustifiable. It would be iniquitous to make the whole weight of the deportations fall upon the working classes. The middle classes must have their part in the sacrifice, however cruel it may be, and just because it is cruel, that the occupying power imposes on the nation. A great many members of my clergy have asked me to beg for them a place in the van of the persecuted. I register their offer and submit it to you with pride.

I would wish to believe that the authorities of the empire have not said their last word. They will think of our undeserved sorrows, of the reprobation of the civilized world, of the judgment of history, and of the chastisement of God.

I have the honor to be, your Excellency, &c.,

D. J. (Cardinal) MERCIER,
Archbishop of Malines.

Text of Allies' Declaration Regarding the Present State of Belgium

THE British Foreign Office issued the following declaration in December, with the approval and concurrence of the French, Russian, and Italian Governments, which published similar statements:

The Belgian Government have solemnly protested to the civilized world against the slave raids conducted by the German authorities in Belgium.

The allies of Belgium associate themselves with that protest, and, further desiring to place on record their sense of the debt which they owe to her, unite in making the following declaration:

"When the sudden invasion of Belgium, long prepared by the Central Empires, attained its temporary success, the Allies agreed that the provisioning and maintenance of the Belgian people remaining in the occupied territories was a duty overriding all consideration of immediate military interests. When, therefore, the Belgian Government set on foot the work of relief, and intrusted it to a neutral commission for relief in Belgium, the allied Governments pledged themselves to the support of that commission. As soon as the financial resources of the Belgian Government were exhausted, the Allies provided sums for the continuation of the work. They have furnished the commission with shipping and all other necessary facilities. Further, they have done their utmost, through the neutral commission, to protect Belgian industry from the disastrous consequences of invasion. They have facilitated exports to neutral countries and the transmission of funds to Belgium for wages and for the upkeep of factories. They have repeatedly made offers to the Germans which would have further promoted Belgian industry and trade under the care of the neutral commission, and would have allowed the importation of raw materials into Belgium. But these offers have met with no reply.

"The Allies call this to mind, not as taking credit to themselves, but in order to show what has been their consistent policy. They have labored to protect Belgium so far as possible from the effects of the war, and they have sought no advantage for themselves from this policy, since they have, through the Belgian Government, intrusted its execution solely to a neutral commission which has consistently refrained from assisting either belligerent and has acted solely in the interests of the civil population of Belgium.

"The Allies have only stipulated that the Germans should equally draw no advantage from the operations of the commission; that they should not seize either imported or native supplies; and that the distribution of relief should not be used for the purpose of coercing Belgian workmen against their conscience. These conditions, which the Germans have pledged themselves to obey, have, in the past, been frequently violated; Belgian cattle have been driven out of Belgium to feed the German armies at the front, Belgian workmen have been coerced, and seizures and requisitions of foodstuffs have taken place throughout the occupied territories. The Germans have also seized raw materials, machinery, and all the property of Belgian factories essential to the maintenance of the national industry, and have thus deliberately created unemployment and misery.

"But these infractions of the German guarantees have in the past been disavowed in many cases by the German Government, and the Allies were content to rely upon the neutral commission to watch over and enforce the fulfillment of the conditions under which it worked. Now, however, the situation is changing. The Germans have abandoned all

pretense of respecting personal freedom in Belgium. They have deliberately ordered the suspension of public relief works supported by the neutral commission, and have openly, in spite of all their professions to the contrary, aimed at creating the unemployment which would furnish them with an excuse for deportations. They have become themselves the 'organizers of, and co-operators with, man-hunts' which they solemnly pledged themselves by the Brussels Convention of 1890 to put down in Africa. Further, the machinery of Belgian industry has now been totally destroyed, and the exports from Belgium of foodstuffs essential for the maintenance of the population has again begun on a large scale.

"The Allies must, therefore, warn the world of what is about to take place. As their own situation grows more desperate, the Central Empires intend to tear up every guarantee on which the work of the relief commission rests. They intend to cast aside all their promises and to use Belgian foodstuffs and Belgian labor to support their own failing strength. The work of relief which neutrals have built up for two years is about to lose its foundation and is in danger of falling.

"The Allies do not intend to change their policy or to desert the oppressed population of Belgium in this most critical moment of the war, but, as it will be impossible for the relief work to continue if its basic guarantees are destroyed, they appeal to the civilized world, not on their own behalf, but on that of innocent civilians who cannot protect themselves, to see that this great work of international benevolence and co-operation which has grown up in the midst of war, and for which the Allies have advanced the money, shall not be endangered by treachery or destroyed by violence. But they would remind the world that the German policy which now stands revealed is being carried out not only in Belgium, but in Northern France, and in all the occupied territories.

"For their part, the Allies pledge themselves not to seek in the future any more than in the past any advantage from the operations of this purely neutral commission."

Protest of Chiefs of Belgian Industries

THE Federation of the Managers of Large Industries in Belgium addressed the following protest to Governor General von Bissing in November. The French text, which recently reached the United States, is here translated in full for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

Your Excellency: The chiefs of Belgian industry would fail in their duty if they did not protest with all their force against the measures which are carrying grief into the bosoms of an ever-increasing number of workingmen's families, and which are hastening the ruin of the nation's business enterprises.

You have often flattered yourself, Excellency, that you would revive business activities in our country. You desired thus to fulfill the promises made in the proclamation in which you announced your accession to your high office, and to confirm the unforgettable declarations of your predecessor.

Everything at that time was working together to cause that utterance to produce a reassuring effect upon our citizens. They knew that at The Hague, in the solemn conclave of civilized nations, the Imperial German Government had sanctioned, and even proposed, the resolutions that were meant to preserve peaceful civilian populations from the horrors of war. The Belgians who had fled before the invasion were induced to return to their homes by other proclamations, which likewise contained the most formal promises of respect and security for their persons and property. We were willing to put our faith in these promises.

Soon these illusions were dissipated. Arrangements made in the offices of the Grand Quartermaster of the Army permitted traffickers to enter our factories as masters in order to take away our tools and machinery. The requisition or seizure of raw materials and finished products was not slow to follow.

Even then your Excellency began to receive protests from us. They announced with only too much accuracy the deplorable consequences that must flow from the fatal facts cited. Several of our leading men talked to you on the subject. You sought to calm their fears, to assure them that these were only exceptional cases, and that the injustices mentioned would be stopped.

We were forced to conclude, however, a little later, that wills superior to your own were carrying out other designs. It is not the revival of business, it is the economic annihilation of Belgium that we see accomplished without mercy. Industry, commerce, agriculture, are undergoing the same fate and sharing the same trials.

The continual carrying away of machines, of raw materials and products; the limitation and exhaustion of indispensable supplies; the obligation to revoke clauses and raise prices in contracts concluded, even before the war, with foreign customers; the imposition of export taxes, hitherto unknown in our country; the forbidding of exports, the order to aid in the execution of products manifestly intended for the use of the German Army; the sequestration of property—

these are the repeated blows with which we have been struck during the last two years, and under which we are languishing.

For a moment we hoped that the industrial revictualing of Belgium, like the alimentary revictualing, might be undertaken under the diplomatic control that is indispensable to prevent abuse. That control was rejected and our hope deceived.

How could establishments that were paralyzed, robbed, starved, keep all their employes busy? Unemployment was bound to come in spite of all that was attempted to retard its appearance. Your Excellency has had the proofs of this. Private charity, aided by us, has not hesitated at any sacrifice to improve the situation. It is not public money that has furnished aid to the families which could no longer support so many idle hands, it is special organizations devoted to the feeding of the needy—it is they that have got together the resources for this new service.

Certain isolated facts have been seized upon to bring charges of habitual idleness against those who have been thus aided. Demands have been made for the lists in order to transform them, so to speak, into rolls of dishonor and proscription. When it is impossible to find work, is unemployment then a crime that calls for denunciation and is punishable with exile and slavery? Is not a workman, like any other man, the master of his person and of the hiring of his services? In the recent strikes of miners your administration itself had to announce that in its eyes no one had a right to use force to the injury of the liberty of labor.

But is the present question really one of checking unemployment? The notices placarded in so many places in the war zone by the military authorities no longer permit one to say or believe this. They compel us to understand that the purpose above all others is to furnish labor for German industries; they establish a radical difference between those who consent voluntarily to be seduced away and those who are torn by force from their firesides; they threaten the severest of inhuman punishments to those who refuse to aid by their labors the works of the enemy. And if there are industries that have thus far escaped this recruiting, it is certain that it is enforced against the others without distinction or consideration of age, of rank, of family, almost of aptitudes. The employed and unemployed alike are deported, and there are even cases, which we could cite, of idleness produced artificially. The end of all work will soon be the result—and the excuse for new deportations.

Public charity, which did not carry the burden from which it is pretended to be relieved, will soon have to furnish help to thousands of women, children, invalids, and old men, whom the removal of their natural support will have deprived of all means of livelihood.

Upon Belgium, so cruelly tried—where the collection and disbursement of taxes are subject to the authority of the occupying power, which exacts a crushing war contribution each month of 40,000,000 francs—upon Belgium is about to be placed the further burden of the support of more than three-quarters of the inhabitants, reduced to the most frightful misery.

Nothing can explain, still less justify, a treatment the sight of which modern Europe had a right to believe it would be forever spared.

The political attorneys of the nation, the highest judicial authorities, have, as was their duty, raised their voices to tell at what point the letter and spirit of our treaties, along with the most inalienable of natural rights, were transgressed.

Our own duty is to show that all economic life has become impossible in our country, and that the nation is going to be forced to breathe its last sigh. On this rich soil, where our laborers, industrious and proud, had so courageously contributed to the upbuilding of prosperity, there will be only desolated regions; here where peaceful communities are enduring with patience and dignity the occupation by foreign troops, there is being sown more and more in men's hearts hatred through suffering.

We cannot doubt that your Excellency must be called upon to share our griefs and fears, for there is not a single one of your words or promises that does not seem to be contradicted by events.

As for us, in placing this protest in your hands, in the name and behalf of the men whose employers and friends we are proud to be, as well as in defense of our enterprises, we shall have fulfilled the double duty imposed upon our conscience and dictated by our relations to society.

May the dreadful responsibility for the calamities that ceaselessly crush us fall upon those who are its authors!

Please accept, your Excellency, the expression of the respectful sentiments which are your due.

THE FEDERATION OF MANAGERS OF LARGE BELGIAN INDUSTRIES.

To His Excellency Baron von Bissing,
Governor General of Belgium.

Appeal of Belgian Workingmen to American Workingmen

AN appeal of 500,000 Belgian workingmen to their fellow-laborers in the United States was published in this country early in January. Its authenticity is attested by M. Hymans, the Belgian Minister to Great Britain, and by Emile Vandervelde, Minister without portfolio, and Henri Carton de Wiart, Belgian Minister of Justice. The day after the German authorities discovered that this appeal had been sent across the frontier into Holland they increased the monthly tribute levied on the Belgians from 40,000,000 to 50,000,000 francs. The translation follows:

In the name of the international solidarity of workers, the working class of Belgium, all threatened with slavery, deportation, and forced labor for the enemy's benefit, addresses to the working class of America a supreme appeal for assistance, energetic and efficacious. No more words of sympathy, but action. You are men, you understand us. Our situation is desperate.

Germany, as you know, attacked and terrorized Belgium in 1914, because the latter defended the rights of her neutrality—sworn faith and honor. Since then Germany has been torturing Belgium. She has made it a prison. The frontiers are armed against the Belgians like a battlefront—trenches, wires, barbed and electrified, and machine guns. All our constitutional liberties are abolished. No more security; the life of the citizens is subjected to arbitrary policing without limit, as well as without pity.

Germany imposed upon her victim an immense war contribution which has already passed the thousand million mark and is increasing at the rate of forty millions per month. She carried off and had transported to Germany, under the form of plunder, confiscation, requisition, and forced sales, more than five thousand million dollars' worth of food and merchandise, industrial and agricultural. At the same time she took and forwarded to Germany the greater part of the raw materials of our factories, machines, and accessories. She thus stopped our industry and brought on a want of work almost general among the working class. For two years the Germans have been keeping up this plaint of want of work until the day—in October, 1916—when Germany, needing hands, could draw upon Belgium for the workmen for whom she had such pressing need.

Yes, the Germans created the Belgian want of work and kept it up to benefit themselves.

By refusing England, who consented to introduce new raw materials, the indispensable diplomatic control to prevent the manufactured goods being taken by the Germans.

By preventing by means of terrible edicts the Belgian communes, associations, and private Belgians from giving work to the unemployed, from attending to their professional education, and from employing them in work of public utility.

Thus five hundred thousand workmen were reduced to a state of unemployment and kept in that state.

Contrary to the reports that the Germans spread in foreign countries, these unemployed and their families are not dependent on public budgets, nor on public charity. They were and are supported in all dignity and fraternity, by a private fund, exclusively Belgian, which never complains of its duty, or its mission. The solidarity of the Belgian social classes assures the life of this magnificent work, which is without precedent in the history of the social "entr'aide."

To these 500,000 involuntary unemployed, made so by the Germans and kept so by them, they have been saying for a month: "You will either sign a contract to work for Germany or you will be reduced to slavery." In either case it means exile, deportation, forced labor for the benefit of the enemy and against our country, dreadful punishments, the cruelest that tyranny ever invented to punish crimes. And what crimes? Involuntary unemployment that the tyrant himself brought about and keeps up.

And as, in spite of the most odious sort of pressure, the Germans have not been able to obtain the signatures—which they dare call voluntary in their official communiqués for neutral countries—they seize by force our workmen, your brothers and ours; they arrest them by thousands each day; they tear them from their wives and their children; surrounded by bayonets they drag them to the cattle trains and carry them off to foreign lands, to France and to Germany.

Forced to Labor on Military Works

On the western front they are forced by the most brutal methods to dig trenches, to prepare military aviation fields, to make strategic routes, to fortify the German lines. And when the victims refuse in spite of everything to do this work forbidden by the law of nations, they ill-treat them, they strike them, they make them ill, they wound them, and sometimes even kill them.

In Germany they throw them into the mines, the quarries, the limekilns, no matter what their age, profession, or trade. They deport pêle-mêle young men of 17 years of age and old men of 60 years and over. Is this not slavery of olden times in its horror?

There have been already more than fifty thousand workmen, unemployed or not, who have been thus deported, prisoners or slaves. Each day a new region is raided. They use a dreadful apparatus — machine guns and innumerable soldiers, and the lugubrious military operation against all these poor unarmed people, terrorized, but conscious of their violated rights.

Do not forget that the soldiers who make themselves the executioners of the Belgian workers are German workmen. And thus 500,000—maybe 800,000—men will be deported, if you do not prevent it. After the men, the women's turn will come, no doubt; again 500,000. * * *

It is the entire working class of Belgium which is threatened with slavery, with starvation, with death.

Do you know, American brothers, what the Germans throw as "salary" to their victims? Thirty pfennigs (about 7 cents) per working day! And the food! * * * what food! * * * The Belgian civil prisoners who come back from Germany after three months of detention have lost one-third of their weight; they are unrecognizable, anaemic, sick; many of them never regain their health; they languish and die. If this is the lot of the prisoners who do nothing, what lamentable lot is in store for the Belgian workmen deported and subjected to the most painful sort of labor?

In a few months our working class, the pride of our free country, will be annihilated in its working force. The day that peace comes there will be no longer any Belgian workmen capable of taking up the great work of the economic reconstruction of that which was prosperous Belgium, whose only crime was to defend without weakness the rights of neutrals to life and to honor.

Vain Appeals to German Pledges

We did everything that this supreme cross of slavery might be spared us.

Our highest social authorities showed the occupying power the supreme injustices and all the iniquity of these measures. The highest Court of Appeal in Belgium asked it to withdraw its edicts because they were contrary to "natural law, to positive law, to the law of nations."

The Belgian Episcopate, with the eminent Cardinal Mercier at its head, asked it to withdraw its edicts because they were contrary to morals and to its word of honor given. Yes; to its word of honor solemnly given in 1914 by the first Governor General of Belgium, Field Marshal von der Goltz, who proclaimed: "Never will the young men be taken to Germany, either to be mustered into the army or to be employed in forced labor." It was because they believed this word of honor of the direct representative of the German Emperor that the Belgian workmen came back from Holland after the siege of Antwerp, and that the others remained. This is why the Germans can take them now to deport them and reduce them to slavery. American brothers, will you suffer it?

Our political representatives asked them to withdraw their edicts, because for a Belgian to work for the Germans at this time means to fight Belgium. Does not the presence of each Belgian workman in Germany permit another German soldier to be sent to the front?

Our chiefs of industries asked the withdrawal of the edicts because thus "all economic life in our country will become impossible and it will be made to draw its last breath."

The workmen, Socialists and Catholics, men and women, united in one thought of solidarity and one anguish, asked the withdrawal of the cruel edicts because they were contrary to rights, to the word of honor given, to civilization, to patriotism and to the dignity of the working class.

All remained in vain. Germany, who has an extreme need of strong arms, did not want to withdraw the application of the edicts for a day nor for an hour. In answer she only sent more soldiers and more machine guns. Now the Belgian working class looks to the neutral powers.

She wonders if this time, in face of this crime of lèse-humanité, their conscience in revolt will not inspire at last the energetic gesture which suits the occasion. To allow such an abominable deed to be committed—is it not taking part in it?

The working class of Belgium wonders with anguish if neutral countries this time again will wash their hands, like Pontius Pilate, under pretext that the German calumnies do not correspond to the complaints of their victims.

Belgium, martyr for right, wishes no more verbal contestations nor platonic sympathies. She wants actions.

Will the neutrals and their directing classes let them act in this way? Will they allow them to carry back civilization to the barbarous ages when the conqueror carried the vanquished people into slavery? Will they allow the working class of a civilized nation to be annihilated?

"Be You Our Friends and Saviors"

Americans! If the others act in this way, if the world must witness again such a spectacle of cowardice, be you at least our friends and our saviors.

We will never forget that it is thanks to the United States that Belgium is not dead of hunger. We hope that, thanks to the United States of America, Belgium's working class will not be reduced to slavery worse than death.

American workmen! We do not doubt you; our cause is yours. It seems to us that if we do not tell you of the attempt which threatens us, you will reproach us some day, saying: "You had not the right to keep quiet and to suffer martyrdom in silence;

you are a depository for your part of the honor of the workmen's condition. If a nation of civilized workers is reduced somewhere to servitude, all the working class is threatened. It is a terrible precedent. We workmen of free America would not have allowed a similar threat to be made. It is from slavery that the modern working class came; it cannot return to slavery!"

American brothers! We seem to hear these prophetic words of our salvation. You are numerous. You are powerful. You are energetic. You are an enormous force in the most powerful of the neutral States, the one even that imposed moderation upon the submarine war.

You alone in the world can help us efficaciously. You alone in the world can prevent an abominable crime against the working class, against yours! You alone in the world can prevent all the working class from falling into a state of slavery.

American workmen! From the bottom of our distress we look to you. Act!

As to ourselves, even if force succeeds for a time in reducing our bodies to servitude, our souls will never consent to it.

We add this: No matter what the tortures may be, we only want peace with independence of our country and the triumph of justice. THE BELGIAN WORKMEN.

Nov. 19, 1916.

Dates of Declarations of War

Following is a list of all the formal declarations of war in the present conflict, with their dates; also the dates of the more important cases in which hostilities began without formal notice. Official announcements of a state of war, as in the case of Russia and Bulgaria, are treated as equivalent to formal declarations of war:

1914

July 28—Austria v. Serbia.
Aug. 1—Germany v. Russia.
Aug. 3—Germany v. France.
Aug. 4—Germany v. Belgium.
Aug. 4—*France v. Germany.
Aug. 4—Great Britain v. Germany.
Aug. 6—Austria v. Russia.
Aug. 7—Montenegro v. Austria.
Aug. 10—France v. Austria.
Aug. 10—Austria v. France.
Aug. 12—Great Britain v. Austria.
Aug. 12—Montenegro v. Germany.
Aug. 23—Japan v. Germany.
Aug. 25—Austria v. Japan.
Aug. 28—Austria v. Belgium.
Oct. 29—*Turkey v. Russia.
Nov. 2—Russia v. Turkey.
Nov. 5—Great Britain v. Turkey.
Nov. 5—France v. Turkey.
Nov. 7—Belgium v. Turkey.
Nov. 7—Serbia v. Turkey.
Nov. 10—Montenegro v. Turkey.

1915

May 23—Italy v. Austria.
June 3—San Marino v. Austria.
Aug. 20—Italy v. Turkey.
Oct. 7—Russia v. Bulgaria.
Oct. 14—Bulgaria v. Serbia.
Oct. 14—Great Britain v. Bulgaria.
Oct. 16—Bulgaria v. Russia.
Oct. 16—France v. Bulgaria.
Oct. 18—Italy v. Bulgaria.
Oct. 18—Montenegro v. Bulgaria.

1916

Mar. 9—Germany v. Portugal.
Mar. 10—Portugal v. Germany.
Mar. 16—*Austria v. Portugal.
Aug. 28—Italy v. Germany.
Aug. 28—Rumania v. Austria.
Aug. 28—Germany v. Rumania.
Aug. 30—†Rumania v. Bulgaria.
Aug. 31—Turkey v. Rumania.
Sept. 1—Bulgaria v. Rumania.

*Began hostilities without formal declaration.

†Ultimatum.

Great Land Ironclads and Victory

By H. G. Wells

Author of "Mr. Britling Sees It Through"

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THE young of even the most horrible beasts have something piquant and engaging about them, and so I suppose it is in the way of things that the land ironclad, which opens a new and more dreadful and destructive phase in the human folly of warfare, should appear first as if it were a joke. Never has any such thing so completely masked its wickedness under an appearance of genial silliness. The "tank" is a creature to which one naturally flings a pet name; the five or six I was shown, wandering, rooting, and climbing over obstacles round a large field near X., were as amusing, as disarming, as a litter of lively young pigs.

H. G. WELLS

The War Office, after a period of reluctance, has suddenly permitted a lavish publication of photographs and descriptions of these things, so that their general appearance is now familiar to every one.

They are like large slugs, with an underside a little like the flattened rockers of a rocking horse, slugs between twenty and forty feet long. They are like flat-sided slugs, slugs of spirit, who raise an inquiring snout, like the snout of a dogfish, into the air. They crawl upon their bellies in a way that would be tedious to describe to the general reader and unnecessary to describe to the inquiring specialist. They go over the ground with the sliding speed of active snails.

Behind them trail two wheels, supporting a flimsy tail, wheels that strike one as incongruous, as if a monster began kangaroo and ended doll's perambulator. (These wheels annoy me.) They are not steely monsters; they are painted the drab and unassuming colors that are fashionable in modern warfare, so that the armor seems rather like the integument of a rhinoceros. At the sides of the head project armored cheeks, and from above these stick out guns that look like stalked eyes. That is the general appearance of the contemporary "tank."

"You will smash your hat," said Colonel Stern. "No, keep it on, or else you will smash your head."

Only Mr. C. R. W. Nevinson could do justice to the interior of a "tank." You see a hand gripping something; you see the eyes and forehead of an engineer's face; you perceive that an overall bluishness beyond the engine is the back of another man.

"Don't hold that," says some one. "It is too hot. Hold on to that." The engines roar, so loudly that I doubt whether one could hear guns without; the floor begins to slope and slopes until one seems to be at forty-five degrees or thereabouts; then the whole concern swings up and sways and slants the other way.

You have crossed a bank. You heel sideways. Through the door which has been left open you see the little group of engineers, staff officers and naval men receding and falling away behind you. You straighten up and go up hill.

You halt and begin to rotate. Through the open door the green field with its red walls, rows of work sheds and forests of chimneys in the background, begins a steady processional movement. The group of engineers and officers and naval men appears at the other side of the door, and further off. Then comes a sprint down hill.

It slides on the ground; the silly little wheels that so detract from the genial bestiality of its appearance dandle and bump behind it. It swings round about its axis. It comes to an obstacle, a low wall, let us say, or a heap of bricks, and sets to work to climb with its snout. It rears over the obstacle, it raises its straining belly, it overhangs more and more, and at last topples forward; it sways upon the heap, and then goes plunging downward, sticking out the weak counterpoise of its wheeled tail.

If it comes to a house or a tree or a wall or such like obstruction it rams against it so as to bring all its weight to bear upon it—it weighs "some" tons—and then climbs over the débris. I saw it, and incredulous soldiers of experience watched it at the same time, cross trenches and wallow amazingly through muddy exaggerations of shell holes. Then I repeated the tour inside.

Again, the "tank" is like the slug. The slug, as every biological student knows, is unexpectedly complicated inside. The "tank" is as crowded with inward parts as a battleship. It is filled with engines, guns, and ammunition, and, in the interstices, men.

You descend and stretch your legs.

About the field other "tanks" are doing their stunts. One is struggling in an apoplectic way in the mud pit with a cheek half buried. It noses its way out and on with an air of animal relief.

They are like jokes by Heath Robinson. One forgets that these things have already saved the lives of many hundreds of our soldiers and smashed and defeated thousands of Germans.

Said one soldier to me: "In the old attacks you used to see the British dead lying outside the machine gun emplacements like birds outside a butt with a good shot inside. *Now*, these things walk through."

I saw other things that day at X. The "tank" is only a beginning in a new phase of warfare. Of these other things I may only write in the most general terms.

Greater "Tanks" to Come

I realized as I walked through gigantic forges as high and marvelous as cathedrals, and from workshed to workshed where gun carriages, ammunition carts and a hundred such things were flowing into existence with the swelling abundance of a river that flows out of a gorge, that as the demand for the new developments grows clear and strong, the resources of Britain are capable still of a tremendous response. *If only we do not rob these great factories and works of their men.*

Upon this question I would like to say certain things very plainly. *The decisive factor in the sort of war we are now waging is the production and right use of mechanical material;* victory in this war depends now upon three things—the aeroplane, the gun, and the "tank" developments. These—and not crowds of men—are the prime necessity for a successful offensive.

Every man we draw from munition making to the ranks brings our western condition nearer to the military condition of Russia. In these things we may be easily misled by military "experts." We have to remember that the military "expert" is a man who learned his business before 1914, and that the business of war has been absolutely revolutionized since 1914. The military expert is a man trained to think of war as essentially an affair of cavalry, infantry in formation, and field guns, whereas cavalry is entirely obsolete, infantry no longer fights in formation, and the methods of gunnery have entirely changed.

The military man, I observe, still runs about the world in spurs; he travels in trains in spurs, he walks in spurs; he thinks in terms of spurs. He has still to discover that it is about as ridiculous for a soldier to go about in spurs today as if he were to carry a crossbow. I take it these spurs are only the outward and visible sign of an inward obsolescence.

Machinery and Victory

The disposition of the military expert is still to think too little of machinery and to demand too much of men. He makes irrational demands for men and for the wrong sort of men. Behind our front at the present time there are, for example, many thousands of cavalrymen tending horses, men engaged in transporting bulky fodder for horses, and the like.

These men are doing about as much in this war as if they were at Timbuctoo. Every man who is taken from munition making at X. to spur worshipping in khaki is a dead loss to the military efficiency of the country. Every man that is needed or is likely to be needed for the actual operations of modern warfare can be got by combing out the cavalry, the brewing and distilling industries, the theatres and music halls, and the like unproductive occupations. The understaffing of munition works, the diminution of their efficiency by the use of aged and female labor, is the straight course to failure in this war.

In X. in the forges and machine shops I saw already too large a proportion of boys and gray heads.

War is a thing that changes very rapidly, and we have in the "tanks" only the first of a great series of offensive developments. They are bound to be improved at a great pace. The method of using them will change very rapidly. Any added invention will necessitate the scrapping of old types and the production of the new patterns in quantity.

It is of supreme necessity to the Allies, if they are to win this war outright, that the lead in inventions and enterprise which the British have won over the Germans in the matter should be retained. It is our game now to press the advantage for all it is worth. We have to keep ahead to win. We cannot do so unless we have unstinted men and unstinted material to produce each new development as its use is realized.

Given that much, the "tank" will enormously enhance the advantage of the new offensive method on the French front—the method, that is, of gun demolition after aerial photography, followed by an advance. It is a huge addition to our prospect of decisive victory.

What does it do? It solves two problems. The existing "tank" affords a means of advancing against machine gun fire and of destroying wire and machine guns without much risk of loss, so soon as the big guns have done their duty by the enemy guns. And also behind the "tank" itself, it is useless to conceal, lies the possibility of bringing up big guns and big gun ammunition, across nearly any sort of country, as fast as the advance can press forward. Hitherto every advance has paid a heavy toll to the machine gun, and every advance has had to halt after a couple of miles or so while the big guns (taking five or six days for the job) toiled up to the new positions.

It is impossible to restrain a note of sharp urgency from what one has to say about these developments. The "tanks"—if we keep ahead with them—remove the last technical difficulties in our way to decisive victory and a permanent peace; they also afford a reason for straining every nerve to bring about a decision and peace soon.

Big Land Ironclads

At the risk of seeming an imaginative alarmist, I would like to point out the reasons these things disclose for hurrying this war to a decision and doing our utmost to arrange the world's affairs so as to make another war improbable. Already these serio-comic "tanks," weighing many tons, have gone slithering and sliding over dead and wounded men. That is not an incident for sensitive minds to dwell upon, but it is a mere little child's play anticipation of what the big land ironclads *that are bound to come if there is no world pacification*, are going to do.

What lies behind the "tank" depends upon this fact: there is no definite upward limit of mass. Upon that I would lay all the stress possible, because everything turns upon that.

You cannot make a land ironclad so big and heavy that you cannot make a caterpillar track wide enough and strong enough to carry it forward. "Tanks" are quite possible that will carry twenty-inch or twenty-five-inch

guns, besides minor armament. Such "tanks" may be undesirable; the production may exceed the industrial resources of any empire to produce; but there is no inherent impossibility in such things. There are not even the same limitations as to draft and docking accommodation that set bounds to the size of battleships.

It follows, therefore, as a necessary deduction that if the world's affairs are so left at the end of the war that the race of armaments continues, the "tank," which at present weighs under twenty tons, will develop steadily into a tremendous instrument of warfare, driven by engines of scores of thousands of horse power, tracking on a track scores or hundreds of yards wide, and weighing hundreds of thousands of tons. Nothing but a world agreement not to do so can prevent this logical development of the land ironclad idea. Such a structure will make wheel-ruts scores of feet deep; it will plow up, devastate and destroy the country it passes over altogether.

For my own part, I never imagined the land ironclad idea would get loose into war. I thought that the military intelligence was essentially unimaginative and that such an aggressive military power as Germany, dominated by military people, would never produce anything of the sort. I thought that this war would be fought out without "tanks" and that then war would come to an end. For of course it is mere stupidity that makes people doubt the ultimate ending of war.

I have been so far justified in these expectations of mine, that it is not from military sources that these things have come. They have been thrust upon the soldiers from without. But now that they are loose, now that they are in war, we have to face their full possibilities, to use our advantage in them and press on to the end of the war.

An Invincible Offensive

In support of a photo-aero directed artillery, even our present "tanks" can be used to complete an invincible offensive. We shall not so much push as ram. It is doubtful if the Germans can get anything of the sort into action before the Spring. We ought to get the war on to German soil before the "tanks" have grown to more than three or four times their present size. Then it will not matter so much how much bigger they grow. It will be the German landscape that will suffer.

Of course, if we comb out our colliers and munition workers, it will take much longer, and the big ones will come from the German side. That is the elementary common sense of the case.

After one has seen the actual "tanks," it is not very difficult to close one's eyes and figure the sort of "tank" that—given the assent of our military leaders—may be arguing with Germany in a few months' time about the restoration of Belgium and Serbia and France, the restoration of the sunken tonnage, the penalties of the various Zeppelin and submarine murders, the freedom of the seas and land alike from piracy, the evacuation and reunion of Poland, and the guarantee for the future peace of Europe.

The machine will be, perhaps, as big as a destroyer and more heavily armed and equipped. It will swim over and through the soil at a pace of ten or twelve miles an hour. In front of it will be corn land, neat woods, orchards, pasture, gardens, villages, and towns. It will advance upon its belly with a swaying motion, devouring the ground beneath it. Behind it masses of soil and rock, lumps of turf, splintered wood, bits of houses, occasional streaks of red, will drop from its track, and it will leave a wake, six or seven times as wide as a high road, from which all soil, all cultivation, all semblance to cultivated or cultivatable land will have disappeared.

It will not even be a track of soil. It will be a track of subsoil laid bare. It will be a flayed strip of nature. In the course of its fighting the monster may have to turn about. It will then halt and spin slowly around, grinding out an arena of desolation with a circumference equal to its length. If it has to retreat and advance again, these streaks and holes of destruction will increase and multiply. Behind the fighting line these monsters will manoeuvre to and fro, destroying

the land, for all ordinary agricultural purposes, for ages to come.

The first imaginative account of the land ironclad that was ever written concluded with the words, "They are the reductio ad absurdum of war." They are, and it is to the engineers, the ironmasters, the workers, and the inventive talent of Great Britain and France that we must look to insure that it is in Germany, the great modern war propagandist, that this demonstration of war's ultimate absurdity is completed.

Modern Frankenstein Monster

For forty years Frankenstein Germany invoked war, turned every development of material and social science to aggressive ends, and at last, when she felt the time was ripe, she let loose the new monster that she had made of war to cow the spirit of mankind. She set the thing trampling through Belgium. She cannot grumble if at last it comes home, stranger and more dreadful even than she made it, trampling the German towns and fields, with German blood upon it, and its eyes toward Berlin.

This logical development of the "tank" idea may seem a gloomy prospect for mankind. But it is open to question whether the tremendous development of warfare that has gone on in the last two years does after all open a prospect of unmitigated gloom. There has been a good deal of cheap and despondent sneering recently at the phrase, "The war that will end war."

It is still possible to maintain that that may be a correct description of this war. It has to be remembered that war, as the aeroplane and the "tank" have made it, has already become an impossible luxury for any barbaric or uncivilized people. War on the grade that has been achieved on the Somme predicates an immense industrialism behind it.

Of all the States in the world, only four can certainly be said to be fully capable of sustaining war at the level to which it has now been brought upon the western front. These are Britain, France, Germany, and the United States of America. Less certainly equal to the effort are Italy, Japan, Russia, and Austria.

These eight powers are the only powers in the world capable of warfare under modern conditions. Five are already allies and one is incurably pacific. There is no other power or people in the world that can go to war now without the consent and connivance of these great powers.

If we consider their alliances, we may count it that the matter rests now between two groups of allies and one neutral power. So that while, on the one hand, the development of modern warfare, of which the "tank" is the present symbol, opens a prospect of limitless, senseless destruction; it opens on the other hand a prospect of an organized world control of war.

This "tank" development must ultimately bring the need of a real permanent settlement within the compass of the meanest of diplomatic intelligences. A peace that will restore competitive armaments has now become an almost less desirable prospect for every one than a continuation of the war.

Things were bad enough before, when the land forces were still in a primitive phase of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and when the only real race to develop monsters and destructors was for sea power. But the race for sea power before 1914 was mere child's play to the breeding of engineering monstrosities for land warfare that must now follow any indeterminate peace settlement.

I am no blind believer in the wisdom of mankind, but I cannot believe that men are so insenate and headstrong as to miss the plain omens of the present situation.

So that, after all, the cheerful amusement the sight of a "tank" causes may not be so very unreasonable. These things may be no more than one of these penetrating flashes of wit that will sometimes light up and dispel the contentions of an angry man. If they are not that, then they are the grimmest jest that ever set men grinning. Wait and see, if you do not believe me.

A BRITISH "TANK" CROSSING A SHELL HOLE

This New Type of Armored Car, Traveling on Caterpillar Tractors, Has Played an Important Part in the Somme Engagements, and Is Believed to be the Precursor of Great Land Dreadnoughts

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

FUNERAL OF EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH AT VIENNA

Emperor Charles I. and Empress Zita, with Their Little Daughter, Are Followed (left to right) by the King of Norway, the Crown Prince of Sweden, King Ludwig of Bavaria, the Crown Prince of Germany, and Czar Ferdinand of Bulgaria.

(Central News Photo Service.)

Making Food for Hungry Guns

By Sir Arthur Conan Doyle

[By arrangement with The London Chronicle]

ONE of the miracles of present-day Britain is a place which we will call Moorside. Perhaps it is the most remarkable place in the world. Only a little more than a year ago, say September, 1915, it was a lonely peat bog fringing the sea, with a hinterland of desolate plain, over which the gulls swooped and screamed. Then the great hand of the Minister of Munitions was stretched out to this lonely and inhospitable waste, for it chanced to lie with good rail and water connections and not too remote from centres of coal and of iron. No money and no energy was spared, and half a dozen master hustlers took charge of the whole great scheme.

It is a story which is more characteristic of Western America than of sober British methods. The work went forward by day and by night. The place grew and grew, and still is growing. Already it measures nine good miles one way, with an average of one and a half the other. In the daytime there are at least 25,000 busy inhabitants. The greater part are the builders, who still extend the township. The smaller are the munition workers who will occupy it all when it is finished. But even now, in its partially finished state, its products are essential to the war and its output has entirely changed all the supply of the present and the expectations of the future. It is not yet fully manned—or should I say girled?—but when it is, not less than 12,000 munition workers will be running the miles of factories which overlie the peat bog of last Summer.

And it is not jerry-built—that is the wonder of it. In the centre of the colony is a considerable nucleus of solid brick houses which should be good for a century or more. Here are the main offices, the telephone stations, the club for the staff, (club sprinters would describe the inmates better than club loungers in these strenuous parts,) the hospital, the cinema theatre, a row of shops, and a cluster of residential houses. Radiating out from this centre are long lines of wooden erections to hold the workers, cottages for married couples, bungalows for groups of girls, and hostels, which hold as many as seventy in each. This central settlement is where the people live—north and south of it where they work.

The one end may be called the raw-material end, for all raw material needed is manufactured upon the spot. Here is a huge nitric acid plant. There, further to the right, is an even larger sulphuric acid installation. Some one—he must have been a chemist, and probably a German—has said that the civilization of a nation can be measured by the amount of sulphuric acid which it uses. Greece or Rome would come badly out of such a test, and I fear that for civilization prosperity, which may be its exact opposite, is to be read. But this place, the town on the peat bog, has, as a fact, about doubled the British output of this basic substance.

Hard by are the wide buildings where the raw cotton is stored, where the crude glycerine is refined, where the ether and alcohol are distilled, and where finally the perfect guncotton is completed. Thence by little trams it is conveyed over yonder to that rising ground, which is called Nitroglycerine Hill. You probably don't know it—certainly I did not—but glycerine cannot be pumped, and so to move it along the good old primitive force of gravity is summoned. Hence the Nitroglycerine Hill. There the nitroglycerine on the one side and the guncotton on the other are kneaded together into a sort of devil's porridge, which is the next stage of manufacture. This, by the way, is where the danger comes in. The least generation of heat may cause an explosion. Those smiling khaki-clad girls who are swirling the stuff round in their hands would be blown to

atoms in an instant if certain very small changes occurred. The changes will not occur, and the girls will still smile and stir their devil's porridge, but it is a narrow margin here between life and death. It is only constant order and care which keep the frontier intact.

Look at these great leaden basins and pipes in which the stuff is handled. How is the leaden basin joined to the leaden pipe? Here is one of those queer little romances with which the history of industry abounds. Solder is impossible. The acids would dissolve it. Lead must be welded to lead. It is a rare and difficult trade, one that is handed down from father to son and held close in a narrow circle. A lead-burner is a man of power, a man to be approached with offerings and prayers when a job is to be done. His rarity and his exclusiveness were one of the difficulties which had to be met. He had to be induced to part with his mystery and teach it to others. But he proved to be a patriot like his fellows. Anyhow the thing was done, as these great leaden tanks with their welded pipes will show. The lead must be as smooth as silk, too, upon the inner side. You are dealing with touchy, ill-tempered stuff. The least friction and you will know it—you or your executors.

When I saw these enormous works and the evidences of lavish expenditure, I ventured to ask those in authority how the State was to get its money back when, in the dim and distant future, the new world would become ruined and disorganized by the war coming to an end. Was that old, patient peat bog, waiting so silently below, to finally engulf the millions of the taxpayer? The reply was reassuring. All that I had seen up to that point was a good asset and of permanent value. It was all concerned with stuff which the arts of peace could readily absorb.

But now we went to the further end, where this devil's porridge which we have traced is finally seasoned into the fit food for our hungry guns. How hungry those guns are our minds can hardly conceive. We can never beat Hindenburg until we have beaten Krupp, and that is what these laughing khaki-clad girls of Moorside and elsewhere are going to do. Hats off to the women of Britain! Even all the exertions of the militants shall not in future prevent me from being an advocate for their vote, for those who have helped to save the State should be allowed to help to guide it.

To the further end did we go then, passing great power-houses and central controls upon the way (please don't forget, as you read, the year-old peat bog quivering underneath,) and there we saw pressing and kneading and stuff like brown sugar being squeezed into brown macaroni and finally dried into black liquorice sticks, which are cut up and blended, so as to get a standard strength. Here supervision is needed for a quaint cause. Girls have been known, out of love for Tommy, to put an extra pinch in the brew, with the result, of course, of entirely upsetting its ballistic qualities. We take it for granted that a gunner shooting at three miles can speedily range on a mere slit in the ground. I saw with my own eyes a house at 6,000 yards lifted off the face of the earth at the fourth round. When you see the girls blending the stuff, with the finest care, to get the absolute standard, you begin to understand what lies behind it.

So much for the actual manufacture. I have said nothing of a military guard of over 1,000 men, factory police, workmanlike women police, central bakeries, with 400 dozen loaves at a baking, central laundries, central kitchens with 8,000 rations going out at every meal, cashiers, who pay away £800 an hour in wages. And all this with the primeval ooze lying in stagnant pools around, the remains of the wilderness of September twelve months. Have I made out a case for my assertion that Moorside is one of the wonder spots of earth, as showing what man's brain and man's energy can effect? It is but one out of nearly forty which are working on similar tasks, but it is the newest, the largest, and the most remarkable.

And who did all this? The soldier gets his mention; why not these picked generals of industry behind the line? Those in authority we know; to them be all credit. But what about the men on the

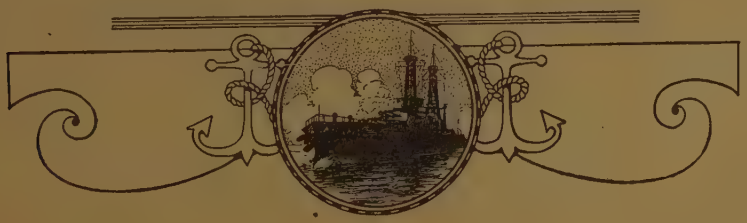
spot, the men who dug into the peat bog, who sank the foundations, who raised the town, who ran the works, who organized the plant which in one item alone, that of ether, produces more in a month than all pre-war Britain in a year. Alas, that their names may not be mentioned! They come from all parts of the British Empire, but especially from oversea. The magic builder who guides the army of 15,000 workers is Mr. P., an Englishman. Beside him are a little band of enthusiasts upon explosives, drawn from all ends of the empire. At one meeting at Nitroglycerine Hill it chanced that every man present was a South African. There is "Q.," an American by nationality, a South African in experience, a man with a drive like a steam piston. There is "G.," also of South Africa; there is "B.," of India; there is "L.," of Australia, and there is Major C. on the military and Mr. H. on the financial side. These are some of the miracle workers of Moorside.

There are two hampering difficulties which will no doubt be overcome, like all else, but which have held matters back. They are drink and labor. As to the latter, the labor unions have acted in a way which calls for the acknowledgment and gratitude of the nation. What they had won during a long and weary fight they renounced for the sake of their country. It is among the great sacrifices of the war, and full faith should be kept with them afterward.

But the faulty national teaching of all these years cannot be eradicated in individuals. There is still a lurking feeling that patriotism is an affair of politics and a tendency to think of one's own ease and advantage rather than the country's need. "There are splendid fellows among them, but on the whole the girls are more patriotic than the men." That was the conclusion of one who knew. Perhaps it is that a man's patriotism is a more silent emotion. Let us hope so.

And, lastly, there is the perennial question of the drink. There also the girls have an enormous advantage. There is not much drinking among the munition workers here. Their conditions are regular and comfortable. The drinking is rather among the great mass of outside workers, who are less under discipline and who live under less comfortable conditions, so that there is some excuse for their turning to the light and warmth and temporary exhilaration of the public house. It is true that the Board of Control stops the sale in the immediate district, but there are considerable towns a few miles away. I have always thought, and I still think, that if light wines and beers were permitted as a safety valve, the sale and even the manufacture of spirits could and should be forbidden. Such a change would be full payment for all that the war has cost us.

But there is no need to end this description on a critical note. After all, the work is done, this wonderful work, and it is not a drink-sodden or degenerate community which does such things. We have our difficulties. Drink is among them. But they affect a minority, and in very different degrees. Does any one suppose that Germany has not her own difficulties, very much heavier than ours? One comes away from Moorside marveling at the adaptability of the nation, at its power of improvisation, at its reserve of brain and energy, and at the promise which all these qualities give for our future place among mankind.



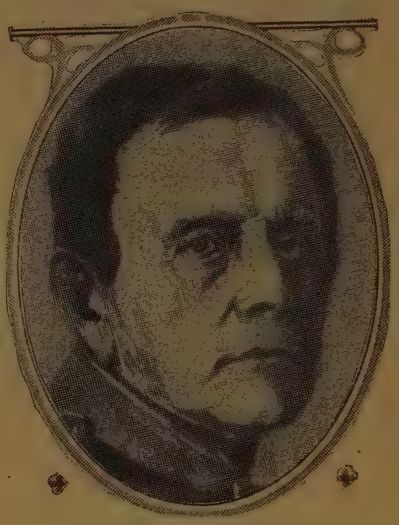
The Moltke of 1870 and the War Plan That Failed

By Thomas G. Frothingham

It is a delusion to believe that a plan of war may be laid for a prolonged period.—Moltke, 1870.

THE idols broken in this great war have not yet been counted. From the European military point of view before 1914, could anything be more surprising than the present military situation, with chains of American Petersburgs strung over the European Continent? Conditions have upset theories, and the elaborated structure of modern military science has fallen.

After the Franco-German war of 1870 the world had been taught that the way to military efficiency was through a scientific General Staff. At the outbreak of this war, in 1914, the Germans had the most perfected General Staff in all history, and they unhesitatingly committed their cause to its guidance.



GENERAL VON MOLTKE OF 1870

The "Kultur" organization of Germany, military, social, scientific, and commercial, at this time will be one of the marvels of history. The organization of its army was as efficient as can be imagined. Yet over this wonderful army was the controlling power of a General Staff that from its very perfection became the first failure of the war.

The German Great General Staff was theoretically the most efficient machine ever put together. All combinations of warfare had been analyzed, and a perverted Moltke cult had been carried to plus infinity. When the war broke out there was no suspicion in the German mind that this machine was not the reincarnation of the Moltke strategy of 1870. With the Moltke of 1914 as its chief, the Great General Staff was believed to be infallible. Yet, strangely enough, the plans of the German Staff of 1914, while attempting to imitate the campaign of 1870, violated the fundamental precept laid down by the victorious Moltke of 1870:

It is a delusion to believe that a plan of war may be laid for a prolonged period and carried out in every point. The first collision with the enemy changes the situation entirely, according to the result.*

What the Moltke of 1870 called a "delusion"—"a plan of war laid out for a prolonged period"—had become a part of the creed of the German Staff of 1914, because of the constant working out of war problems from one side of the board, with fixed conditions. Their campaigns had been reduced to a railroad time-table basis. It was forgotten how suddenly and completely an accident will upset a railroad schedule.

To see how far this was from the real strategy of the war of 1870 one has only to study Moltke's account of the Franco-German war. The most impressive feature is the flexibility of his plans, and the ease with which he changed to meet new conditions** with-

*The Franco-German War of 1870-71.—Helmuth von Moltke.

**The siege of Metz had formed no part of the original plan of campaign—and this necessitated a complete redistribution of the army.—Moltke, 1870.

out confusion or delay in the effective use of his armies.

Moltke's account of his great campaign is as simple and direct as Caesar's Commentaries. "By whatever special means these plans were to be accomplished was left to the decision of the hour; *the advance to the frontiers alone was preordained in every detail.*"† "The orders for marching and traveling by rail or boat were worked out for each division of the army, together with the most minute directions as to their different starting points, the day and hour of departure, the duration of the journey, the refreshment stations, the place of destination. At the meeting place cantonments were assigned to each corps and division, stores and magazines were established, and thus, when war was declared, it needed only the royal signature to set the entire apparatus in motion with undisturbed precision. There was nothing to be changed in the directions originally given; it sufficed to carry out the plans prearranged and prepared." It will be observed that all this ended in the perfect mobilization at the frontiers. "The mobilized forces were divided into three independent armies on a basis worked out by the General of the Prussian Staff."

Yet in the minds of the German Staff of 1914 "plans prearranged and prepared" had been extended far beyond Moltke's mobilization at the frontier. It had become the fashion to think of campaigns and battles in the enemy's territories as mathematically calculated—and most of this had been done by taking the great Moltke's name in vain. A mapped out, dated schedule of a campaign had become the distorted version of Moltke's strategy. There is no authority for this in his own work.

How much truth there may be in the tales of the domination of this militaristic group over the Crown Prince, forcing the war on the Kaiser, &c., is a matter of conjecture. But there is no question of the fact that the German Great General Staff was supremely confident of the result. It believed that the problem had been worked out in advance, and that a quick victory was a mathematical certainty.

The German mobilization of 1914 was as perfect as that of 1870, but the "prearranged" plan went beyond the frontier and there was a continuation of the schedule instead of the mobile armies of 1870.

The plan of war of 1914 was a repetition of the plan of 1870 directed against Paris,‡ the capture of which would probably again have meant the winning of the war. But, beyond the frontiers, this plan was committed to a new "opening"—to borrow a term from chess.

The assault on France had been planned through Belgium, with a supporting army massed in Luxemburg. This had been plotted out for years in advance, and all their machinery of mobilization and invasion had been tied fast to this plan, with the object of avoiding the theoretical strength of the French frontier fortresses.

Such formal fortresses had recently been given a high artificial value in all European military calculations. The use of steel and concrete had again deluded the experts into the belief that defense had advanced beyond the assaults of artillery, and all over Europe were scattered "impregnable" fortresses. These fortresses were all great factors in the preconceived war game—and none was of any value in the actual test of war.

Here was the failure of the German Staff. The French frontier fortresses had been considered so strong that direct attack on them was thought out of the question, and the drive through Belgium was their solution.

The German Staff made two errors. They apparently did not realize that in their heavy howitzers they possessed a weapon that would make formal fort-

†But, above all, the plan of war was based on the resolve to attack the enemy at once, *wherever found*, and keep the German forces so compact that a superior force could always be brought into the field.—Moltke, 1870.

‡The plan of war—fixed from the first upon the enemy's capital, the possession of which is of more importance in France than in other countries.—Moltke, 1870.

resses of no value—and they failed to calculate on a delaying resistance from the Belgians. These two mistakes lost them the capture of Paris.

No serious opposition had been expected to the passage through Belgium. Instead of this, the Belgians made a stout resistance. The Belgian Army fought well in the field, and in the overconfident plans of the German Staff there was no provision for heavy artillery to reduce the Belgian fortresses. Guns were brought up after awhile, but there was a clogging of the perfect machinery — and there was a delay of weeks before the invasion of France.

Seldom has a delay been so costly. France was given time to mobilize; the united response of the French people was wonderful; and the German drive against Paris was beaten off.

GEN. H. J. L. VON MOLTKE
Recent Chief of Staff
© *Am. Press Association*

This defeat of the plan of the German Staff was all the more bitter because of the failure to estimate the power of their new artillery. If, instead of the costly invasion of Belgium, a massed attack with these destructive howitzers had been made on the French fortresses, the Germans would have gone through them as if they had been made of paper. The destruction of all fortresses which have been bombarded by these guns has been the wonder of the war. Nothing has been able to resist them. Yet, although it is evident that the element of surprise is most valuable when an army has a new weapon, the surprise of their deadly assault was wasted on Belgian and outlying fortresses.

If this fearful force had been suddenly turned on the French frontier fortresses, which would have awaited the assault confident in their strength, there would have been a great disaster to the French. There would not have been time enough for the use of American intrenching tactics to save their fortresses. But, after the object lesson in Belgium, all such formal fortresses on the western front were converted into American Petersburg intrenchments, the only defense against such guns.

Another error of the German Staff was the carefully argued conclusion that Russia could not mobilize and take the offensive for months. Instead of this, there was an invasion of East Prussia by the Russians that actually started an exodus of the inhabitants. This compelled the General Staff to send into East Prussia troops much needed at the critical stage of the campaign against Paris.

The withdrawals of troops did great harm to the plans of the German Staff, but the invasion, or rather raid, was decisively defeated—and this defeat brought into prominence the General who was destined to do the greatest harm to the armies of the Allies, and also to dominate the German military situation.

Hindenburg had been out of favor, and was derisively called the "Old Man of the Lakes." Yet, when his favorite strategic field of the East Prussian Lakes was invaded, he was master of the situation. He won the first great German victory of the war at Tannenburg, and ended the Russian invasion. This victory made him the popular idol of Germany. His logical succession to the command in the east was followed by his terrific drive against the Russians in 1915, which made him the great figure of the war.

In the meantime things had gone badly with the German Staff. Moltke, the Chief of Staff, had been removed after the failure of the first great drive. His

successor, Falkenhayn, has met the same fate after months of German disappointment at Verdun.

The call of the German Nation was insistent for Hindenburg, and he is now the military dictator of Germany—and the head of the Great General Staff. When one remembers the omniscience credited to the Great General Staff of 1914, a more unexpected result cannot be conceived.

Yet this result came from logical causes. The General Staff had given to the German Army an organizaion better than had ever been seen, but it had created a bureaucracy, with preconceived ideas and plans fixed upon given conditions through years of peace. They could not be adapted to new forces or unexpected events.

Hindenburg, who was supposed to be tied to his lakes, after proving them of great strategic value, showed himself the master of new forces and changed conditions. His supreme command means the surrender of bureaucrats developed in peace to a leader developed in war. It also means a return to the real tactics of the Moltke of 1870. The following is from an interview given out by Hindenburg:*

> One does a great injustice to an army commander by attributing to him a program. He certainly has in his head a plan of war, a general view of war, but there is no prepared program, except that one—to gain victory. Where and how that shall be done can only be decided each moment anew, on the basis of events. Therefore a decision can be looked for as well in the east as in the west.

Compare these words of Hindenburg with those quoted from Moltke, and it is evident at once how alike the two men are in thought. There is no question of the fact that the supreme command of Hindenburg, with the consequent change in the German Great General Staff, is a menace to the armies of the Entente Allies. The perfected organizing and administrative machinery of the General Staff of 1914 is unchanged, but the directing mind is this new Moltke.

Already the change in control of the German Staff has produced important military results. Hindenburg's statement that he welcomed the entrance of Rumania into the war, because it would take the fighting out of trench warfare, has proved no empty threat. What he has accomplished in the Rumanian campaign is not yet fully appreciated.

Here was a new nation that entered the war because it was supposed that the Teutonic Allies were at the full stretch of their resources. Rumania had an army strong in numbers, with experience in the field, that had been prepared for a long time for just such a crisis. The Rumanians were confident that their sudden onslaught into Transylvania would wrest that province from Austria.

Instead of this, Hindenburg had made his preparations, and without any suspicion in the minds of his enemies, he had gathered two strong armies of Germans, Austrians, Turks, and Bulgarians to fall upon the Rumanian invaders of Transylvania and to invade Dobrudja.

Both attacks were made with the irresistible momentum that has characterized Hindenburg's "drives." The Rumanians were swept out of Transylvania, Dobrudja was overrun, and Hindenburg's tried Lieutenant, Mackensen, has relentlessly kept up the pressure on the Rumanians. He has defeated the Rumanian Army again and again, driven it from successive positions with great losses, captured Bucharest, and won control of the Danube for almost its entire length. The Teutonic Allies have gained valuable oil fields and quantities of supplies of all kinds.

Hindenburg has accomplished all this without weakening the other Teutonic fronts—at least the Entente Allies have not found any weak point. The new German commander has been able to wear down the Somme offensive on the western front without allowing it to interfere with the Rumanian campaign.

True to the spirit of the Moltke of 1870 Hindenburg had kept his mind open to a "decision in the east as well as in the west." With their obsession for the western front that came from preconceived plans, would his predecessors have been equal to this emergency? It seems impossible.

But the last trace of this defect in the

*New York Times, Oct. 31, 1916.

German Great General Staff has evidently disappeared. With Hindenburg, the reincarnation of the Moltke of 1870 in absolute command, the Entente Allies will have to develop their full strength to contend with the Teutonic armies.

It should not be deduced from the above that there is any less value in a General Staff. On the contrary, a General Staff is the most essential part of an army—and there is no other road to co-ordinated organization and administration. But, after years of peace, too much confidence in the "war game" strategy of a General Staff is dangerous.

Shortly after a great war, as in 1870, when the German Staff had been evolved from warfare, the plans of a General Staff would be of value. This was not the case with Germany in 1914, because Germany had not been at war for a generation, and changed conditions in the last two or three years had upset all previous calculations.

With our nation it would be the same story. This great war has proved that our civil war developed tactics far in advance of its times—which were destined to revolutionize warfare. Just after that war, although it was not recognized at the time, we were ahead of the rest of the world in military science, and we could have safely trusted our defense to our veteran Generals. But that war was over fifty years ago, and we have lost all touch with modern warfare.

This is a great lesson of the war for us—and it confirms the lessons of all wars. An army or navy should have a modern General Staff, to give it the only possible organization by which it can be called to active service efficient in all departments, but a staff should never be controlled by men of preconceived ideas, or by any group of men who have formed the habit of thinking alike.

The war colleges of the army and navy, in our country, are free from this danger of forming a bureaucracy. At these colleges intelligent officers of every kind of different individuality are taught to analyze and arrive at conclusions from sound processes of thought. The great variety of minds among the many officers in the classes prevents any clique or cult from spoiling the work.

The effect of the war college courses in both services is very marked, and this will increase in benefit to the army and navy from year to year with the accumulated written analyses of so many different skilled officers. It is probable that among these officers will be found the future leaders of our army and navy.

Wonders of War Surgery

[Written for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

IN every one of the belligerent countries there is now a new army, the army of maimed and crippled men. So great is their number—they are to be counted by hundreds of thousands—and so serious is the loss to the efficiency of the respective nations that it is realized that nothing less than heroic measures can minimize the evil both to the community and to the individual sufferer.

While the war goes on the first consideration in dealing with the men who appear in the casualty lists under the heading of "wounded" is to get as many as possible fit again for the firing line. This exclusively military standpoint has had a tendency to leave the man incapacitated for further fighting to shift for himself or rely upon charity. The army authorities, finding that a wounded soldier could not be patched up, have lost interest in him, given him his discharge and a pension, and forgotten other national needs. It has, however, become increasingly evident that, while a man may have ceased to be of further military value, it would be disastrous to let him become a useless member of society, a source of expense to the State and a burden to himself.

A man may have lost a limb or his eyesight, and yet, given the opportunity, he may be fitted for some new useful occupation. Accordingly, in Germany and France, and to some extent in Great Britain, the foundations are being laid for a system of "re-education," that is, a system of vocational training that will enable wounded men to begin a new career of usefulness. In this way it is hoped to alleviate somewhat the horror of the human wreckage and reduce the waste of industrial man power.

One of the striking features of the war has been the rapid progress in surgery consequent upon the necessity of saving life and limb. Surgeons have performed operations that were hardly thought possible before the war. New methods have been discovered, new appliances invented, and, indeed, an entirely new chapter has been written in the history of surgery. Soldiers, whose fighting days seemed at an end, have been remade and sent back to the front as fit and strong as when they first joined the colors.

In the old days, as any one who has read history knows, the practice was to amputate as a matter of course. Now every effort is made not to amputate, for surgery in its progress has become conservative in the best sense of the word. Thus, at the Herbert Hospital, Shooter's Hill, London, there have been between three and four thousand operations on wounded soldiers, but of these only about twenty-five have been primary amputations.

Extraordinary operations are being performed every day in cases of bone, muscle, and nerve fracture. The surgeons, discovering that the human body has greater powers of recuperation than they thought, do not hesitate to take a piece of bone from one part of a patient's anatomy and utilize it to repair another that has been destroyed or removed. At another military hospital in London there was, for example, a case of severe injury to the jaw. The surgeon removed a piece of bone about 2½ inches long from the tibia (the large shinbone) of the patient and fixed it in the jaw. The man's leg has healed up, and the jaw has improved so much that eating is now a far less painful process. In very many cases a broken bone is rejoined by a steel splint screwed to the bone just as a carpenter screws together two pieces of wood. The steel plate, which is sometimes an inch wide and four or five inches long, remains permanently in the wound, together with the steel screws, without pain or inconvenience. One of the surgeons who has performed many of these operations believes that in time the steel will become dissipated in the system and disappear altogether. As iron is one of

the constitutents of the blood, the splint does not become a source of danger.

Wonderful successes have also been achieved with injured nerves. At the Hammersmith General Hospital, London, for example, six useless muscles were taken from one side of a patient's wrist and transferred to the other, with the result that the hand, previously paralyzed, could once more be used. In another case the surgeon found four inches of a nerve in the arm gone. He telephoned round to the other London hospitals to inquire whether an amputation was in prospect and learned that a man was to have a leg off that afternoon. He asked that the severed limb should be put at once in a saline bath and brought to him in a taxicab. The patient was already under an anaesthetic when the leg, still blood-warm, arrived. The surgeon promptly transferred four inches of nerve from the amputated leg to the arm of the patient with a perfectly successful result.

But perhaps the most wonderful surgical triumph was that in the case of a man with a shrapnel wound. A piece of metal, about the size of a twenty-five-cent piece and much thicker, had entered the breast and lodged in the region of the heart. It was actually touching the heart and impeding its action. When the opening was made the surgeon thrust his hand right in and pulled out the piece of metal. The soldier made a complete recovery. The triumphs of British, French, and German practitioners would fill volumes.

The bacteriologist has also played an important part in the war. In the earlier period of the war tetanus was playing havoc among the troops, and great work was done in combating its ravages by the famous French physician, Doyen, since dead. More recently an important discovery has been made by Miss Mary Davies, bacteriologist for the Robert Walton Goelet Research Fund, as the result of experiments at a hospital in France. One of the chief causes of infection has been pieces of uniform shot into the body. Miss Davies, who had already gained distinction by inoculating herself with gangrene bacilli to prove the efficacy of Taylor's specific, set to work to discover how soldiers' uniforms could be rendered aseptic. She finally devised a treatment based upon a combination of cresol and soft soap with which the clothing is to be periodically impregnated.

Mr. Lloyd George, then War Minister in England, on receiving Miss Davies's report, ordered that the British soldiers' clothes should be sterilized with her preparation. In addition to its value in reducing the proportion of highly septic wounds the preparation is also welcome as a destroyer of body lice, one of the greatest discomforts of life in the trenches.

Military considerations have, of course, been so far uppermost in the treatment of wounded men; but it is recognized that steps must be taken to prepare the maimed, crippled, and invalided as effectively as possible for civil life after the war. Germany has in this respect taken the lead. There sixty schools are already in existence for the purpose of training men in new occupations. France has also made a vigorous beginning in the matter of "réducation des mutilés." M. Millerand took the initiative while Minister of War. As a result of the movement then begun, the Ministries of the Interior, of Commerce, and of Agriculture have since joined hands to create a system of training the "mutilated" for new occupations.

At first there was naturally some confusion of method. Men who had lost legs or feet were placed in the same institutions as those who had lost arms or hands, when obviously two such distinct classes of wounded men needed different courses of training. But these early mistakes have been corrected, and the French Government, beginning with the great school established at Bordeaux, has evolved a system which will ultimately classify the "mutilated" according to the limbs or organs they have lost and find appropriate occupations for the different groups. Legless men who can use their hands will learn different crafts from those who are armless, and so on.

Great Britain has moved more slowly than France or Germany in the task of re-educating her mutilated men. Nevertheless a start has been made, in one

instance more through the spontaneous desire of the wounded soldiers to have something to do to pass the time than because of any carefully thought-out plan. At the Military Orthopedic Hospital, Shepherd's Bush, London, a proportion of the 800 inmates have been set to work at a variety of occupations. Workshops have been built, as well as a gymnasium. In one of the shops a number of men are now making surgical boots, and have developed so much skill that their work is as good as that of the lifelong craftsman, while the hospital is getting the articles it requires at practically cost price. Other wounded men are making aluminium splints, steel supports, and leather bandages for their comrades.

One of the most pathetic, and yet curious, sights is to see two men who have each lost a hand combining to do the work of one man. You will see, for example, in the blacksmith's shop attached to the hospital a one-handed soldier pumping the bellows till the steel is red hot. Then he takes it out of the fire and places it on an anvil, where he holds it in position while another one-handed man hammers it into shape. In the carpenter's shop you will see similar teamwork by a couple of men engaged on a skillful piece of joinery for hospital use, one man holding the nail while the other does the hammering. Men who have lost the right arm or hand learn to put the left to new uses, and it is amazing how resourceful a man with only one hand can become.

The British Government, however, is slow in developing a national system of re-education for the disabled, for in this, as in most things, the British way is not to plan beforehand or with much logic, but to improvise and build up as one goes along. John Galsworthy, however, has foreseen the danger that must inevitably arise if the treatment of the wounded and disabled is to be dealt with from the military point of view of salvaging manhood merely for a new lease of life in the trenches.

"If it remains simply an army problem," he has declared, "our towns and countrysides, when the war is over, will be plastered for the next twenty or thirty years with well-nigh useless men. To retain control of the patient, so that his treatment may be coherent and sustained, seems to be of the very essence of what can be done for the future of most of these men. Vital it is that the most huge calamity of this war shall be divested of every consequence which foresight and ingenuity can strip away. Not all discharged men, of course, will need refitting for civil life—there are some whom refitting cannot serve; but for the great majority it is essential. The disablement is so various; eighteen categories exist. Think what that means in the diversity of treatment required. Every man who is discharged without being first remade so far as possible goes back to civil life half beaten. The half-beaten man is soon done for altogether, and becomes a ghost to haunt us all."

But these ghosts are already haunting the people. In every town, in every little village, the belligerent countries swarm with the cripples and invalids, the wreckage of the war; and so it will be for a generation to come. It is that which makes the thought of living in those countries after the war a thing of horror. Already in England some of these men who have escaped with their lives but not with bodies intact are being driven to eke out their scanty pensions by such disguised forms of begging as soliciting pennies with the aid of a street organ. Before the war Great Britain had nearly a million persons whose legal status was that of paupers. It is easy to imagine what the condition of the country will be if the poor-law army is allowed to be swelled by thousands of men who have been disabled in the war.

The aggregate of disabled men for all the warring nations runs to millions, and they are practically all Europeans. This immense population, filling the hospitals now as thick as leaves in an Autumn forest, dependent upon public and private benevolence, despite the salvage that will be effected by refitting and re-educating a certain proportion, already means a huge loss to the productive capacity of Europe and the social and intellectual activities upon which economic well-being depends.

[HUMAN DOCUMENTS OF THE WAR]

A War Vision

By Count Ilya Tolstoy

[Translated from the Russian by Miss I. Rojansky for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.]

This is the first English translation of excerpts from a war diary written by Count Ilya Tolstoy, a son of the late Count Leo Tolstoy, the famous novelist. Count Tolstoy has been serving with the Red Cross branch of the Russian Army, and these impressions are from his diary. He is now visiting the United States.

THE war relics of devastated structures leave a sad and painful impression. Of the many deserted battlefields which I have seen during the two years past, of the nameless little graves faintly marked with little wooden crosses, of the deserted trenches, nothing gave me so much food for deep and sad reflection as the bare and lonely chimneys projecting from amid piles of rubbish, melancholy blackened pots, the scattered remnants of domesticity; a smashed pail, a broken wheel, a binding of a torn book, the splinters of what was once a crib.

To think that hereabout dwelt a family; that they were contented and possibly happy! Those walls, stripped and crumbled, what have they not seen!

It always seems to me that an event having occurred at a given place, the memory of the occurrence attaches permanently to it. Whenever I happened to find myself in a locality in which some memorable events had taken place I could not think of those events without at the same time visualizing the surroundings amid which they occurred; and the more recent the occurrence, the more vividly I can see the scene unfolding itself before my eyes.

The vast number of such impressions which the present war has produced make a film, vivid and endless.

I remember one such pile of ruins, which I saw not far from the road leading to Jaroslav. This ruin remained permanently fixed in my memory by reason of a horrible tale connected with it.

Some time ago there lived on a farm a well-to-do Galician gardner. When the war broke out he was drafted into the army. He went forth, leaving behind him a wife and three small children. Shortly following his departure, troops commenced appearing in the immediate neighborhood. At first came small detachments, but these were quickly followed by more formidable bodies. In a short time lines of trenches were dug on both sides of the farm and real warfare began.

The firing was continuous. The family sought safety in the corners of their hut. They hid in the cellar under the heaps of beets and potatoes, but the children soon became accustomed to the hissing of bullets and lost all fear of them.

The wounded soldiers, for the most part Austrians, began crawling toward the farm. There they bound up their wounds. The children looked on and sometimes gave aid, holding with their tiny fingers the blood-soaked cotton, or winding long and transparent bandages around the wounded limbs. They became accustomed to pain and to the groans of the dying, and in their naïve and simple way rendered all the help of which they were capable.

At night, when darkness fell and when firing from both sides would cease, the Austrian relief workers would come, place the wounded on long and unsteady stretchers, and carry them to the rear. On one occasion the wounded sent the eldest girl to the pond to fetch some water. She stayed away for a long, long time. Later she was found lying on the grass with a bullet in her slender little shoulder. The pails lay near her empty.

During the night she, too, was placed on a stretcher and was carried away. With her went the mother and the rest

of the children. From that night on the farm remained forsaken.

The wounded, however, continued crawling to the hut, their numbers increasing from day to day. At times the litter bearers could not manage to look into the farm, and the wounded lay for days at a stretch without aid.

At the end of October a serious cholera epidemic broke out among the Austrian troops. From that time on there appeared among those creeping toward the lonely farm large numbers of emaciated and pale-blue forms—shadows of men. On reaching the farm they fell on to the straw, coiled and groaned in agony, and for the most part remained lying there, silenced by everlasting sleep.

There was no one to bury the bodies, and they gradualy began decomposing. On top of those bodies fell more and more. It became impossible to live amid these hellish surroundings, and if by chance some unfortunate wounded happened to come along most of them would leave the little hut and limp ahead, preferring to dare the firing line rather than be stifled in this horrible atmosphere of death and stench.

The engagements, having lasted several weeks, became more and more stubborn. The trenches crept nearer and nearer, until they resembled two live, gigantic horns about to embrace each other. Presently one of the Austrian trenches came so near the farm that the house became an obstacle to firing, and an order was issued to apply the torch to the incumbrance.

It was a dangerous task; all knew through experience that the Russians keep a sharp lookout on all that transpires in the enemy line and do not allow to pass with impunity the most insignificant move on the part of the enemy. At night the men, while smoking, would lie low at the very base of the trench, as the mere striking of a match sufficed to draw fire from the opposite lines.

As a result of some faint noise or a slight movement, vigorous firing would not infrequently burst out all along the line, and instead of getting the much-needed rest, the soldiers would pass nights on their feet and remain fatigued from sleeplessness and nervous exertion.

A young Second Lieutenant, recently promoted, and clean-shaven, volunteered to apply the torch. Though an ambitious man, he was at the same time limited and cowardly. He always tried to conceal his cowardice under a mask of arrogance, pushing his way forward whenever there was an opportunity to get into the spotlight and have his name mentioned. To brace himself, the officer emptied a large glass of spirits, and, taking along one of the men, left a cozy, sheltered trench and began feeling his way across the fields.

The night was dark as a grave, and over the lowland of the garden hung a thick, milky fog. The feet sank deep into the sticky, soaking mud. The Lieutenant's assistant went slowly, bent to the ground and breathing heavily.

They continued on their way without seeing anything ahead. Though the distance between them and their object was only 200 yards, it seemed to them from time to time as if they had lost their bearings and were going in the wrong direction.

Soon they were aware of a heavy, suffocating smell; the next moment there loomed up before their eyes a sombre silhouette of a building. It stood there enveloped in fog.

Reaching a corner of the house, the Lieutenant stopped short, drew from his ulster a big field revolver, and whispered to the man to come near.

It seemed that his main care was not to carry out the task he had undertaken, but to hide conveniently from the Russian fire, and then slip off to the rear as soon as the house caught fire. He figured that while the flames were spreading over the structure, and before they had reached the last wall, he could quietly and without the least danger remain under shelter. As soon as the fire enveloped the structure, and before the walls began crumbling, he would run back in time to avoid exposure by the conflagration.

With this in view, he gave orders to his subordinate to pile up straw on the side of the building directly facing the trenches. In the meantime the officer, having taken shelter behind the opposite

wall, lit a cigar and remained waiting for developments.

A few moments of long and painful suspense followed. The poor Lieutenant was in a state of frenzy. It was not the personal danger alone that now excited his imagination. He was tormented by the mystic fear of that which he was about to carry out. In the darkness he drew a sombre sketch of all that was hidden behind the wall, the inevitable which he was to face within a few moments.

How many of them are there? In what stage of decomposition? How do they lie?

The officer suddenly recalled a conversation in which some one had told him that when the flames touched the dead in the crematory they coiled and twisted as if alive. In his excited imagination he quickly pictured a wild dance of the dead which was about to begin.

"When they calm down," he thought, "after they are burned, as soon as roast meat is scented I will run, and then let the Russians shoot at them. All I have to do is to get away in time. If we were only done with this! Quick! Quick!"

At this moment he became aware of a pleasant smell of straw smoke, and immediately afterward the opposite corner of the structure burst into a bright flame. Almost simultaneously with the flash firing began from the Russian trenches, and it seemed to the officer that a few bullets hissed near him.

The soldier succeeded in pouring a great quantity of kerosene into the interior of the house. The fire spread with unusual swiftness. In two minutes the structure was all ablaze.

The officer stood at the open door, watching curiously the interior of the main room. Scattered all over the floor there lay contorted and twisted forms. They lay in irregular heaps. It was an appalling and gruesome sight. From somewhere protruded some one's long, bare legs; near the wall lingered a lonely arm, curled, swollen, and slightly lifted, it hung in a threatening posture; from under a tattered old military coat projected a thick brush of black-blue hair; and at some distance, leaning on the furnace, there half sat the mighty figure of a stately corpse. The majestic body was bent in gloom, two huge, rough, and calloused hands supporting a big head.

Suddenly it seemed to the Lieutenant as if he heard some one groan. The sound became more and more audible, coming nearer and nearer; one voice, a second, somebody called, a cry rang out, and suddenly pandemonium broke loose. Air-rending cries came from all sides, and men began to drop, one by one, falling about the officer and stretching at his feet. Some fell straight from the ceiling to the earthen floor, others came creeping down the ladder; they dropped into the flames, choking and writhing in deadly agony.

The officer, half dead from fright, drew his revolver and opened fire. He ceased firing when his supply of bullets gave out. His ammunition gone, the Lieutenant threw down the weapon and ran. No one will ever know the number of unfortunates he thus killed. All I know is that of all the men hiding in the garret of that farm only one was saved. It was he who told me this terrible tale. He did this while lying in one of our hospitals. According to his version, there were at the time in the building a great number of wounded soldiers, who had come there during the last engagement. When fire was set to the house, they endeavored to get down. All perished. Some were burned alive, while others were shot to death by their own officer. Among those who perished was also the soldier who had served as the Lieutenant's assistant.

These were the horrible visions. I saw them every time I chanced to pass the ruined and devastated spot.

The fate of the vain and unhappy officer does not in the least concern me. I am not even disposed to blame him for his weakness. For this we can only pity a man. One is bound to pity also those who met death at his hands.

But for some reason or other I cannot help remembering the wounded little girl. There she lay, dying from loss of blood; there at the turning of the footpath, near the two little birch trees.

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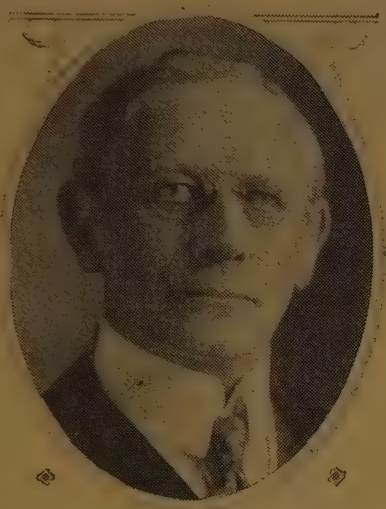
American Precedents for All British Dealings With Neutrals at Sea

By A. Maurice Low

Author of "The Law of Blockade"

Mr. Low is an English journalist and publicist who has spent the best part of his life in the United States, and has been for some years the Washington correspondent of The London Morning Post. He is a frequent contributor to leading magazines on both sides of the Atlantic, and is the author of numerous books on American life and institutions.

THE United States has a serious dispute with Great Britain over the blockade of Germany, which most Americans believe is not a legitimate exercise of the rights of belligerency but a defiance of neutral rights in violation of international law and precedent. I shall show that for everything the British Government has done since the beginning of the war affecting neutrals there is an exact precedent derived from American authorities; that the British Government is simply following the rulings of the Supreme Court of the United States in its decisions arising out of seizures of neutral vessels during the American civil war, and that the practices of the commanders of British cruisers are in every respect those which were enforced by American commanders during the civil and Spanish wars, which were sanctioned by the Supreme Court.



A. MAURICE LOW
(Photo © Harris & Ewing)

The American Government protested against neutral ships being taken into British ports for examination instead of search being made on the high seas. The new practice, Secretary Lansing wrote, subjected the neutral to great inconvenience and loss, and was unnecessary, as a board of naval experts, to whom the question had been referred, reported to him that it was as easy to search a vessel of 20,000 tons at sea as it was one of a thousand tons.

On March 13, 1863, Rear Admiral Theodorus Bailey, commanding the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, writing to the Secretary of the Navy, expressed his dissatisfaction because the British brig Magicienne had been released by the Prize Commissioner, and said:

> In this connection I would remind the department that the mere fact of contraband would be sufficient to warrant her being seized by our cruisers and sent in for adjudication, and that a search for such further proof of complicity with the rebels, as is suggested above *would be impossible at sea,* [my italics,] as all such proof would naturally be stowed well out of reach. (Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion, Series 1, Vol. XVII., Page 402.)

Thus, fifty years ago an American squadron commander found it impossible to search vessels at sea and was forced to take them into port.

As the American note (although there are many notes, for the sake of convenience I discuss them as a whole) lays much stress on this alleged obnoxious and indefensible practice, I shall refer to it later; here it is only necessary to say that the Supreme Court of the United States held that when a commander believes a vessel carries contraband he is in duty bound to bring in the vessel for

adjudication. In pronouncing decision in the Peterhoff case Chief Justice Chase declared:

> The search led to the belief on the part of the officers of the Vanderbilt that there was contraband on board destined to the enemy. This belief, it is now apparent, was warranted. It was, therefore, the duty of the captors to bring the Peterhoff in for adjudication. (The Peterhoff, 5 Wall, 28.)

Sir Edward Grey might with propriety have referred to the decision of the Supreme Court in the Isabella Thompson case, (3 Wall, 155,) in which it was held:

> The term "probable cause" in matters of prize means such circumstances as would warrant a reasonable ground of suspicion that the vessel was engaged in an illegal traffic. To adopt a harsher rule, and hold that the captors must decide for themselves the merits of each case, would involve perils which few would be willing to encounter.

Chief Justice Fuller

Exigencies of space will not permit further civil war decisions, but it is important to give a decision arising out of the last war in which the United States engaged, which shows that the American judicial mind takes the same view today of national rights in time of war as it did half a century earlier. During the Spanish war the Olinde Rodrigues, a French ship, was captured for attempted breach of the blockade of San Juan, Porto Rico. In pronouncing decision Chief Justice Fuller said:

> Probable cause for making the capture undoubtedly existed. * * * Probable cause exists when there are circumstances sufficient to warrant suspicion, though it may turn out that the facts are not sufficient to warrant condemnation. And whether they are or not cannot be determined unless the customary proceedings of prize are instituted and enforced. Even if not found sufficient to condemn, restitution will not necessarily be made absolutely, but may be decreed conditionally, as each case requires, and an order of restitution does not prove lack of probable cause. (174 U. S., 510.)

Mr. Lansing complains of the vexatious proceedings of British naval officers, yet here is the Supreme Court of the United States sanctioning a seizure if there is "probable cause"; and not only sanctioning it but saying even if a ship is released the fact of restitution does not prove lack of probable cause.

Meeting the American protest that it is illegal for a belligerent to interfere with goods intended to become incorporated in the mass of merchandise for sale in a neutral country, or, as it is more commonly known, with goods intended to be incorporated in the "common stock" of the country, Sir Edward Grey says the mere fact that goods are ostensibly destined to form part of the common stock of a neutral country cannot be regarded as sufficient evidence to prove their innocence.

It is unfortunate that the Foreign Secretary does not clinch his argument by the citations, because they would quiet American resentment. The Supreme Court definitely settled the question of real and fictitious trade when it said:

> If by trade between neutral ports is meant real trade, in the course of which goods conveyed from one port to another become incorporated into the mass of goods for sale in the port of destination * * * we accept the proposition of counsel as correct. But if it is intended to affirm that a neutral ship may take on a contraband cargo ostensibly for a neutral port, but destined in reality for a belligerent port, either by the same ship or another, without becoming liable from the commencement to the end of the voyage to seizure, in order to the confiscation of the cargo, we do not agree with it. (The Bermuda, 3 Wall, 515.)

Mr. Lansing objects to the wide extension of the contraband list and questions the legality of the British Government declaring certain articles contraband heretofore never so regarded. Mr. Cass, Secretary of State, addressing Mr. Mason, American Minister to France, on the subject of contraband, wrote on June 27, 1859: "There is no approved enumeration of the articles coming within the prohibition. * * * The principle by which they are to be tested is so loosely defined that it is practically of little use."

In 1864 the United States added coin and bullion to the contraband list. Printing presses, material and paper, and postage stamps belonging to the enemy, and intended for his immediate use, were declared contraband by a ruling of the Supreme Court of the United States. (The Bermuda, 3 Wall, 515.) Mr. Bayard, when Secretary of State, wrote:

> I apprehend it to be the settled rule of international law that the question of contraband is to be determined by the special circumstances of each case. Horses, for ex-

RUMANIAN TROOPS RETREATING ACROSS THE DANUBE

Across This Pontoon Bridge in Northern Dodrudja the Rumanians Were Driven Back by the Germans from the Left Bank of the River

(Photo from Underwood & Underwood.)

VIEW OF HEART OF ATHENS AS SEEN FROM THE ACROPOLIS

The Greek Capital, with Its Ruler, King Constantine, Has Furnished the Entente Allies with One of Their Knottiest War Problems

(Photo from Central News Service.)

ample, would not ordinarily be spoken of as contraband, yet all authorities agree that they may be so regarded when their supply is so essential to a particular belligerent that he cannot carry on operations successfully without them.

Chase on Contraband

That the term contraband has a meaning but is incapable of precise definition was stated by Chief Justice Chase in delivering the decision in the Peterhoff, when he said: "A strictly accurate and satisfactory classification [of contraband] is perhaps impracticable."

The same eminent authority enlarged the established list of contraband acknowledged by the American Government by including not only recognized articles of military use, but also those for the use of the civil branch of the belligerent Government, the first time, I believe, this inclusion was made. In the Bermuda decision the Chief Justice said:

> Now, what were the marks by which the conveyance of contraband on the Bermuda was accompanied? First, we have the character of the contraband articles, fitted for immediate use in battle, or for the immediate civil service of the rebel Government.

Mr. Bayard, Secretary of State, writing to the Spanish Minister, said:

> Cotton, in fact, was to the Confederacy as much munitions of war as powder and ball, for it furnished the chief means of obtaining those indispensables of warfare. In international law there could be no question as to the right of the Federal commanders to seize it as contraband of war, whether they found it on rebel territory or intercepted it on the way to the parties who were to furnish in return material aid in the form of the sinews of war, arms or general supplies.

Chancellor Kent says:

> It is the usus bellici which determined an article to be contraband, and as articles come into use as implements of war which were before innocent, there is truth in the remark that as the means of war vary and shift from time to time, the law of nations shifts with them; not, indeed, by the change of principles, but by a change in the application of them to new cases and in order to meet the varying inventions of war.

The American Government challenges the validity of the blockade, because under the established rule of international law not only must a blockade be effective, but it must apply impartially to the ships of all nations. The American Government alleges, "as a matter of common knowledge," that the German coasts are open to trade with the Scandinavian countries, and German naval vessels cruise both in the North Sea and the Baltic. Therefore, the blockade is unequal, as while it prevents American commerce with Germany, it leaves Sweden, Norway, and Denmark free to trade with Germany. Furthermore, a belligerent may not blockade neutral ports, but Great Britain, by interfering with neutral trade, is virtually blockading neutral coasts.

Sir Edward Grey's answer is to recall the action of the United States during the civil war in stopping trade between neutral ports and the blockaded Southern ports, and the extension by the Supreme Court of the doctrine of continuous voyage so as to cover all cases of intent to break the blockade, direct or indirect.

The British case at this point would have been strengthened had Sir Edward Grey called Mr. Lansing's attention to the decision of the Supreme Court in the Olinde Rodrigues, (174 U. S. 510.) Chief Justice Fuller in delivering the opinion said:

> Blockades are maritime blockades, or blockades by sea and land; and they may be either military or commercial, or may partake of the nature of both. The question of effectiveness must necessarily depend on the circumstances. * * *
>
> Our Government was originally of the opinion that commercial blockades in respect of neutral powers ought to be done away with; but that view was not accepted, and during the period of the civil war the largest commercial blockade ever known was established.

Ultimate Destination

The "commercial blockade of neutral powers," which received the sanction of the Supreme Court, is one of the weapons employed by England to reduce Germany, and is an application of the American doctrine of ultimate destination. That doctrine is very simple, but that it may be understood by every one, lawyer as well as layman—and there are some lawyers who certainly do not understand it, as they have written to their own confusion—a short historical sketch is necessary.

In 1801 Sir William Scott, later and more generally known as Lord Stowell, sitting in the Court of Admiralty, held

that no matter at how many ports a vessel touched, or how much of her cargo was discharged or taken on en route, the voyage was continuous from the original port of departure to the final port of destination. This was the doctrine of "continuity of voyages," as it was originally called, and in modern times the doctrine of continuous voyage. Scott invented his doctrine to stamp with illegality voyages between the French and Dutch colonies and the mother countries, with whom Great Britain was at war. To secure immunity French and Dutch colonial products were shipped in neutral vessels, which first touched at an American port, where by a pleasing legal fiction the cargoes ceased to be French or Dutch and became American.

During the American civil war British ships laden with British goods were dispatched nominally to the British West Indian possessions, but actually their cargoes were for the Confederacy. Federal cruisers went out into the Atlantic, some of them 1,000 miles from the blockaded Southern coast, and captured British vessels. Their owners claimed that the seizures were in violation of international law, as the vessels were proceeding from one neutral (British) port to another; that no evidence was produced to show the vessels contemplated a breach of blockade; that no proof had been adduced that their cargoes were enemy goods; that the United States had always stood for the principle of "free ships, free goods," and a ship under a neutral flag was "free"; that the goods were intended in the exercise of legitimate commerce to be sold into the common stock of the place where they were to be discharged, and, Great Britain being a neutral, it was illegal and in violation of international law for a belligerent to blockade the ports of a neutral—the very point, it may be added, that Secretary Lansing more than half a century later now applies as against Great Britain. The Supreme Court decided against these ingenious but dishonest sophistries by declaring:

> A voyage from a neutral to a belligerent port is one and the same voyage, whether the destination be ulterior or direct, and whether with or without the interposition of one or more intermediate ports; and whether to be performed by one vessel or several employed in the same transaction and in the accomplishment of the same purpose. (The Bermuda, 3 Wall, 515.)

And again in the same case: "It makes no difference whether the destination to the rebel port was ulterior or direct."

This doctrine of ulterior, ultimate, real, or final destination, and the terms were interchangeably used by the Supreme Court, greatly enlarged the scope of the original doctrine. Sir William Scott held that seizure could not be legally made until after the vessel had touched at the intermediate port. That is to say, a vessel sailing from Martinique for New York was immune from seizure, but after leaving New York, if she attempted to make a French port, she could be captured. Under the Supreme Court doctrine of ultimate destination it was legal to seize a vessel between the port of original departure and the intermediate neutral port, "and this on the conjecture of an ulterior adventure being projected for the goods in question from such intermediate neutral to a blockaded port."

A Civil War Precedent

Mr. Lansing complains that British cruisers have seized neutral vessels on "suspicion" and not on the "evidence found on the ship under investigation," and Sir Edward Grey fails to remind him what was done during the civil war. On July 7, 1862, the British steamer Adela, while off Great Abaco Island, was captured by the Quaker City and sent into Key West as a prize. Commander Frailey of the Quaker City, reporting his capture to the Secretary of the Navy, says: "I did not examine her hold, being under the impression at that time that I had no authority to open her hatches, but, having a *suspicion* [my italics] of her character, I deemed it my duty to send her into port and hand her over to judicial authority for examination." Commander Frailey had no proof, he did not even open a hatch, but having his suspicions and being in doubt he played trumps.

The Supreme Court did what I believe no other court has ever done, and that is, declared intent to be sufficient to convict. It applied to the civil law the

harsh principle of the more rigorous criminal law, which makes intent the distinction between murder and manslaughter. In the proceedings arising out of the Circassian (2 Wall, 135) the court ruled that "a vessel sailing from a neutral port with intent to violate a blockade is liable to capture and condemnation as prize from the time of sailing, though she intended to call at another neutral port not reached at the time of capture, before proceeding to her ulterior destination"; and again in the Cornelius (3 Wall, 214) it was held that "presumption of an intent to run a blockade by a vessel bound apparently to a lawful port may be inferred from a combination of circumstances." Could anything more be desired by a belligerent? Satisfy the prize court of intent, infer presumption of an intent to run the blockade, and the vessel stands condemned.

The Southern ports were under blockade, and any vessel, no matter what her cargo, whether contraband or noncontraband, found within the limits of the blockade was lawful prize for attempted breach of blockade. This is well established in international law and acquiesced in by all nations. Once again the Supreme Court enlarged international law. It was lawful for a neutral British ship to carry all classes of goods, contraband or not, to a British port in the West Indies. That the Supreme Court did not challenge, but in sustaining the validity of the capture of the Springbok, seized 150 miles off Nassau in 1862 while en route to that port, Chief Justice Chase, announcing the decision of the court, said:

> We do not now refer to the character of the cargo for the purpose of determining whether it was liable to condemnation as contraband, but for the purpose of ascertaining its real destination; for, we repeat, contraband or not, it could not be condemned if really destined for Nassau and not beyond; and, contraband or not, it must be condemned if destined to any rebel port, for all rebel ports were under blockade. (5 Wall, 13.)

The fact that a vessel carries goods of which Great Britain knows Germany has urgent need is sufficient presumption, under the rulings of the Supreme Court, that their ultimate destination is Germany. It is not necessary that on the vessel there should be found absolute proof. Suspicion may be inferred, and on that suspicion the vessel can be seized and taken into port. Nor is it necessary that anything more than intent be shown. Nor does it absolve the vessel because its voyage terminated at Rotterdam or a Scandinavian port. If the court can satisfy itself that the ultimate destination of the cargo is Germany, that is sufficient to work forfeiture. To none of this, I submit, ought the United States to object, in view of its own decisions.

All the decisions I have cited deal only with continuous voyages in fact, that is, sea voyages, and where no question of land transportation was concerned. It can well be held, and that view is strictly in accordance with the facts and common sense, that a voyage is continuous no matter how devious the course of the ship or at how many ports she touches before reaching her port of destination. But can it be said in truth that a "voyage" is continuous when a ship is unloaded in a port and her cargo must be transported by land before it reaches the hands of the owner?

The doctrine of continuous voyage could not be made effective against transport partly sea and partly land; the doctrine of ultimate destination could, and was. Again I must give a short historical retrospect to enable the reader to have a clear understanding of the facts. One means of the Confederacy's procuring foreign merchandise was to send it to Matamoros, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, and there take it across the river into Texas. Against this traffic the United States was powerless. The Rio Grande, being neutral waters, could not be blockaded.

In 1863 Rear Admiral Theodorus Bailey was in command of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron. His reports and orders, scores of which I have examined, show him to be a first-class sailor, very similar, one would say, to hundreds of officers under Sir John Jellicoe, like them impatient of juridical niceties, and anxious only to be given an opportunity to exert their full power against the enemy. With Lincoln in the White House, Seward in the State Department, and Welles in the Navy Department

the interests of the United States were safe.

The Matamoros Cases

Early in 1863 the British brig Magicienne for Matamoros was captured off the Cape Verde Islands and brought into Key West for adjudication, there subsequently to be released. Bailey was dissatisfied. The Peterhoff, another British vessel, also bound for Matamoros, had been captured, and Bailey was afraid she would slip through the court on a technicality. To Welles he wrote, "It will readily occur to the Government that, unless this trade can be restricted in some way, the object of blockading our southern coast must necessarily, in a great measure, be frustrated."

Six days later Bailey again wrote to the department suggesting that an arrangement be made with the French (France and Mexico were then at war) for a joint blockade of the Rio Grande so as effectually to seal up Matamoros "against any set of papers that a vessel could carry."

Welles saw at once that Matamoros was the Northern heel of Achilles, and unless a way could be devised to stop supplies reaching the rebels by land transport through Matamoros the blockade would fail. On receipt of Bailey's dispatches, Welles sent them to Seward for his information; and to Chase he wrote asking if some measures might not suggest themselves to him "to restrict the trade between Northern ports and Matamoros and check the growing and injurious illicit intercourse with the insurgents."

It is interesting to note, as showing how neatly circumstances dovetailed, that Chase, as Secretary of the Treasury, sitting in the Cabinet, must have heard the discussion between Seward and Welles over the Matamoros trade and probably was asked for his opinion; must have known the urgent necessity of stopping this traffic; must have recalled those Cabinet discussions when a year later he was appointed by Mr. Lincoln Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and as Chief Justice delivered those momentous Bermuda, Springbok, and Peterhoff decisions that made the American doctrine of ultimate destination part of the law of nations.

A short passage in a letter from Welles to Seward strikingly illustrates the grasp and foresight of these men and with what little hesitation they cut the Gordian knot. To Seward, on June 23, 1863, Welles wrote:

> Our rights as a nation ought not to be sacrificed because a new question has arisen that has not heretofore been adjudicated or settled by diplomatic arrangement. Because the Rio Grande is a neutral highway, it is not to be used to our injury; yet we know such to be the fact, and it seems to me some effectual steps should be taken to correct the evil. It can be done, I apprehend, in a manner satisfactory to both countries, and a principle be established that will be conformable to international law.

Welles saw that a principle must be established. He was soon to have his desire gratified. We left the Peterhoff waiting judgment, with that good sailor man, Theodorus Bailey, apprehensive about her fate. His fears were soon quieted. She went into the prize court and was condemned, and in due course an appeal was taken to the Supreme Court. That court accepted in good faith that she was going to Matamoros and not an enemy port, and agreed that neither the mouth of the Rio Grande nor the Mexican port of Matamoros could be blockaded, yet it decreed the condemnation of the contraband in the cargo and also the noncontraband belonging to the same owners under the "doctrine of infection." The contraband was condemned because all the circumstances indicated that its real destination was not Matamoros but the rebel forces in Texas. Contraband intended for a hostile country, the court ruled, could be seized whether that country was blockaded or not. Hence "articles of a contraband character, destined in fact to a State in rebellion, or for the use of the rebel military forces, were liable to capture, though primarily destined to Matamoros." (5 Wall, 28.)

Supreme Court Ruling

Now at last we have the doctrine of ultimate destination in its full perfection, and it is interesting to note how it was developed and brought to the measure of its efficiency under the ministering hands

of the Supreme Court. Sir William Scott ruled that a neutral vessel bound from an enemy port to a neutral port, and then continuing her voyage to an enemy port, was in fact making a continuous voyage and could be lawfully seized after resuming her journey from the neutral port. The Supreme Court held that a neutral vessel bound from one neutral port to another could be seized at any time after issuing from her port of departure if there was suspicion of her intent to land her cargo, either directly or through the interposition of another vessel, in enemy territory. To this it finally added the dictum that if contraband was discharged in a neutral port, and then transported by land to the enemy, it could be made lawful prize, even although no blockade existed. So that the Supreme Court has said it is legal for a belligerent to seize all goods, no matter what their character, when transported by a neutral by sea if the belligerent has reason to believe the ultimate destination of these goods is enemy country under blockade; and it is equally lawful to seize contraband, conveyed partly by sea and partly by land, passing through a neutral port to the enemy, even if no blockade exists.

It should be remembered that the doctrine of ultimate destination enunciated and enforced by the United States is not merely American municipal law. It is much more than that. It is international law as between the United States and Great Britain, and binding on both. The British Government accepted the doctrine, and by that acceptance it became incorporated into the code governing the relations between the two countries and is international law, so far as the two countries are concerned, as effectively and as affirmatively as any other provision of the law of nations.

The United States of course admits the validity of the doctrine of ultimate destination; it could not do otherwise; but it claims that the doctrine rests, in so far as non-contraband is concerned, on blockade, and where no blockade exists trade by a neutral between neutral ports cannot be interfered with. The only question then to be determined is whether a legal blockade exists.

It would be idle at this time to enter on a discussion of the legality of the British blockade, because neither the Foreign Office nor the State Department is a court of competent or final jurisdiction, and, with all due deference to both, the opinion of either would, in the judgment of the other, be ex parte, and therefore properly appealable to an impartial tribunal. Until the verdict is delivered neither Government nor individual can speak ex cathedra.

There is no uncertainty, however, in meeting the objection raised by the State Department to the extension of the contraband list, and especially to the abolition of conditional contraband. What Great Britain and her allies are doing is, I believe it can be fairly said, no more radical than the action of the Supreme Court when it engrafted the doctrine of ultimate destination on the doctrine of continuous voyage. Mr. Welles saw that there must be a "principle established" if the blockade was to be made effective. No new principle is involved in the extension of the list of contraband; it is simply, as Chancellor Kent declared, the change in the application of old principles in order to meet the varying inventions of war.

The Supreme Court and other eminent authorities have declared that contraband is not a term of fixed meaning, that it must necessarily be elastic, and that it is the usus bellici that determines the contraband nature of an article. In the past articles capable of military use were few and undisguisable; therefore it was not difficult to make the distinction between contraband and non-contraband. Today that distinction has ceased to exist.

Blockade and Contraband

Lawyers may argue that if the blockade is effective Great Britain does not have to make everything contraband, as nothing may pass into a blockaded country; and by making everything contraband Great Britain admits the ineffectiveness of the blockade. This, while theoretically true, has no force. It is a sound rule in law that when a litigant has alternative remedies he may avail himself of that which offers the largest measure of relief; it is equally sound

law that, arising out of the same cause of action, a litigant may simultaneously resort to more than one remedy to obtain redress. England may, under the rules of international law, apply both blockade and the prohibition of contraband against Germany, and by using both England does not violate international law. In this connection it is well to recall the letter addressed by the American Commissioners, Messrs. Pinckney, Marshall, and Gerry, to M. de Talleyrand, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, on Jan. 17, 1798, in the course of which they said:

> The right of a belligerent over the goods of his enemy within his reach is as complete as his right over contraband of war, and it seems a position not easily to be refuted that a situation that will not protect the one will not protect the other. A neutral bottom, then, does not of right, in cases where no compact exists, protect from his enemy the goods of a belligerent power.

Are these goods, sent in an American ship to Rotterdam to go forward to Germany, goods of the enemy? Unquestionably they are; they are as much the goods of the enemy as if they had been ordered by the German Government in its own name, sold to the order of the German Government, and paid for by a draft on the German Treasury. The interposition of a neutral agent, who pays for them with neutral funds in a neutral country, no more divests them of their true character as enemy goods than the interposition of a neutral port to an enemy port of final destination clothes contraband with innocency. "Neutrals who place their vessels under belligerent control and engage them in belligerent trade, or permit them to be sent with contraband cargoes under cover of false destination to neutral ports, while the real destination is to belligerent ports, impress upon them the character of the belligerent in whose service they are employed, and cannot complain if they are seized and condemned as enemy property." (The Hart, 3 Wall, 559.)

Whether this is harsh and injurious to the neutral cannot now be considered. It is American law. It is the law under which neutrals suffered injury when the United States was fighting to preserve its national existence. War always brings hardship and inconvenience to neutrals, which is the penalty neutrals must pay when nations are at war; and yet there has seldom been a war when some or all of the neutrals have not been made richer by it, and while the belligerents have shed their blood and dissipated their treasure neutrals have amassed wealth. This war is no exception.

Esperanto Turned to War Uses

A writer in the Paris Figaro gives these curious facts concerning the part played in the war by the new universal language, Esperanto, whose creator, Dr. Zamenhoff, designed it as the greatest of all agencies of peace:

At the beginning of the war the German Esperantists proposed to the Minister of War that the universal language be used to "instruct" foreign nations. The idea was adopted, and the German authorities have had no cause to regret it. For months past, all the official war bulletins and accounts of battles emanating from the Staff Headquarters of Germany, Austria, Bulgaria, and Turkey have been translated into Esperanto at the moment of their publication and have been spread broadcast every day over *twenty-eight* neutral countries at the rate of a thousand copies to each country. In certain regions these German versions of events are the only available source of war information.

These same countries have been flooded with a brochure entitled "The Truth About the War," which contains the translation into Esperanto of the German White Books, the speeches of the Kaiser, the discourses of Bethmann Hollweg—in a word, all the documents which the Germans consider useful to spread abroad and justify their deeds. Behold a development which the good Dr. Zamenhoff did not foresee!

What the Allies Are Fighting Against

Gilbert Murray's Explanation to Neutrals

This brief and breezy analysis from The Westminster Gazette is especially addressed to Americans. Mr. Murray makes clear in a few words just what is the main issue of the war for the Entente nations and their friends.

IT is proverbially difficult to define an elephant, though quite easy to know one when you meet him. And any belligerent when talking to neutrals, especially to neutrals who live far removed from the scene of war, finds himself in a similar difficulty. We all of us know by now what we are fighting against. We know as it were by instinct the sort of thing that strikes us as "Hunnish" or "Teutonic." And the most sincerely pacific among us have perhaps most strongly the sense of being engaged in a profound struggle against evil. But it is difficult to make this feeling seem justified, or even quite intelligible, to a Western American, or to show that we ourselves embody any particular principle.

Partly, he lives too far off. He has not met the particular wild beast about which we say such strange things. Partly, also, I believe, the very magnitude of the cause at issue makes it difficult for us to explain and for neutrals to understand. It is a hard task to state that cause, to put into words, however imperfect, the centre of our profound feeling.

"Government of the people, by the people, for the people"? That is a principle which Americans have paid for with their blood, and which they understand with every fibre of their being. But is it exactly democracy for which we are fighting? The Republic of France, the limited monarchy of England, and the autocracy of Russia? We sometimes say, and feel, that we are fighting for democracy, and in a sense it is true; but democracy alone cannot be the exact definition of our cause.

Is it, then, a fight for civilization against barbarism? The thesis is difficult to maintain. In material civilization probably Germany is actually our superior. The organization of German trade, of railways, of schools, of things intellectual, seems, at least to a superficial glance, to be the very acme of civilization. To speak of the Germans as barbarians may in some profoundest sense have truth in it, but in the ordinary meaning of the words it is a paradox.

Some writers, again, have tried to tell the Americans that we were fighting for Christianity against godlessness; but that is not, as it stands, a very persuasive statement. They can point to many saintly lives still lived in Germany; the book shelves of their professors of divinity are loaded with German books of devotion and theology; and I hardly imagine that we and our French allies make quite the impression of a nation of early Christians.

None of these statements seems exactly adequate, yet there is some profound truth underlying all of them. I do not suppose that my own definition will stand criticism much better than these I have mentioned, but I will venture to put down the way in which the issue strikes me.

We all remember the old philosophic doctrine of the "Social Contract" as the origin of ordered society; that men lived at first in a "state of nature," with no laws, no duties to one another, no relationships —Homo homini lupus, "every man a wolf to every other man," and then, finding that condition intolerable, they met together and made a contract, and hence arose civilized society. And many of us remember the criticism passed on the doctrine by such philosophers as T. H. Green. The criticism is that beings in that supposed condition could not even begin to make a contract; that before any contract can be thought of there must be some elementary sense of relationship, of mutual duty, some elementary instinct of public right. Before any contract is pos-

sible there must be at least the elementary understanding that if a man pledges his word he should keep it. It is that primary understanding, that elementary sense of brotherhood or of public right, which it seems to us the present Government of Germany in its dealing with foreign nations has sought to stamp out of existence. It has rejected, in the words of the King's speech, "the old ordinance which has held civilized Europe together." It has acted on a new ordinance that every nation shall be a wolf to its neighbor.

Put baldly thus, this degree of wickedness will seem hard to believe of such a nation as Germany. The neutral will suspect that we are just venting our anger in abuse. But I think we can see how it came about. Germany is the great country of specialization. Above all, she has produced the specialized soldier; not the humane soldier, the Christian soldier, the chivalrous soldier, or the soldier with the sense of civil duties; but the soldier who is trained to be a soldier and nothing else, to disregard all the rest of human relations, to see all his country's neighbors merely as enemies to be duped and conquered, to see all life according to some system of perverted biology as a mere struggle of force and fraud. The Germans have created this type of soldier, able, concentrated, conscienceless, and remorseless; and then—what no other people in the world has done—they have given the nation over to his guidance. Of course we all have armies. We all have military experts and strategists. But with the rest of us the soldier is the last resort, like the executioner. We call him up only when all other means have failed. But in Germany the soldier is always present. He is behind the diplomatist, behind the educator, behind the preacher; he is behind the philosopher in his study and the man of science in his laboratory; always present and always in authority.

In other nations the sword is the servant of the public welfare, a savage servant never used but in the last necessity; in Germany all the resources of the nation, its banks and railways, its schools and universities, its very religion and philosophy, are the servants of the sword.

It is this which gives to our present war something of the quality of a crusade against the infidel. It is this which makes peace so difficult and confidence so impossible. It was something approaching to this which made it impossible for Europe to live at peace with Napoleon; for the other Italian States to live at peace with Cesare Borgia; for various modern nations to tolerate certain societies which denied allegiance to the State.

And the tragedy is that, in each case, so much devotion and such great virtues should be used merely as tools toward a purpose which the human conscience rejects as intolerable.

BASIS OF A DURABLE PEACE

Discussion by "Cosmos" of Problems Arising in Ending the European War

A PROFOUNDLY considered discussion of the basis of a durable peace was contributed to THE NEW YORK TIMES toward the close of last year by a distinguished American. The series of articles attracted widespread attention in this country and in Europe. The writer signed himself "Cosmos" and was indorsed by the editor of THE NEW YORK TIMES as "a source the competence and authority of which would be recognized in both hemispheres * * * one who possesses candor, breadth of view, impartial fairness, profound understanding of political principles and far-seeing statesmanship."

The first installments were postulated on a military and economic victory of the Allies over the Central Powers, and "the continuance of the war until it appears to be certain that an international agreement can be formulated which will first accomplish and make secure the ends for which the Allies are prosecuting the war."

In one of his final installments "Cosmos" defined the issues at stake in the great war as follows:

> This is no ordinary war. It is, as has been said over and over again, a clash of ideals, of philosophies of life, of political and social aims. This is why it must be fought until the principles at stake are or can be established, and why it cannot be compromised. One who cannot range himself on one side or the other in this conflict must be either so dull of understanding as not to be able to comprehend the greatest things in the world or so profoundly immoral as not to care what becomes of the human race, its liberty and its progress.

In view of this attitude his formulae, which appear in abbreviated form below, may be definitely appraised.

Autonomy for Small Nations

"Cosmos" first discusses the declarations of Viscount Grey on Oct. 23, 1916, and the German Chancellor's reply on Nov. 9, in which they both affirm their adherence to the doctrine of the free development of all nations, both great and small. He finds that agreement between Germany and Great Britain is certainly in sight on this point, provided Germany is willing to permit the Poles and South Slavs to choose the form of their own political organization and to direct it when organized.

He then discusses the possibility of Germany's abandoning her traditional exclusive trade policy for the open door, and maintains that this might follow if the Allies abandon the purpose of a commercial strife after the war and offer the Central Powers, instead, "complete participation on equal terms in the trade of the world, on sole condition that political activity in other countries be abandoned and that an international guarantee for national security be at once agreed upon."

He maintains that Belgium must be restored and indemnified by Germany; Serbia likewise by Austria-Hungary; that Russia be assured free access to the sea throughout the year; that Alsace-Lorraine be restored to France, with compensation for damages, and that the freedom of the seas be assured. This latter subject is comprehensively discussed, and important citations are presented from instructions to American delegates to The Hague Peace Conventions and to urge for adoption the American doctrine of the absolute immunity of all private property not contraband from hostile treatment at sea, the same exemptions which such property already enjoys on land. He urges upon Great Britain the acceptance of this principle as hastening international peace, but adds:

> The common sense of mankind, however, will not be satisfied with any definition of freedom of the seas in time of war which does not frankly put in the category of murder such amazing barbarities as history will recall whenever the words Lusitania and Sussex are mentioned.

As to Prussian Militarism

"Cosmos" maintains that the threat of Prussian military domination will be ended, so far as the rest of the world is concerned, only when the German armies are defeated; but in so far as Prussian militarism is a state of mind he holds that "it cannot be exorcised by any forcible process whatsoever. It can be got rid of only by a change of heart on the part of the German people themselves." He argues that the disappearance of the German liberal element after the revolutionary movement of 1848 left Germany without the strong impulse toward democratic policies which the revolution of 1688 gave to England and 1789 to France. He concludes that subject as follows:

It is true that Prussian militarism must be wholly and finally destroyed before the peace of the world will be really secure, but inasmuch as it can only be wholly and finally destroyed by the German people themselves, the war need not be continued until that end is accomplished. All that the Allies can do toward the destruction of Prussian military domination is to confine it to Germany. When so confined it will disappear not slowly, but relatively fast by reason of its own weight and untimeliness.

There is, however, one way in which Prussian militarism might emerge victorious even if the German armies are finally defeated on the field of battle—that is, if the spirit and policies of Prussian militarism should conquer the mind of Great Britain or that of any other allied power. A Hymn of Hate is as unlovely when sung in English as when sung in German. The destruction of liberal policies and practices under the guise of national necessity differs but little from "die Not kennt kein Gebot," with which Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg defended the ravishing of Belgium. The Allies, and particularly Great Britain, have urgent need to be on their guard that when they are defeating Prussian militarism on the field of battle, it does not gain new and striking victories over them in the field of ideas. A durable peace requires that Prussian militarism be wholly and finally destroyed; first, by the allied armies in the field; second, by the German people in their domestic policies; and, third, by the allied powers in keeping it from invading their own political systems.

New International Order

The series concludes with a full discussion of a new international order which may grow out of the war. In approaching this subject "Cosmos" quotes as an appropriate basis the Declaration of the American Institute of International Law as to the rights and duties of nations, issued Jan. 6, 1916, as follows:

1. Every nation has the right to exist and to protect and to conserve its existence; but this right neither implies the right nor justifies the act of the State to protect itself or to conserve its existence by the commission of unlawful acts against innocent and unoffending States.

2. Every nation has the right to independence in the sense that it has a right to the pursuit of happiness and is free to develop itself without interference or control from other States, provided that in so doing it does not interfere with or violate the rights of other States.

3. Every nation is in law and before law the equal of every other nation belonging to the society of nations, and all nations have the right to claim and, according to the Declaration of Independence of the United States, "to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them."

4. Every nation has the right to territory within defined boundaries and to exercise exclusive jurisdiction over its territory and all persons, whether native or foreign, found therein.

5. Every nation entitled to a right by the law of nations is entitled to have that right respected and protected by all other nations, for right and duty are correlative, and the right of one is the duty of all to observe.

6. International law is at one and the same time both national and international; national in the sense that it is the law of the land and applicable as such to the decision of all questions involving its principles; international in the sense that it is the law of the society of nations and applicable as such to all questions between and among the members of the society of nations involving its principles.

The Spirit of Nations

He warns that too much reliance, however, must not be put upon formal declarations and upon the machinery of the most approved international system; of more importance, he says, is the spirit of the peoples affected. He approvingly quotes President Nicholas Murray Butler's definition of the international mind, which is

nothing else than that habit of thinking of foreign relations and business, and that habit of dealing with them, which regard the several nations of the civilized world as friendly and co-operating equals in aiding the progress of civilization, in developing commerce and industry, and in spreading enlightenment and culture throughout the world.

Once this point of view is gained and this

code of international morals accepted, then all dreams of world conquest will fade forever, as well as all schemes to extend Anglo-Saxon, or Latin, or Teutonic, or Slavonic culture over the whole world. The several stones in the structure of civilization will differ in size, in character, and in the weight that they support, but each one of them will do its part.

The several nations now at war and those neutral nations that will join them in bringing about a new international order could do no better than adopt as their platform the eloquent words of the declaration made by Elihu Root when Secretary of State of the United States in the presence of the official delegates of the American republics accredited to the third Pan-American Conference held at Rio de Janeiro on July 31, 1906, which stirred the heart of every American republic and which sounded the note of a genuinely new international freedom:

We wish for no victories but those of peace, for no territory except our own, for no sovereignty except the sovereignty over ourselves. We deem the independence and equal rights of the smallest and weakest member of the family of nations entitled to as much respect as those of the greatest empire, and we deem the observance of that respect the chief gurantee of the weak against the oppression of the strong. We neither claim nor desire any rights, or privileges, or powers that we do not freely concede to every American republic. We wish to increase our prosperity, to expand our trade, to grow in wealth, in wisdom and in spirit, but our conception of the true way to accomplish this is not to pull down others and profit by their ruin, but to help all friends to a common prosperity and a common growth, that we may all become greater and stronger together.

Work of The Hague Conferences

Proceeding on this thesis, "Cosmos" reviews at length the progress made by the various Hague Conferences toward international arbitration and an international court of justice. Of the eight topics in the program submitted by the Russian Foreign Minister for the First Conference, the last related to the acceptance in principle of arbitration. This topic, and not the reduction of armaments, was the chief question that engaged the First Conference. "Cosmos" pays a tribute to Dr. Andrew D. White and Frederick W. Holls, Chairman and Secretary, respectively, of the American delegation, for their influence in having the principle of arbitration recognized by the conference.

He reviews that phase of the situation as follows:

The First Hague Conference did not really establish a court in the sense in which that word is generally understood, but it did make great progress toward the establishment of such a court and toward preparing the public mind for further and more definite steps. It was no small achievement to have the powers unite, as they then did, in the declaration that they would use their best efforts to insure the pacific settlement of international differences with a view to obviating as far as possible recourse to force in the relations between States. They agreed upon admirable provisions for good offices and mediation as well as for international commissions of inquiry. They defined international arbitration as having for its object "the settlement of disputes between States by judges of their own choice and on the basis of respect for law." It will at once be seen how far this falls short of the settlement of disputes between States by judges independently chosen, and on the basis not alone of respect for law, but of submission to law.

The permanent court of arbitration was really nothing more than a panel of men "of known competency in questions of international law, of the highest moral reputation and disposed to accept the duties of arbitrators." Such a tribunal as this, wholly dependent for its existence and usefulness upon the concurrence of two disagreeing States in submitting a question to arbitration and in agreeing to the choice of individual arbitrators, was not a true court. Nevertheless, its importance must not be minimized, for this tribunal has dealt with not a few cases of more than usual difficulty, and it has served to accustom the public opinion of the civilized world to the spectacle of sovereign nations submitting international disputes which had not been resolved by the usual diplomatic means to inquiry and judgment by arbitrators.

Mexico and the United States, at the instance of President Roosevelt, quickly submitted to this tribunal the Pious Fund case. Shortly afterward Germany, Great Britain, and Italy brought before it in the Venezuelan preferential case their controversy with the Republic of Venezuela over certain pecuniary claims of their subjects. Similarly France, Germany, and Great Britain submitted to The Hague Tribunal their difference with Japan over a matter arising from the extraterritorial jurisdiction which was maintained in respect to the citizens of foreign nations resident in Japan prior to 1894. The Casablanca case between France and Germany and the Savarkar case between France and Great Britain were similarly considered and decided. Doubtless the most important case yet heard by this tribunal was the North Atlantic coast fisheries case, in which Great Britain and the United States were opposing parties in a vexatious controversy that had lasted for 100 years.

It will be seen, therefore, that while the

nations have not yet established a real international court of justice, they have taken such long steps toward it that it should not be difficult to cover the remaining distance, in view of the vital importance of the existence of such a court to an international order which aims to secure a durable peace.

International Court of Justice

At the Second Conference in 1907 the American delegates were explicitly instructed by Secretary Root to add a real international court of justice to the permanent court of arbitration that was established in 1899. "Cosmos" discusses the proceedings of that conference in these words:

In his formal instructions to the American delegates to that conference Mr. Root pointed out that the principal objection to arbitration rests not upon the unwillingness of nations to submit their controversies to impartial arbitration, but upon an apprehension that the arbitrations to which they submit them may not be really impartial. In other words, he pressed upon the American delegates, and through them upon the conference, a clear recognition of the distinction between the action of Judges deciding questions of fact and law upon the record before them under a sense of judicial responsibility, and the action of negotiators effecting settlement of questions brought before them in accordance with the traditions and usages and subject to all the considerations and influences which affect diplomatic agents. The one is a judicial determination of a disputed question; the other is an attempt to satisfy both contending parties by arriving at some form of compromise.

Secretary Root pointed to the Supreme Court of the United States, passing with impartial and impersonal judgment upon questions arising between citizens of the different States or between foreign citizens and citizens of the United States, as a type of tribunal to which the nations of the world would be much more ready than now to submit their various controversies for decision. He instructed the American delegates to make an effort to bring about a development of the existing Hague Tribunal into a permanent court composed of Judges who are judicial officers and nothing else, who are paid adequate salaries, who have no other occupation, and who will devote their entire time to the trial and decision of international causes by judicial methods and under a sense of judicial responsibility. He pointed out that the members of such a court should be selected from different countries in such manner that the different systems of law and procedure and the principal languages would be fairly represented. It was Secretary Root's expressed hope that this court might be made of such dignity, consideration, and rank that the best and ablest jurists would accept appointment to it, and that the whole world would have absolute confidence in its judgments. * * *

Co-operation Almost Secured

It was by the joint efforts of the delegates from Great Britain, Germany, France, and the United States that the project for an international court of justice was approved by the Second Hague Conference on Oct. 16, 1907. Unfortunately the conference could not agree upon the method by which the Judges of the proposed court were to be chosen. Failure to agree on this vital point deprived the project for the moment of any practical effect. The conference went so far, however, after having adopted the project, as definitely to recommend that the court be established as soon as the nations could agree upon a method of appointing Judges. The German Government has officially declared its readiness to co-operate in the establishment of this court, and the British, French, and American Governments have publicly supported the action of their representatives at The Hague. These significant facts must not be overlooked.

It is important to bear in mind that the action of the Second Hague Conference in 1907 was not merely the expression of a wish or desire that a court should be established, but it was a definite recommendation to the powers to undertake the establishment of the court. Ever since the adjournment of the Second Hague Conference it has, therefore, been easy for any group of nations to agree to establish such a court for themselves by coming to a common determination as to how its Judges should be appointed. One hope was that an international prize court might be called into existence and its jurisdiction gradually enlarged to cover the field of an international court of justice.

It would now give great satisfaction to the lovers of justice throughout the world if, without waiting for the conclusion of the war, the Governments of the allied powers would publicly announce that as one of the terms and conditions of a durable peace they proposed to unite in the prompt establishment of an international court of justice substantially as outlined and agreed upon at the Second Hague Conference. Such a declaration on their part would emphasize anew the principles of liberty, of order, and of justice for which they are now contending on the field of battle, and would turn the thoughts of men, when terms of peace are discussed, more and more to that justice which must underlie and accompany any peace that is to be durable, and away from that vengeance and reprisal which can only incite to new wars.

To take this step should not be difficult, since the American Government has been pressing it upon all the chief powers for some years past and has indicated with definiteness and precision how the necessary steps may be taken. The work of the Naval Con-

ference at London in 1908-9 made a beginning in the formulation of some parts of that law which the proposed court must interpret and administer. The war broke out, however, before an agreement as to the Declaration of London had been finally worked out, and all further progress was necessarily suspended. There has never been a clearer demonstration of the truth of the ancient maxim, "inter arma silent leges."

American Official Plan

As late as Jan. 12, 1914, James Brown Scott, who as Solicitor for the Department of State had been a technical delegate at the Second Hague Conference, addressed to Mr. Loudon, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Netherlands, a letter begging him to take the initiative in bringing about the establishment of a court of arbitral justice through the co-operation of Holland, Germany, the United States, Austria-Hungary, France, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, and Russia. In this letter, which was written with the approval of Elihu Root and Robert Bacon, former Secretaries of State, it was pointed out that a court constituted through the co-operation of these nations would, to all intents and purposes, have the advantages and render the services of a true international court, and in a very short time would probably become a court to which every nation would be glad to resort. Before any action could be taken the overhanging war clouds burst into storm.

It is probable that the plan brought forward by Mr. Scott is the most practicable and, therefore, the one most likely eventually to be followed. An international court of justice established by agreement of the nine nations named would have all needed prestige and authority. Should a nation not party to the agreement wish to appear before the court as litigant or be ready to accept an invitation or summons so to appear, it would be easy to provide that in such case the nation in question might appoint an assessor for the hearing of that particular cause. Should a case come before the court involving two or more nations not parties to the agreement for its establishment, then similarly each of those nations might be given the right to name an assessor to participate in hearing the arguments in that case. It is neither necessary nor desirable to go here into further detail as to the constitution and scope of this court. These matters are dealt with in the fullest possible way, and from every point of view in the published records of the Second Hague Conference and in subsequent publications that deal with this specific question.

Supreme Court Precedents

Americans must be pardoned if they keep insisting upon the advantage of studying the history and practice of the Supreme Court of the United States in order to answer objections and to smooth away difficulties which arise in the minds of many thoughtful men in other countries as to the practicability of an international court of justice. It may be doubted whether any strictly legal question as to the rights of nations and their nationals will arise before such a court which has not already arisen in some form or other before the Supreme Court of the United States as a question involving the rights of States and their citizens. For example, nearly eighty years ago the United States Supreme Court was called upon to distinguish a judicial from a political question; it did so then and has frequently done so since without serious difficulty. A question addressed to the framework and political character of a Government is essentially political; it is, therefore, not a question that is in its nature justiciable and that can be presented to a court.

It would, of course, be necessary for an international court of justice to build up gradually and by a series of decisions a body of precedents that would, so to speak, take the form of an international common law. The point of departure would be the international law of the moment, existing treaties, and the form of agreement through which the court itself would come into being. It might be expected that this court would decide for itself in matters of doubt whether or not a given question was justiciable. The international court of justice could hardly vary from the practice of the United States Supreme Court in not attempting to compel the presence of any Government made defendant or in not attempting to execute by force its finding against the contention of any Government. If the publicity attending the operations of such a court, the inherent and persuasive reasonableness of its findings, and a body of international public opinion that has turned with conviction to the judicial settlement of international disputes, cannot insure the carrying into effect of the judgments of an international court of justice, then the world is not ready for such a court. To establish it under such circumstances would merely be to provide another opportunity for so magnifying and sharpening points of international difference as probably to increase the likelihood of war.

There was a time when, under great stress of party and personal feeling, Andrew Jackson could say, "John Marshall has made his decision; now let him enforce it." Nevertheless, the judgments of the United States Supreme Court are not only obeyed but respected. This results not alone from the confidence in their reasonableness which the tradition of a century has built up, but from the fact that American public opinion will not tolerate any other course. There is every reason to believe that a course of judicial action that has been demonstrated to be practicable, wise, and beneficent within the United States will also in time be demonstrated to be practicable, wise, and beneficent as between nations. The important thing is to make a beginning. This the Allies are in position to do.

Third Conference at Hague

"Cosmos" proposes that a third international conference be called to assemble at The Hague as soon as peace is established. He recalls the fact that the Sixty-fourth Congress, in enacting the Naval Appropriation bill, added a specific request to the President of the United States to

> invite, at an appropriate time, not later than the close of the war in Europe, all the great Governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of formulating a plan for a court of arbitration or other tribunal, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and peaceful settlement, and to consider the question of disarmament and submit their recommendation to their respective Governments for approval. The President is hereby authorized to appoint nine citizens of the United States who, in his judgment, shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law and by devotion to the cause of peace, to be representatives of the United States in such a conference. The President shall fix the compensation of said representatives and such secretaries and other employes as may be needed. Two hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set aside and placed at the disposal of the President to carry into effect the provisions of this paragraph.

"Cosmos" suggests that the United States delegates urge upon the conference: (a) The establishment of an international court of justice. (b) An international commission of inquiry to examine into all questions without exception at issue between nations. (c) Provision for automatic reassembling of the conference at four-year intervals. (d) The adoption of a formula of the rights of nations in conformity with the Declaration of the American Institute previously quoted. He argues that England, Germany, and France, by the recent declarations of their chief spokesmen, have indorsed the proposal of a league of nations to maintain peace, and that President Wilson on May 27, 1916, used these words:

> Only when the great nations of the world have reached some sort of agreement as to what they hold to be fundamental to their common interest, and as to some feasible method of acting in concert when any nation or group of nations seeks to disturb those fundamental things, can we feel that civilization is at least in a way of justifying its existence and claiming to be finally established.

The Monroe Doctrine

The United States confronts a grave difficulty—in the form of the Monroe Doctrine—at the threshold of any intended participation in an international agreement to enforce peace. "Cosmos" cites the fact that at both previous conferences a reservation reaffirming the Monroe Doctrine was explicitly made by the American delegates, and adds:

> Put in plain language, this reservation means that while there is one international law and while there may be one international order, in the declaration and establishment of which the United States participates, yet there are two separate and distinct areas of jurisdiction for the enforcement of international law and for the administration of the international order. The area of one of these jurisdictions is Europe and those parts of Asia and Africa immediately dependent thereon; the area of the second of these jurisdictions is America.

He goes on to say that, however feasible our joining a world's police league may appear in theory, "it seems quite plain that as a practical matter the people of the United States could not now be induced to take any such novel and revolutionary steps." While Europe has changed greatly since Washington wrote his Farewell Address and Monroe formulated his doctrine of American aloofness, and while time is on the side of democracy and will bring about its triumph in Europe sooner or later, there remains a well-defined cleavage of interests between the affairs of the New World and those of the Old World. "Cosmos" holds that true progress is more likely to be attained by the American people on the original lines laid down by Washington and Monroe than by trying any new and radical experiments. He continues:

> The Monroe Doctrine must be accepted as an elementary fact in attempting to arrive at any practical conclusion as to the participation of the United States in the administration of a new international order. So far as European territory and jurisdiction are concerned, the new international order will have to be administered by the European nations themselves. So far as American territory and jurisdiction are concerned, the new international order will have to be administered by the people of the United States in friendly

concert with those of the other American republics.

The formal erection of these two separate jurisdictions need not in the least weaken the position or the influence of the United States in the counsels and semi-legislative acts which will lay the basis for a durable peace, and out of which the new international order will grow. Neither should it be held to deprive the people of the United States of the opportunity and the right to give expression to their feelings and convictions when questions of law and justice, of right and wrong, are raised as between nations in any part of the world. It simply means that for the reasons stated and on the grounds given the direct responsibility of the Government of the United States for the enforcement of the new international order will be limited to the American continents and to territory belonging to some one of the American republics.

Problems for Americans

The Monroe Doctrine leads up directly to profoundly important questions of domestic policy affecting the military and naval systems of the United States. "Cosmos" remarks that competition in armaments is the worst possible form of international rivalry, but adds that to take a seat at an international council table without some adequate means of enforcing the nation's purpose would be merely to indulge in futile debate. The other liberty-loving nations would be justified in asking us, first, What policies do you recommend for the new world order? and, second, What can you do to help enforce that order if it be adopted? Among the conclusions to which this line of thought leads the author is this: That there should be established at once in the United States a system of universal military training. He continues:

The people of the United States will never become an important agency in the development of helpful world policies unless they first take those steps that both entitle and enable them genuinely to participate in such a task. Every belligerent nation is receiving at the hands of this war the severest possible course of instruction and discipline. Every important belligerent nation will emerge from this war a generation or perhaps a century in advance of the United States in all that pertains to national service, to national sacrifice, and to that strengthening of character which comes not from talking about ideals but from actively supporting them in the most fiery of contests. It is for the people of the United States to find ways and means of learning the lessons of the war without having to pay the awful cost in life and treasure which military participation in it involves. Their future place in the world's history, the regard which other nations will have for them, and their own more fortunate and just development all depend upon the way in which these searching problems are solved.

An International Sheriff

An international league to enforce peace by united, armed action, according to "Cosmos," is not practicable. The essential portions of his article on this subject follow:

There is at present no suggestion from any authoritative source that some sort of international Sheriff should be called into existence for the purpose of enforcing the findings of an international court of justice. It is everywhere proposed to leave this to international public opinion. There are, however, well-supported proposals that, in case any nation which has become a member of the proposed international order shall issue an ultimatum or threaten war before submitting any question which arises to an international judicial tribunal or council of conciliation, it shall be proceeded against forthwith by the other powers; first, through the use of their economic force, and, second, by the joint use of their military forces if the nation in question actually proceeds to make war or invades another's territory.

In so far as a plan of this kind is a recognition of the undoubted fact that force of some kind is the ultimate sanction in all human affairs, it is on safe ground. When, however, it proposes to make immediate practical application of this principle in the manner described, the case is by no means so clear. It is not unlikely, for example, that the adoption of such a policy would require that every war of whatever character should become in effect a world war. If it be replied that the joint forces of the other powers would be so overwhelming that no one power would venture to defy them, then one who recalls the political and military history of Europe must be permitted to doubt.

An Example Near Home

On April 20, 1914, the President of the United States in a formal address to the Congress narrated certain circumstances which occurred at Tampico, Mexico, on April 9 and the days next following. Having set forth the facts concerning these incidents the President continued: "I, therefore, come to ask your approval that I should use the armed forces of the United States in such ways and to such an extent as may be necessary to obtain from General Huerta and his adherents the fullest recognition of the rights and dignity of the United States." Two days later the Congress adopted a joint resolution declaring that the President was justified in the employment of armed forces of the United States to enforce his demand for unequivocal

amends for certain affronts and indignities committed against the United States, and at the same time disclaimed on behalf of the United States any hostility to the Mexican people or any purpose to make war upon Mexico. It so happened that between the day of the President's address to the Congress and that of the passage of the joint resolution, namely, on April 21, the Admiral commanding the American Navy off Vera Cruz, acting under orders, landed a force of marines at that place and seized the Custom House. In these operations nineteen American marines were reported killed and seventy wounded, while the Mexican loss was reported to be 126 killed and 195 wounded. That legally this was an act of war can hardly be doubted.

At the time of these incidents there was in existence a treaty between the United States and Mexico which explicitly provided that any disagreement arising between the Governments of the two republics should, if possible, be settled in such manner as to preserve the state of peace and friendship that existed when the treaty was made, and that if the two Governments themselves should not be able to come to an agreement a resort should not on that account be had to reprisals, aggression, or hostility of any kind until that Government which deemed itself aggrieved should have maturely considered, in the spirit of peace and good neighborship, whether it would not be better that such difference should be settled by the arbitration of Commissioners appointed on each side or by that of a friendly nation. This provision, contained in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, proclaimed July 4, 1848, was explicitly reaffirmed in the Gadsden Treaty, proclaimed June 30, 1854.

Would the Plan Have Worked?

These being the facts, would it be the contention of those who urge the use of force to compel a power to submit its international disputes to a judicial tribunal or to a council of conciliation before making or threatening war, that had such an agreement been in existence in April, 1914, the armies and navies of Great Britain, of France, of Germany, of Russia, of Italy, and of Japan should have jointly moved against the United States? Would such action, if taken, have been likely to promote international peace or to compel prolonged and destructive international war?

Again, if it be said that with such an agreement in force the Government of the United States would not have taken the action in question, the answer must be that such an inference is, to say the least, exceedingly doubtful.

As a matter of fact, the only practical sanction of international law is the public opinion of the civilized world. Even now nations are not anxious to incur the condemnation of other peoples. Such condemnation leads to unfriendliness, and unfriendliness leads to economic and intellectual isolation. These are universally disliked and dreaded. The strongest Governments are the quickest to respond, as a rule, to the judgment of international public opinion. It is in highest degree deplorable that the German Government felt itself strong enough to defy the public opinion of the world in its relation to the origin of the present war and in its conduct of it; but in so doing it departed from the precepts and the practice of Bismarck. He was always anxious that before beginning a war steps should be taken to predispose the opinion of other nations in favor of his policies and acts. That decent respect to the opinions of mankind upon which was rested the first national public act in the western world is still a powerful moving force among men and nations. It may well be doubted whether this very sanction is not more effective in securing obedience to municipal law than are the punishments which the various statutes provide.

Basis of Durable Peace

In conclusion, "Cosmos" declares that the deep underlying causes of the present war must be understood before a practical and durable peace can be discussed intelligently. "By this," he says, "is not meant the narrow question of the precise sequence of events from July 23 to Aug. 1, 1914, or the weight to be attached to any given act or word of any particular Government at that hectic time. * * * The real underlying cause of the war was an irrepressible conflict between two views and ideals of national development and of civilization." Germany is fighting for an outgrown and vanishing ideal, and is destined to be defeated, says "Cosmos," but the German people will for that very reason have a still more important part to play in civilization than in the past. He concludes:

> Should this war prove to be a burning up of the most powerful remnants of militarism that yet remain in the world, it will have done the German people the greatest possible service. One hundred and twenty millions of eager, active, purposeful men, living in the temperate zone and having a long tradition of heroic endeavor, cannot be reduced to nothingness by any power but their own. Stripped of the militaristic purpose and brought into harmony with the other great peoples of the world, the Germans would, it may safely be predicted, enter upon a new period of usefulness and achievement that would make the history of the last hundred years seem paltry by comparison.

A durable peace depends upon the victory of the Allies in the present war and upon

the establishment in public policy of the principles for which they are contending. It depends upon a withholding of all acts of vengeance and reprisal and the just and statesmanlike application to each specific problem that arises for settlement of the principles for which the war is being fought. It depends upon the establishment of an international order and of those international institutions that have been here sketched in outline. It depends upon a spirit of devotion to that order and to those institutions, as well as upon a fixed purpose to uphold and to defend them. It depends upon domestic policies of justice and helpfulness, and the curbing of arrogance, greed, and privilege, so far as it is within the power of government to do so. It depends upon the exaltation of the idea of justice, not only as between men within a nation, but as between nations themselves; for durable peace is a by-product of justice. When these things are accomplished there will be every prospect of a durable peace because the essential prerequisite will have been provided—the Will to Peace.

History of Past Efforts to Enforce Peace

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[Written for THE NEW YORK TIMES]

THE universal solicitude that such calamities as the present great war shall not again afflict the earth, expressed in the formation of such organizations as the League to Enforce Peace and other bodies, recalls many similar movements during the last 200 years to accomplish the same object.

The most notable of the earlier ones was that launched by the Abbé Saint-Pierre following the Peace of Utrecht of 1713. The period between the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 and the Peace of Utrecht had been one of almost uninterrupted war, largely growing out of the Spanish succession. The Abbé Saint-Pierre had been present at the conference of Utrecht, and was deeply imbued with the necessity of reclaiming Europe from the waste and misery which its conflicts occasioned.

In 1729 he published his Projet de Paix perpetuelle, and, not scrupling to clothe it with a compelling force, falsely attributed the project to his sovereign, Henry IV. of France, and his Minister, Sully. This project attempted to found universal peace upon the principle of the fixedness of the state of possession of territories established by the Peace of Utrecht and its confirmation of applicable articles of the Peace of Westphalia. It likewise proposed the institution of a permanent Grand Assembly of the powers, through plenipotentaries, to which monthly contributions were to be made to meet the common expenses. Each State was to renounce the right of making war, submitting to arbitration in the event of differences, and in turn to have its territories guaranteed by the others. There were nineteen powers in all, each entitled to a single vote in the Grand Assembly, three-fourths of which should control in all matters. Any offending power was liable to be coerced jointly by the others to cause compliance with the obligations of association. Europe was not ready, however, for such a confederation.

Closely following in the footsteps of Saint-Pierre appeared Rousseau, as deeply imbued with the sentiment of peace, who, in 1761, published his Extrait du Projet de Paix perpetuelle de M. l'Abbé de Saint-Pierre. Rousseau elaborated the principles of his predecessor and illuminated them with his peculiar genius. He says:

> If social institutions had been the work of reason and not of passion and prejudice, mankind would not have so long failed to perceive that their existing organization creates a social relation between the citizens of the same State, while it leaves them in a state of nature toward all the rest of the human race.
>
> If there be any practicable means of avoiding these evils they must be sought for in the establishment of confederations by which distinct communities may be united together in the same manner as the individual members of a particular State are now united in one society.

The next ardent advocate of universal peace appeared in England in the person of Jeremy Bentham, who, in 1786, published a work similar to Saint-Pierre's and Rousseau's. His doctrine was likewise founded upon confederation, citing as practical examples on a smaller scale the armed neutrality of 1780, the American Confederation, the German Confederation, and the Swiss League. He, however, introduced the novel suggestion of reduction of armaments and the emancipation of colonies by all of the European States. He conceived colonial possessions to furnish by far the most frequent causes and objects of war. He proposed likewise a codification of the unwritten rules of international law and a harmonizing or unification of all doubtful or conflicting rules by convention. In this respect at least, he anticipated the work of The Hague Conferences.

The interest in universal peace soon thereafter, in 1795, manifested itself in Germany with the powerful support of the philosopher of Königsberg, Emanuel Kant, who likewise considered a general confederation as the sine qua non to the accomplishment of the object. As a condition precedent, however, he declares that every adhering State should be republican in form, which he defines as a government where every citizen participates, by his representatives, in the exercise of the legislative power, and especially in that of deciding on questions of peace and war. But, according to Kant, a republican form must not be confounded with a democratic form of government, since, according to his view, democracy excludes representation, is inevitably despotic, eventuating in tyranny by the majority.

The worthy efforts of Kant, however, were soon to be countered by the younger philosopher, Hegel, who may be considered the founder of the later school of German philosophers, typified by von Treitschke. Hegel declared that war ought not to be considered as an absolute evil, and as an accidental event, the origin of which is to be attributed to the passions of Princes and people.

It will be seen from these speculations that the propaganda in our own time contains little that is new, but on the contrary has borrowed very largely from our predecessors. When Saint-Pierre conceived a confederation of European States as the prerequisite to peace he meant such a system merely as a means whereby international law might acquire a coercive sanction. That is still the great defect of the law, to supply which is still the primary aim of all movements calculated to preserve the order of the world.

And yet the fact must not be lost sight of that when the public law of nations ultimately acquires a coercive sanction its character as a human institution is not changed; that it will then be liable to the abuses of power no less than the present state permits of the abuses of weakness. The golden mean between anarchy and tyranny will come only through the slow and halting processes of civilization.

Rising Tide of Democracy in Germany One Cause of War

Dr. Henry Dwight Sedgwick, a distinguished American historian and essayist, has commented upon the "Cosmos" letters in an article in which he maintains that an understanding of the causes of the war is essential in effecting a rational peace. He predicates his argument on the assumption that the military party in Prussia "deliberately played a bully's part that meant war unless the rest of Europe was to cringe and slink away."

Dr. Sedgwick cites "two reasons which urged the military party in Prussia to play the bully," and proceeds to discuss them:

THE first reason may be called the traditional military policy of Prussia; this policy proceeds upon the theory that in this world, still not well organ-

ized, still uncivilized, the best organized, the most civilized element in it should control the rest, and that this best element can only acquire such control by military force. This theory is justified by the history of Prussia during the last 200 years, which is a history of the successful use of military organization in acquiring dominion over less well organized rivals. Extension of political dominion, of course, secures and extends the power of the Hohenzollern dynasty, of the military party, and of the capitalistic class as a whole.

The second reason is the apprehension entertained by the military and capitalistic classes of the rising power of the Social Democracy. The figures of the Social Democratic vote should not be forgotten:

Year.	Vote.
1871	124,655
1877	493,288
1887	763,128
1898	2,107,076
1907	3,259,020
1912	4,250,329

At this rate of increase it was almost possible to calculate at just what coming election the Social Democrats would have a majority in the Reichstag and be able to refuse the taxes necessary to keep the military party in power. The program of the party states: "The battle of the working class against capitalistic exploitation is necessarily a political battle. The working class cannot carry on its economic battles or develop its economic organization without political rights. It cannot effect the passing of the means of production into the ownership of the community without acquiring political power. To shape this battle of the working class into a conscious and united effort, and to show it its naturally necessary end, is the object of the Social Democratic Party." And among their immediate demands are: "Self-government of the people in empire, State, province, and commune. Authorities to be elected by the people; to be responsible and bound. * * * Settlement of all international disputes by the method of arbitration. * * * Abolition of all indirect taxes, customs, and other politico-economic measures which sacrifice the interests of the whole community to the interests of a favored minority." But indeed no quotations are necessary to show that the principles of the Social Democracy are totally opposed to the principles by which the Hohenzollerns and the military party remain in power. The growing vote was like the handwriting on Belshazzar's wall. Everybody knows that a successful foreign war is the surest method of strengthening a conservative party in power.

And what does Liebknecht say? "The German Government in its social and historical composition is an instrument for the oppression and exploitation of the working masses; it serves the interest of the Junkertum, of capitalism, and imperialism, both at home and abroad. It is the unrestrained representative of the policy of worldwide expansion and the strongest promoter of competitive armament, and, therefore, of one of the most important factors in the creation of the causes of the present war. In partnership with the Austrian Government it plotted to bring about this war, and thus burdened itself with the principal responsibility for its immediate outbreak."

Now, if this hypothesis of the cause of the war (as most Americans believe) be true, then the primary cause of the war is the military party in Prussia, with the Hohenzollern dynasty at its head. Mr. Asquith so thinks, for he stated that Great Britain would not sheathe her sword "until the military domination of Prussia is wholly and finally destroyed." M. Trepoff is reported to have said to the Duma: "The war must continue until German militarism is destroyed"; M. Briand has used similar language. And, as Dr. Prince says, "the people of England and France are literally inspired, as by a religion, to make no peace until Prussian militarism is destroyed." And this is also what the President of the United States must mean by his recent words: "Throughout the last two years there has come more and more into my heart the conviction that peace is going to come to the world only with liberty. * * * Peace cannot come so long as the destinies of men are determined by small groups who make selfish choices of their own."

Such being the causes of the war, (ac-

cording to this hypothesis,) it is necessary, in Mr. Asquith's phrase, to destroy the military domination of Prussia, or, in Mr. Wilson's, to overthrow the small group of men whose selfish choices directly or indirectly caused the war. This is the cure, and the only cure, for the malady of war. But as it is obvious that the present Government of Germany would not consent to self-annihilation, and as it is also obvious that the Allies, even if they were to march into Berlin, could not set up a stable government of their own choice in Germany, it will be necessary for the Allies to continue pressure by force from without and by want within until the Social Democrats or the proletariat shall rise of themselves, put down the military party, and take the Government into their own hands.

If the Social Democrats were in power all questions as to terms of peace would virtually adjust themselves, for such a Government would be in accord with England, France, and the United States. Belgium would be evacuated, Alsace-Lorraine decide its own fate, Poland be granted self-government, the German colonies in Africa could safely be given back, rules as to war by land and sea agreed upon, an international tribunal for the settlement of quarrels established, &c.

"Cosmos" agrees that "Prussian militarism must be wholly and finally destroyed"; but his theory is that the war should end first, after some such readjustments as he has suggested, and that Europe may then intrust the task of destroying Prussian militarism to the German people. This is indeed to dance a minuet with the phantoms of hope. Left to themselves, the Hohenzollerns, Junkers, soldiers, and capitalists would persuade the nation that they, by their military policy, by their military preparations, had saved the nation from subjugation; and the traditional belief of Prussia that might alone is to be trusted would be drunk in by every baby with its mother's milk.

No; the bitter conclusion seems unavoidable, the war must continue until after the Germans themselves shall have effected a political revolution. That is the situation that confronts the American Government and the American people today.

The Eloquent Dead

By ALAN SEEGER

[Alan Seeger, an American poet who died fighting in France, left a volume of war poems (published by Scribner) which will long keep his memory alive.]

There, holding still, in frozen steadfastness,
Their bayonets toward the beckoning frontiers,
They lie—our comrades—lie among their peers,
Clad in the glory of fallen warriors,
Grim clusters under thorny trellises.
Dry, furthest foam upon disastrous shores,
Leaves that made last year beautiful, still strewn
Even as they fell, unchanged, beneath the changing moon;
And earth in her divine indifference
Rolls on, and many paltry things and mean
Prate to be heard and caper to be seen.
But they are silent, calm; their eloquence
Is that incomparable attitude;
No human presences their witness are,
But Summer clouds and sunset crimson hued,
And showers and night winds and the northern star.
Nay, even our salutations seem profane,
Opposed to their Elysian quietude;
Our salutations calling from afar,
From our ignoble plane
And undistinction of our lesser parts:
Hail, brothers, and farewell; you are twice blessed, brave hearts.

How Other Wars Ended

By Charles Willis Thompson

Of the Editorial Staff of The New York Times

THERE is no exact parallel in modern wars for Germany's action—an undefeated belligerent asking her adversaries to meet her and discuss unformulated terms of peace. The impression, however, that nations desiring to end a war generally avail themselves of the offer of some friendly neutral to act as mediator is utterly unfounded, though a great deal of the talk about the possible action of the United States in such a way has proceeded as if that were the almost invariable rule.

When England desired to end the war with the Colonies she began by sending separate negotiators to the French Government and to the American Commissioners in Paris. The latter, though positively commanded by Congress to negotiate no peace without the participation of their French allies, did sign a separate treaty, though with the reservation that it should not go into effect until France had made peace. They then informed the French Government, which accepted the terms.

The Napoleonic peace treaties usually began with an armistice. The most famous, the Treaty of Tilsit, was brought about by a personal meeting between Napoleon and Alexander I. on a raft in the middle of the River Niemen to agree upon an armistice which the Czar had already sought. An armistice was also agreed upon after the battle of Lützen, but Napoleon would not agree to the allies' terms and resumed hostilities. His fall in 1814 was accompanied by no negotiations; the allies were actually in Paris. Napoleon's Generals persuaded him to sign an act of abdication, and the French Senate dethroned him.

The way to the Peace of Ghent, which ended the War of 1812, was paved by an offer of the Czar to act as mediator, though it was rejected. In rejecting it, Lord Castlereagh let it be known that he was willing to negotiate directly with the United States. The United States gladly accepted and sent Commissioners, but England neglected to appoint envoys until long afterward, when her troubles had become so great that she was desirous of peace.

In the Mexican war President Polk was always anxious for peace, but his envoys were not accepted. At last he went so far as to send an envoy, Nicholas P. Trist, along with Scott's army, authorized to treat with Mexico the moment that country was willing to do so. Scott quarreled with Trist and refused to transmit his letter to the Mexican Government, and Trist had to get the British Minister to forward it. After repeated failures and rebuffs, he finally got in touch with Commissioners appointed by a new Government which had succeeded Santa Ana, but not until Polk had ordered his recall. He disregarded this order and negotiated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

On the death of Czar Nicholas I., his successor, Alexander II., announced to the Courts of Europe his desire that the Crimean war should end, and this is the nearest approach to a parallel with Germany's action today. A peace conference was held in Vienna, but in three months it was broken off and the war resumed. The war went on until Austria, a neutral power, threatened to join the allies unless the Czar accepted her ultimatum. He at first refused, but a personal letter from the neutral King of Prussia induced him to reconsider, and the final peace conference was held.

The war of Italy, France, and Austria in 1859 was terminated in a surprising fashion by an armistice agreed on personally between Napoleon III. and Franz Josef, just as the French and Italian armies were in the full tide of success. Victor Emmanuel was forced to agree, and the terms of the armistice were embodied in a peace treaty.

The war between Prussia and Denmark in 1864 came abruptly to an end

when the Danes learned that neither England nor France would help them. They dismissed their War Ministry from office and sent proposals for a truce directly to Berlin and Vienna.

The terms of peace between the United States and the Confederacy were arranged by Generals in the field.

In the war between Austria, Prussia, and Italy in 1866, Franz Josef, after his defeats at Königsgratz and elsewhere, informed Napoleon III. of his willingness to cede Venetia to Italy and his desire that Napoleon be mediator. Napoleon accepted, and Bismarck drafted the terms and sent them to Napoleon, who, as mediator, accepted them. An armistice followed.

In 1870 the French Government which succeeded Napoleon III. asked first for an armistice, then for peace, but the requests were declined and the siege of Paris began. After the surrender of Paris the Germans consented to an armistice to permit the election of a National Assembly which it could recognize. The preliminaries of peace were agreed on between Bismarck and Thiers at Versailles, and the treaty followed at Frankfort.

The Russo-Turkish war was cut short by England's threat to enter it. Russia arranged an armistice immediately and negotiated the Treaty of San Stefano directly with Turkey. England, backed by France and Austria, refused to recognize it, and the Congress of Berlin was summoned; but before it met the Czar had negotiated a secret treaty with England embodying most of the agreements subsequently made there.

China made two approaches to Japan while the war of 1894 was going on, but through envoys who had no proper credentials, and Japan refused to treat with them. When China was wholly defeated and the Japanese armies about to march on Peking, the empire sent Li Hung Chang with proper credentials to Shimonoseki, and the treaty was at once drawn up.

Russia put an end to the Turco-Grecian war of 1897 by peremptorily ordering an armistice just as the victorious Turks were marching on Central Greece.

The Spanish-American war of 1898 closed when Spain, on July 26, made overtures to the United States through Cambon, the French Ambassador at Washington. Seventeen days later the protocol was signed.

The Boer war ended in an unprecedented way. The members of the Transvaal Government rode into Middleburg and requested to be sent to Lord Kitchener to arrange peace terms with him. He met them but held that because of the peculiar character of the Boer Army the men in the field would have to be consulted if any assurance of peace was to be given. Steyn, De Wet, and Delarey went to the commandos, explained the situation to them, and each body in the field chose two delegates to meet at Vereeniging and decide the matter by vote.

President Roosevelt brought the Russo-Japanese war to an end by sending, on June 8, 1905, identic dispatches to both Governments urging that they enter into peace negotiations. Both accepted, and sent envoys to the United States to negotiate the Treaty of Portsmouth.

An armistice in the first Balkan war was ended by a breaking off of negotiations. The powers then agreed upon terms and offered mediation. A second armistice was signed, but Montenegro would not join it and went on with the war. She captured Scutari, but Austria took it away from her, and the second peace conference, which was successful, met in London.

The ways of ending wars, therefore, are various. Mediation has played an infinitesimal part in the wars of the last century and a half; and direct application by one belligerent to others, save in cases of utter defeat, has few precedents.

Armenia and Civilization

By R. H. Kazanjan

An Armenian Now Living in This Country

IN the history of the struggles and triumphs of various nations the world is thrilled with the romance of conquest and exploration, of revolutions sweeping over the land, of dynasties that rise, flourish, and pass away. From these annals emerge the heroes, immortal names upon the scroll of national honor: great men and women whose personality and appearance are preserved by the genius of sculptors and the skill of painters. All this gives birth to that peculiar pride which we call patriotism, and which in turn renders a nation's flag a sacred emblem.

It is therefore with a species of sad surprise that we contemplate a people, superior in every way, chronologically the first Christians in the world, highly educated, enterprising, ambitious, who after twenty-five centuries of existence are without unity as a nation.

I am referring, of course, to the Armenians. Peaceable, law-abiding, eager to amass wealth and acquire culture, they have ever turned their attention to the arts and crafts rather than to arms and conquest. The result has been endless persecution through the ages, until today Armenia may be regarded as a vast community sacrificed upon the altar of barbarity and greed.

During the last six centuries the tormentors have been the Turks, whose cruelty has outdone all the others. They have confiscated or demolished property, despoiled women, massacred Armenians by the thousand, and prevented them from developing the great resources of their fatherland.

It is high time the world should know the truth concerning the whole Turkish Empire. Its people are practically without ambition, almost devoid of commercial energy, and steeped in a religion that is the very quintessence of predestination. "Whatever is to be is to be. So what is the use?" That which was good enough for their forebears is good enough for them. Such is their attitude toward progress. They have always regarded with a mixture of envy, spite, and suspicion any innovations the unfortunate Armenians attempted to inaugurate. Such evidences of advanced civilization—railroads, quays, great buildings, modern inventions—as are to be found in Turkey today have been forced upon them by foreigners and constructed by foreign engineers; and the Turks have tolerated them because the building of such vast improvements offered great opportunities for graft.

During the last generation or so extraordinary care has been taken by the crafty Turk to conceal the true condition of his depraved country. Wealthy and influential tourists, as well as gifted writers, have been led astray, deliberately misinformed by the oily tongues of diplomats and officials. The result has been numerous books, stories, and reports of "the delightful home life," the "clean Turkish baths," the magnificent cities and the pleasing aspect which romantic Turkey presents to the world. In many instances, no doubt, writers have been well paid to convey these "impressions," and along with them misrepresentations concerning the character and status of the Armenians. The latter have been pictured as mutinous, troublesome, filled with treachery and deceit, lacking in national faith and patriotism, their only thought being to accumulate riches at the expense of the poor Turk. The world must now learn that most of these were honeyed lies.

In his executive capacity the Turk has always been a tyrant. Look into the history of his relations with the Bulgarians, the Syrians, the Persians, the Greeks: you will find oppression, tyranny, everywhere; only he has treated the Armenians with the greatest severity, for the reason that the descendants of Haig have never

been able to fight back to any great extent. They have never been permitted to organize themselves into a State or nation of their own, with an adequate army at their command. Since the days of their lost kingdom, centuries ago, the Armenians have been merely a helpless part of the Ottoman Empire, subject to unjust taxation, plundered, and murdered at irregular intervals. That the civilized world should have stood aside, as it were, and allowed such a gigantic exhibition of injustice to go on is a circumstance calculated to impair one's faith in human nature. All the printer's ink in Christendom and all the eloquence of diplomats plenipotentiary cannot blot out the crimson stains that redden the pages of Turkish history during these shameful centuries.

If coming events cast their shadows before them, it would seem to an observant person that the opportunity is soon to be given to certain leading powers to redeem themselves by securing for Armenia the independence to which that country is rightfully entitled. Let us hope they will do this, and do it cheerfully.

In this connection one cannot help wondering just what Germany's attitude is toward Armenia and what is to be Armenia's fate in the event Germany is finally triumphant. It is to be hoped her conscience and her heart will be touched, after having witnessed so much distress, both at home and among the enemies with whom she has fought, and that, as a result, she will do her share in freeing forever the Armenian people from the thralldom in which they have been held.

I am sure the opinion is widespread that England is the logical nation to intervene in Armenia's behalf. During the last four decades, beginning with the treaty of Berlin in 1878, Great Britain has had brilliant opportunities to bring about much-needed reforms in Turkey. But for reasons that (with a little study) will become obvious to the reader, England has always acted in such a half-hearted manner as to leave the Turks free to continue their dastardly course.

Had a people as energetic and resourceful as the Armenians been able to realize their ambition to become an independent nation, and had they long since organized an efficient army of nearly a million men, what a different state of affairs might now be prevailing in the eastern theatre of the present war! Allied with France or England, they could have given efficient service against the Turks on many a "front," and perhaps materially changed the aspect of things. For the Armenians are great warriors when given the opportunity. There is a saying among the Turks: "Let not fifty Armenians get together, armed. They will conquer the world!"

Another country that should aid materially in gaining independence for Armenia is Russia. In a manner of speaking, Russia owes it to the Armenians to lend her assistance; for did she not at one time promise this very thing?

Soon after the war began the Turks attempted to induce a large number of Armenians to join the two million or more of their fellow-exiles in Russia, create a reign of terror and revolution in that country, and, if possible, deliver vast numbers of Russian soldiers into the hands of the Turks. This the Armenians indignantly refused to do, becoming so disgusted with the tactics of the Turkish Government that many thousands, already drafted into the army, deserted, while every Armenian that could manage to do so got out of the country and enlisted in foreign armies.

There are millions of Armenians scattered throughout the civilized world who would welcome an opportunity to return to their native land.

Eminently able to govern themselves, they deserve to have the same independence that has been enjoyed for hundreds of years by nationalities hardly their equal in intelligence and ambition. They want the whole world to know the truth: how for untold generations the Turks have ground them beneath the heel of oppression, woefully retarding the progress of the entire country. It is time some great power intervened and brought to an end the spectacle of a brutal people trampling the very souls out of human beings infinitely their superiors.

The Last Stand of the Armenians

LORD BRYCE'S report on the Armenian massacres, parts of which appeared in the November issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, has been published by the British Government as a Blue Book, with indorsements as to its essential truth from Viscount Grey, H. A. L. Fisher, Professor Gilbert Murray, and Moorfield Storey. It places the total of deaths at 600,000. The following passage from the narrative of a survivor of the Sassoun massacre is a dramatic record of the last desperate attempt of the Armenians to defend themselves:

"The Armenians were compelled to abandon the outlying lines of their defense and were retreating day by day into the heights of Antok, the central block of the mountains, some 10,000 feet high. The non-combatant women and children and their large flocks of cattle greatly hampered the free movements of the defenders, whose number had already been reduced from 3,000 to about half that figure. Terrible confusion prevailed during the Turkish attacks, as well as the Armenian counterattacks. Many of the Armenians smashed their rifles after firing the last cartridge, and grasped their revolvers and daggers. The Turkish regulars and Kurds, amounting now to something like 30,000 altogether, pushed higher and higher up the heights and surrounded the main Armenian position at close quarters.

"Then followed one of those desperate and heroic struggles for life which have always been the pride of mountaineers. Men, women, and children fought with knives, scythes, stones, and anything else they could handle. They rolled blocks of stone down the steep slopes, killing many of the enemy. In a frightful hand-to-hand combat women were seen thrusting their knives into the throats of Turks, and thus accounting for many of them. On Aug. 5, the last day of the fighting, the bloodstained rocks of Antok were captured by the Turks. The Armenian warriors of Sassoun, except those who had worked round to the rear of the Turks to attack them on their flanks, had died in battle. Several young women who were in danger of falling into the Turks' hands threw themselves from the rocks, some of them with their infants in their arms."

Horrors of Armenian Encampments

Story of an Eyewitness

THOUSANDS of exiled Armenians are held in Turkish prison camps in the Valley of the Euphrates and in Northern Arabia and Syria. The first neutral to visit these camps (he is not an American) has written a report of what he saw and handed it to the American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, which vouches for the reliability of the witness. The writer of the report says that he was permitted to visit the Armenian encampments all along the Euphrates, and was able to see and to gather data concerning the exiles.

"It is impossible," he writes, "to give an account of the impression of horror which my journey across the Armenian encampments scattered all along the Euphrates has given me, especially those on the right bank, between Meskene and Der-i-Zor. These can hardly be called encampments, because of the fact that the majority of these unfortunate people, brutally dragged out of their native land, torn from their homes and families, robbed of their effects upon their departure or en route, are penned up in the open like cattle, without shelter, almost no clothing, and irregularly fed with food altogether insufficient."

The writer says that the remnants of the Armenian Nation disseminated along the Euphrates are composed of old men and women and children.

"Meskene, through its geographical position on the border between Syria and Mesopotamia," the writer continues, "is the natural point of concentration of deported Armenians coming from the vilayets of Anatolia and sent afterward all along the Euphrates. They arrive there by the thousands, but the majority leave their bones there. The impression which this immense and dismal plain of Meskene leaves is sad. This information was obtained on the spot, and permit me to state that nearly 60,000 Armenians are buried there, carried off by hunger, by privations of all sorts, by intestinal diseases and resultant typhus. As far as the eye can reach mounds are seen containing 200 or 300 corpses buried in the ground pell mell, women, children and old people belonging to different families. At present nearly 4,500 Armenians are kept between the town of Meskene and the Euphrates. These are but living phantoms.

"I saw under a tent of five or six square meters about 450 orphans. These poor children receive 150 grams of bread a day. However, at times, and this is more often the case, they remain two days without eating anything. Death makes cruel ravages among them. This tent was sheltering 450 victims while I was passing through. Eight days afterward, upon my return, disease had carried off seventeen of them.

"Abou Herrera is a small place north of Meskene on the bank of the Euphrates. It is the worst part of the desert. On a small hill 200 meters from the river are confined 240 Armenians under the surveillance of two gendarmes."

Similar conditions of suffering were found at Hamman, where there were 1,600 Armenians; at Rekka, where there were 6,000, and at Zierrat, where 1,800 were encamped. In conclusion, the writer says:

"I believe there are some 15,000 Armenians scattered about all along the Euphrates between Meskene and Der-i-Zor, passing through Rekka. As I have already said, these unfortunate people, abandoned, ill-treated by the authorities, are gradually dying of starvation. Winter cold and dampness will add their victims to those of famine. If funds are not sent, these unfortunate people are doomed."

The London Times has received the personal narratives of two Mussulmans whose former official standing is known and whose veracity has been tested by personal examination.

"In the month of August, 1915," relates one of these eye witnesses, "at about two hours from Zaart I saw masses of Armenian bodies piled up in two ravines. I estimated the number at about 15,000. I learned that the Armenian Bishop of Zaart was not killed with the others, but at his own request had been shot in a cave near by. On my way back from Zaart to Mush there were 500 Armenians herded together in a stable near Mush and locked in. Through an opening in the roof gendarmes threw flaming torches. I saw the flames and heard the screams of the victims, all of whom were burned alive.

"At Mush the streets were strewn with Armenian bodies. Whenever an Armenian ventured out he was killed on the spot. Neither old, blind, nor sick was spared.

"On the way from Mush to Hinis I saw headless Armenian bodies at short intervals in the fields by the roadside. Between Hinis and Sherkiskeui I saw two ravines filled with Armenian corpses, mostly men. There were about 400 in each ravine."

The second eyewitness was stationed at Erzerum in April, 1915, when the order came from Constantinople that the Armenians should be deported to the interior. He says:

"At Kamach I saw in prison a Kurdish chieftain, Mursa Bey. I asked him why he was there. He said:

"'I have killed 70,000 Armenians, and now they have arrested me for striking a gendarme.'

"He was afterward secretly executed."

This eyewitness says he saw no German officers actually connected with massacres, but that the German military authorities in Turkey knew of them and made no attempt to stop them.

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From December 12, 1916, Up to and Including January 11, 1917

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Dec. 15—Germans attack Russian lines in the region of Zubilno, in Volhynia.

Dec. 17—Germans take part of Russian trench in the region of Dolchi Porsk and Maly Porsk on the Kovel front.

Dec. 20—Russians operating in the region of the River Bystritsa penetrate into Bohorodczany Stare.

Dec. 21—Russians check Teuton advance in the Zlota Lipa region.

Dec. 23—Russians drive back German scouts near Baranovichi.

Dec. 27—Germans repulsed in attack near Little Porsk.

Dec. 31—Skirmishes in Galicia northwest of Zborow.

Jan. 3—Germans bombard several villages in the direction of Zalogev.

Jan. 5—Germans take possession of an island in the Dvina River east of Glaudan.

Jan. 6—Russians repel attacks east of the Drul Swamp in the Riga sector.

Jan. 8—Russians capture enemy trenches south of Lake Babit.

Jan. 10—Russians on the Riga front capture a position between the Tirul marsh and the River Aa.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Dec. 12—Austro-German forces in Wallachia occupy the towns of Mizil and Urziceni; Russians renew offensive in the wooded Carpathians and along the Moldavian frontier.

Dec. 13—Russians capture a line of trenches on heights to the south of Agusulia in the region of the Trotus Valley; Bulgars shell Monastir.

Dec. 14—Mackensen's army crosses the River Jalomita in Eastern Wallachia.

Dec. 15—Teutons capture the town of Buzeu; Bulgarian forces cross the Danube near Futesti.

Dec. 17—Teutons cross the Buzeu and the lower Calmatuiul Rivers in Eastern Wallachia.

Dec. 18—Russians check Teuton offensive and form defense line between Rimnik-Sarat and the Danube marshes; Teutons in Northern Dobrudja cross the line between Babadagh and Pecineaga.

Dec. 19—Russians and Rumanians in Dobrudja continue their retreat and approach the lower Danube.

Dec. 20—Russians and Rumanians repel attacks made in the direction of Parlita on the Danube.

Dec. 22—Russians forced back in Northern Dobrudja; Bulgarians attacked to the east of Lake Babadagh and thrown into Lake Ibolata; many drowned.

Dec. 23—Teutonic troops in Dobrudja take several Russian rear-guard positions and occupy Tulcea; entire province cleared of Rumanian and Russian forces except the terrain between Matchin and Isakcha.

Dec. 24—Teutons capture Isakcha.

Dec. 25—Teutons capture Tultcha in Dobrudja and begin attack on the bridgehead at Matchin; Russians repel attacks north of the Uzul Valley in Moldavia.

Dec. 27—Russians defeated on wide front in Eastern Wallachia, and the town of Rimnik-Sarat captured; Teutons make progress in attack against Matchin bridgehead in Dobrudja.

Dec. 28—Braila, in Northeastern Wallachia, is under fire of German-Bulgarian cannon from across the Danube; fierce fighting in Dobrudja.

Dec. 29—Teutons push on northwest of Rimnik-Sarat, take the town of Ratchelu in Dobrudja, and advance in Moldavia.

Dec. 30—Teutons take Russo-Rumanian trenches on the Transylvanian front; Falkenhayn's men push forward north and northeast of Rimnik-Sarat.

Dec. 31—Russians thrown back to the bridgehead of Braila in Wallachia; Russian points east of Matchin have been captured.

Jan. 1—Austro-Germans on the Moldavian front capture several heights and two towns in the Zabella Valley; Russo-Rumanians defeated in Wallachia near Rimnik-Sarat; Danube army fights for Braila bridgehead.

Jan. 2—Rumanians regain ground in the Kasino River sector.

Jan. 3—Teutons capture the towns of Matchin and Jijila in Northern Dobrudja and Barsesci and Topesci on the Moldavian front.

Jan. 4—Russians pierce Teutons' lines south of the Botochi Mountain in the Carpathians; Russian forces in Dobrudja withdraw toward Braila across the Danube in Wallachia.

Jan. 5—Germans and Belgars take Braila in Wallachia, Slobozio and Rotesti in the Rimnik-Sarat sector, and Gurgueti and Romanul south of the Buzeu.

Jan. 6—Teutons storm Russian defenses on an extended front south of the Trotus Valley, capture five more towns near Braila, and reach the Sereth River at two points.

Jan. 7—Russians recover lost positions near Fokshani, occupy main mass of Mount Odobechti, and press on in the Oituz region.

Jan. 9—Teuton troops storm defenses on both sides of the Kasino and Suchitza Valley and capture the town of Galreaska.

Jan. 10—Teutons drive Russians back further along the Kasino Valley and gain a footing on the left bank of the Putna River north of Fokshani.

Jan. 11—Rumanians and Russians pressed back southeast of Monestar-Kachinul on the River Kasino and northeast of Kempirule de Sus on the River Suchitza; Teutons cross the River Putna in the region of Svendeschi.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Dec. 12—Germans repulsed in attack near Lassigny, south of the Somme sector.

Dec. 15—French, in big drive north of Douaumont, break through German lines on a six-mile front, from the Meuse River to the plain of the Woevre, penetrating to a depth of nearly two miles, and capture Vacherauville, Louvemont, Chambrettes Farm, and field works at Hardaumont and Bezonvaux.

Dec. 16—French capture the Village of Bezonvaux and push forward their lines in the Caurières Wood.

Dec. 18—French driven out of Chambrettes Farm, but retake it.

Dec. 21—British penetrate advanced German positions north of Arras; but are ejected.

Dec. 28—Gun duels renewed north of Verdun.

Dec. 29—German troops transferred from the Somme front enter French positions on Hill 304 and on the southern slope of Dead Man Hill.

Jan. 2—British report repulse of Germans in trench raids near Vermelles and Ypres.

Jan. 4—Violent artillery action near Souain and in the Verdun sector.

Jan. 6—British seize two hostile posts north of Beaumont-Hamel.

Jan. 7—Germans repulsed in attack at Beaumont.

Jan. 8—Germans repulsed near Arras.

Jan. 10—British seize a German trench north of the Ancre, east of Beaumont-Hamel.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Dec. 14—Artillery duels in the Pesadeno area and on the Asiago Plateau in the Trentino, in the Plava sector, and on the Carso Plateau.

Dec. 20—Italians silence Austrian batteries in the Arsa Valley and disperse Austrian troops in the Carso.

Dec. 23—Italians repulse Austrian attacks on the Maso Torrent in the Sugana Valley.

Jan. 5—Italians repulse violent Austrian assault near Lake Garda.

ASIA MINOR AND EGYPT

Dec. 15—British troops take the offensive in the region of Kut-el-Amara and occupy Turkish positions on the Hai River.

Dec. 22—British capture El Arish in Egypt.

Dec. 25—British capture strong Turkish position at Maghdadah.

Dec. 26—British advance on the right bank of the Tigris and destroy Gassabs fort.

Dec. 27—Turks assume the offensive in the region of Petrakolai in Armenia, but are driven back in the region of Charafkhan, west of Mush.

Jan. 3—British repulsed by Turks in attack on Inam Muhamed, on the Tigris front

Jan. 10—British Indian troops take Turkish trenches on a front of 1,000 yards east of Kut-el-Amara.

Jan. 11—British capture six lines of intrenchments covering the town of Rofa.

AERIAL RECORD

Aerial operations were renewed on a large scale on the western front. The Allies shelled blast furnaces at Dillingen and railroad stations at Montmedy and Pierrepont, east of Longuyon. In one day, Dec. 29, ten German machines were destroyed.

Two German airplanes were brought down in the region of Porskaia Vulka, in the east.

British naval airplanes wrecked the railway bridge over the Maritza River at Kuleli Burgas.

A British seaplane squadron destroyed the Chicaldar Bridge on the Bagdad Railway, east of Adana.

NAVAL RECORD

Forty-eight vessels, belligerent and neutral, have been destroyed by submarines in the war zone within a month.

In the Mediterranean Sea, the British transport Ivernia; the British warship Cornwallis, the French armored cruiser Gaulois, and the British horse transport Russian were torpedoed. Seventeen American muleteers were lost on the Russian.

MISCELLANEOUS

Greece has accepted further demands of the Allies concerning the removal of troops and war material, but has protested to them against the tolerance by the allied naval authorities of the revolutionary movement. The Allies on Dec. 31 made new demands for reparation for past acts and guarantees that would make it impossible for Constantine's Government to hamper further the Allies' campaign in Macedonia.

The Turkish Government, in a communication addressed to Germany and Austria-Hungary, proclaimed her independence of the suzerainty of the great powers of Europe, repudiated the Treaty of Paris and the Treaty of Berlin, and abolished the special status of the Liva of Lebanon.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[German Cartoon]

A Chance

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

THREE EXILED KINGS—IN CHORUS: "What! they have set up a throne? Then I will offer my kit of royal tools."

[Russian Cartoon]

The Bloody Deluge

—From Loukomorye, Petrograd.

KAISER: "I hope that peace dove will return in time."

[English Cartoons]

The German Peace Dove

—From The Westminster Gazette.

BETHMANN HOLLWEG: "Now remember, you've got to look like a dove."

—From Sunday Telegraph, London.

THE BRUTE INSIDE: "Va-at?!!—You *tont like* my sveet, chentle, leedle tove?!! —zen must I my life-like, most peastly rebresentation of a boisonous rebtile again gif!!!—and vor-rse!!!"

[German Cartoon]

If Lloyd George Had His Way

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

ANGEL: "I bring you peace at last."
MEN OF WARRING NATIONS: "Thanks, awfully—we have it already."

[French Cartoon]

The "War Brides" of Lille

—From a lithograph by Steinlen in Cartoons Magazine.

Under the Heel.

[Spanish Cartoon]

Freedom for Poland

—*From Iberia, Barcelona.*

POLAND: "And what must I put into that?"
GERMAN LIBERATOR: "Your head!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

The Stepmother of Poland

—*From Esquella de la Torratxa, Barcelona.*

GERMANY: "Now who will say I do not love you!"

[French Cartoon]

At the Pearly Gates

"Before his death, Francis Joseph received the special benediction of the Holy Father."
—News dispatch.

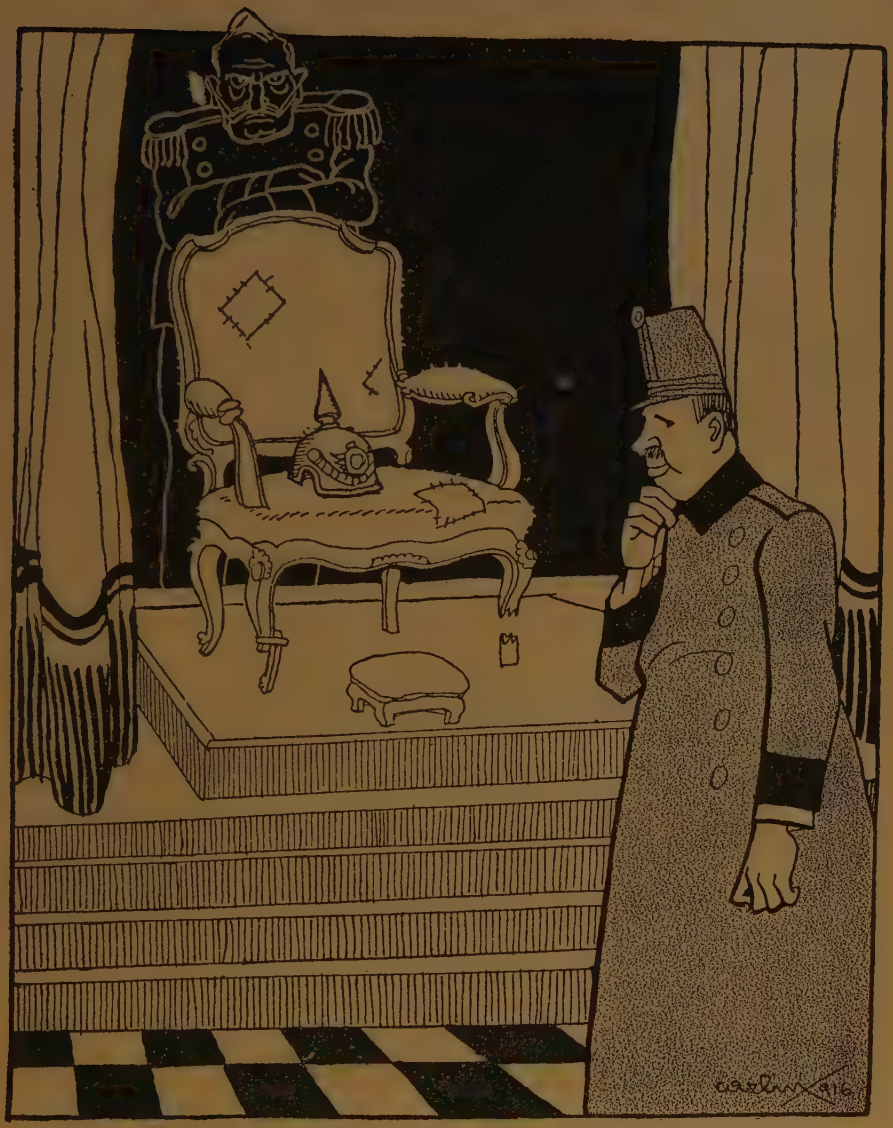
—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

ST. PETER TO FRANCIS JOSEPH: "The special benediction of the Pope! Out of here, you dog! This place would be too comfortable for you!"

[This extraordinarily bitter cartoon appeared on the front page of Le Rire.]

[Italian Cartoon]

The Austrian Throne



—From Il Numero, Turin.

CHARLES I.: "I can get along with the breaks and repairs, but that spike can't be very comfortable."

[Spanish Cartoon]

Constantine of Greece

—From Iberia, Barcelona.

A difficult subject.

[German Cartoon]

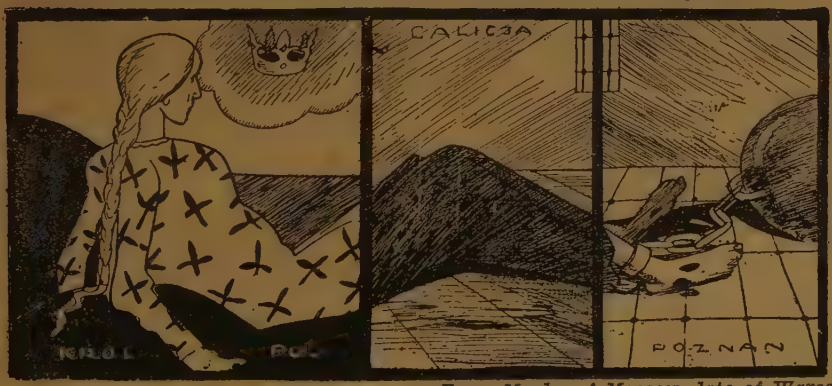
Venizelos and Martyred Greece

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

VENIZELOS TO THE ALLIES: "May you never withdraw your protection from my unhappy country!"

[Polish Cartoon]

Polish Freedom—German Style



—*From Mucha of Moscow, late of Warsaw.*

A picture of "free Poland" as conceived by the impressionist artist, Wilhelmus Hohenzollernicus.

[The three divisions represent the Kingdom of Poland, (in Russia,) Galicia, (Austrian,) and Posen, (German Poland.)]

[Dutch Cartoon]

Wilson the Balancer

—*By Raemaekers.* © 1916, *all rights reserved.*

There can be no peace between Justice and Militarism.

[American Cartoon]

The Peace-Proposal Game

—*From The New York Times.*

ENTENTE ALLIES: "Our cards are on the table; show yours."

[German Cartoon]

Premier Briand's Hope

—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

The rising generation in France.

[A German fling at the Allies' employment of Asiatic and African troops on the French front.]

[French Cartoon]

The Berlin Food Riots

—From La Baionnette, Paris.

HINDENBURG: "Sire, they ask for bread."
KAISER WILHELM: "Give them victories."

[German Cartoon]

Starvation Policy

—From Nebelspalter, Zurich.

JOHN BULL: "If you don't come out I shall soon be in a starving condition myself."

[German Cartoon]

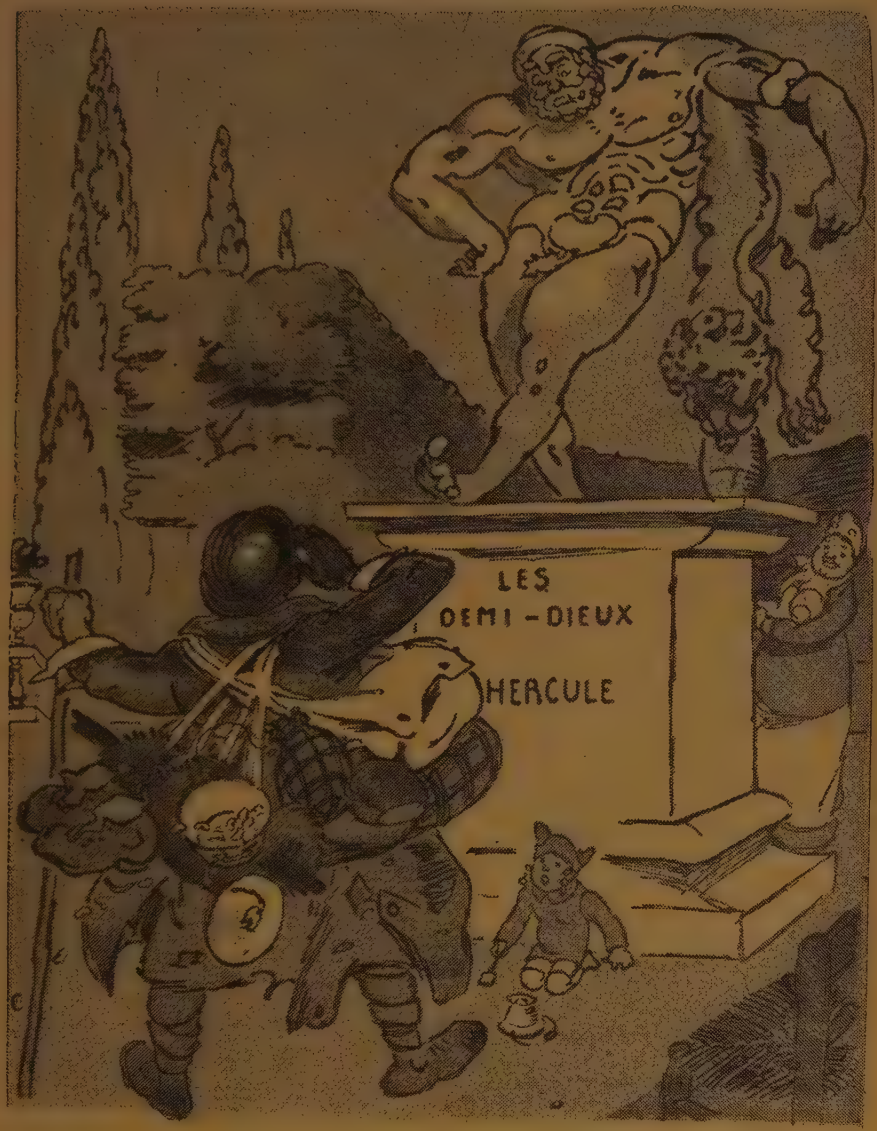
On the Somme

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

FIRST TOMMY: "Have we won any ground today?"
SECOND TOMMY: "Not enough to bury our dead in."

[French Cartoon]

The Modern Demigod



—© *Le Rire, Paris.*

THE POILU: "Say, old man, come down off there and make way for me."

Russia's Aims

—From St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

For Humanity and CONSTANTINOPLE!

Germany's Peace Proposal

—From The Des Moines Register.

Evidently the Kaiser is for quitting while the quitting is good.

A Submarine Error

—From The New York World.

Thought it was a warship.

Pay As You Enter!

—From The Baltimore American.

Who enters here must leave militarism behind.

[German Cartoon]

The Knack of Being Too Late

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

RUMANIA: "Help! Help!"
ALLIES: "Hold your tongue! You are disturbing our deliberations on how to rescue you!"

[French Cartoon]

The hands of justice—they'll get 'em—they'll get 'em!

—*From La Baionnette, Paris.*

GERMAN SOLDIER IN WINTER GARB

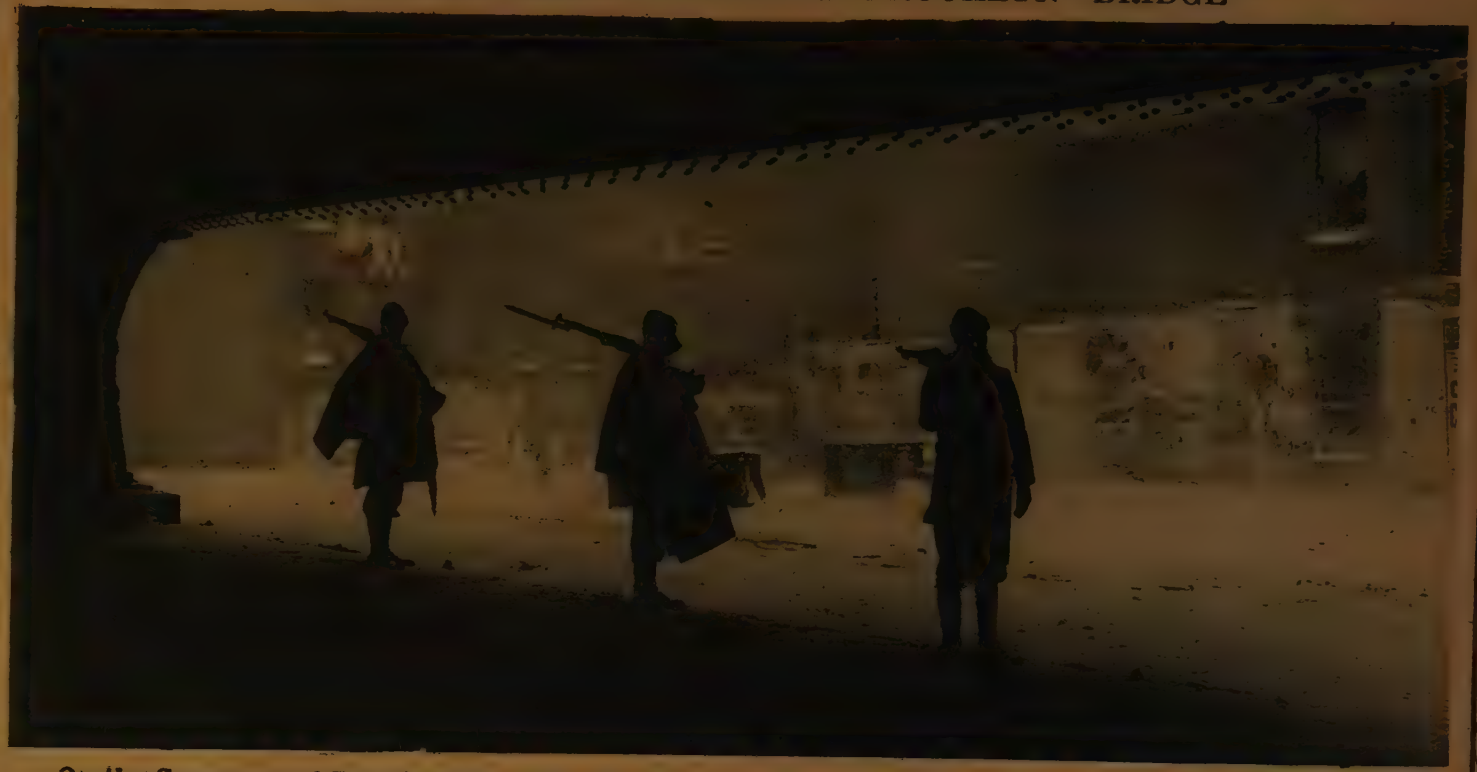
This German Sentinel on the Russian Front Is Dressed in the White Snow Mantle and Black Gas Mask Which Have Been in General Use During the Winter.

A GERMAN WAR INVENTION

The Germans Are Now Using Automobile Wheels Made of Steel Springs, Thus Overcoming the Shortage of Rubber Caused by the British Blockade.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

NAVAL MILITIAMEN GUARDING BROOKLYN BRIDGE



On the Severance of Diplomatic Relations with Germany, the Naval Militia and Two Regiments of the National Guard Were at Once Called Into Service to Protect the Bridges and Water Supply of New York City from Explosives.

(© American P ess Association.)

A FRENCH CHARGE ON THE SOMME VIEWED FROM THE AIR

A Remarkable Photograph of a French Attack on German Trenches in the Vicinity of Chaulnes. It Was Taken by a French Aviator Flying Low Over the Battlefield.

(© American Press Association.)

CORONATION OF KING CHARLES IV. OF HUNGARY

Emperor Charles I. of Austria-Hungary Was Crowned King of Hungary on Dec. 30, 1916, at Budapest. The Prince Primate of Hungary, Johann Cardinal Czernoch, Is Seen Administering the Oath, and on the Cardinal's Left Is Count Tisza, the Hungarian Premier.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

PRESIDENT WILSON ANNOUNCING TO CONGRESS THE BREAK WITH GERMANY

The President Appeared Before Congress in Joint Session on Feb. 3, at 2 o'Clock, to Announce That Diplomatic Relations with Germany Had Been Severed by Reason of Germany's New Submarine Warfare.

(© G. V. Buck, from Underwood & Underwood.)

PERIOD XXX.

United States Severs Diplomatic Relations with Germany—The German Submarine Record—The British Navy's Titanic Task—German Intrigue in Russia—British Campaigns in Turkey—President Wilson's Address on Permanent Peace—The Greatest Battle in History.

THE BREAK WITH GERMANY

THE United States severed diplomatic relations with the German Empire Feb. 3, 1917, by dismissing Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, giving him his passports, and recalling James W. Gerard, the American Ambassador at Berlin. This action was taken in consequence of a notice issued to the United States and all neutral countries by Germany on Jan. 31, 1917, announcing that, beginning on Feb. 1—the following day—merchant ships bound to or from allied ports would be sunk without warning. The notice stated that a "prohibited zone" had been mapped out by Germany, bordering Holland, England, and France, and including portions of the Mediterranean. In these areas of the high seas any vessels of any nation from any port would be sunk without warning by German submarines. In the note to the United States a "safety zone" consisting of a narrow lane leading to Falmouth, England, was designated, through which one American vessel a week, carrying passengers only, would be permitted to proceed unmolested; provided, however, that there were no contraband aboard, and that the vessel be striped and conspicuously marked with colors according to a design outlined by the German Admiralty.

The notice from the German Empire burst upon the nations with startling suddenness at the moment when the Chancelleries of the world were expecting further moves by President Wilson to bring about a conference of the belligerents which might lead to peace. It produced a prodigious sensation and was recognized everywhere as the most momentous development since the initial declarations of war thirty months before; also as indicating that the struggle was entering a new epoch of frightfulness. Moreover, while it denoted in the judgment of many sound observers the final phases of the world conflict, the duration of which no one could yet foresee, a fear was entertained by many that before the end practically all the nations of earth would become involved in hostilities.

Text of Germany's "Barred Sea Zone" Note

FOLLOWING is the full text of the German submarine note handed to Secretary of State Lansing by the German Ambassador on Jan. 31, 1917, at 4 o'clock P. M.

Washington, D. C., Jan. 31, 1917.

Mr. Secretary of State:

Your Excellency was good enough to transmit to the Imperial Government a copy of the message which the President of the United States of America addressed to the Senate on the 22d inst. The Imperial Government has given it the earnest consideration which the President's statements deserve, inspired, as they are, by a deep sentiment of responsibility.

It is highly gratifying to the Imperial Government to ascertain that the main tendencies of this important statement correspond largely to the desires and principles professed by Germany. These principles especially include self-government and equality of rights for all nations. Germany would be sincerely glad if, in recognition of this principle, countries like Ireland and India, which do not enjoy the benefits of political independence, should now obtain their freedom.

The German people also repudiate all alliances which serve to force the countries into a competition for might and to involve them in a net of selfish intrigues. On the other hand, Germany will gladly co-operate in all efforts to prevent future wars.

[Vol. X., P. 963.]

The freedom of the seas, being a preliminary condition of the free existence of nations and the peaceful intercourse between them, as well as the open door for the commerce of all nations, has always formed part of the leading principles of Germany's political program. All the more the Imperial Government regrets that the attitude of her enemies, who are so entirely opposed to peace, makes it impossible for the world at present to bring about the realization of these lofty ideals.

Germany and her allies were ready to enter now into a discussion of peace, and had set down as basis the guarantee of existence, honor, and free development of their peoples. Their aims, as has been expressly stated in the note of Dec. 12, 1916, were not directed toward the destruction or annihilation of their enemies and were, according to their conviction, perfectly compatible with the rights of the other nations. As to Belgium, for which such warm and cordial sympathy is felt in the United States, the Chancellor had declared only a few weeks previously that its annexation had never formed part of Germany's intentions. The peace to be signed with Belgium was to provide for such conditions in that country, with which Germany desires to maintain friendly neighborly relations, that Belgium should not be used again by Germany's enemies for the purpose of instigating continuous hostile intrigues. Such precautionary measures are all the more necessary, as Germany's enemies have repeatedly stated, not only in speeches delivered by their leading men, but also in the statutes of the Economical Conference in Paris, that it is their intention not to treat Germany as an equal, even after peace has been restored, but to continue their hostile attitude, and especially to wage a systematical economic war against her.

The attempt of the four allied powers to bring about peace has failed, owing to the lust of conquest of their enemies, who desired to dictate the conditions of peace. Under the pretense of following the principle of nationality, our enemies have disclosed their real aims in this way, viz., to dismember and dishonor Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, and Bulgaria. To the wish of reconciliation they oppose the will of destruction. They desire a fight to the bitter end.

A new situation has thus been created which forces Germany to new decisions. Since two years and a half England is using her naval power for a criminal attempt to force Germany into submission by starvation. In brutal contempt of international law, the group of powers led by England not only curtail the legitimate trade of their opponents, but they also, by ruthless pressure, compel neutral countries either to altogether forego every trade not agreeable to the Entente Powers, or to limit it according to their arbitrary decrees.

The American Government knows the steps which have been taken to cause England and her allies to return to the rules of international law and to respect the freedom of the seas. The English Government, however, insists upon continuing its war of starvation, which does not at all affect the military power of its opponents, but compels women and children, the sick and the aged, to suffer for their country pains and privations which endanger the vitality of the nation. Thus British tyranny mercilessly increases the sufferings of the world, indifferent to the laws of humanity, indifferent to the protests of the neutrals whom they severely harm, indifferent even to the silent longing for peace among England's own allies. Each day of the terrible struggle causes new destruction, new sufferings. Each day shortening the war will, on both sides, preserve the lives of thousands of brave soldiers and be a benefit to mankind.

The Imperial Government could not justify before its own conscience, before the German people, and before history the neglect of any means destined to bring about the end of the war. Like the President of the United States, the Imperial Government had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. Since the attempts to come to an understanding with the Entente Powers have been answered by the latter with the announcement of an intensified continuation of the war, the Imperial Government—in order to serve the welfare of mankind in a higher sense and not to wrong its own people—is now compelled to continue the fight for existence, again forced upon it, with the full employment of all the weapons which are at its disposal.

Sincerely trusting that the people and the Government of the United States will understand the motives for this decision and its necessity, the Imperial Government hopes that the United States may view the new situation from the lofty heights of impartiality, and assist, on their part, to prevent further misery and unavoidable sacrifice of human life.

Inclosing two memoranda regarding the details of the contemplated military measures at sea, I remain, &c.,

J. BERNSTORFF.

Explanatory Memoranda Outlining the Prohibited Zones

Following is the text of the two memoranda accompanying the German note presented to the State Department by Count von Bernstorff:

From Feb. 1, 1917, sea traffic will be stopped with every available weapon and without further notice in the following blockade zones [" barred zones," according to a version received via Sayville] around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean:

In the north:

[The Sayville version says: "In the North Sea, the district around England and France, which is limited by a line twenty nautical miles."]

The zone is confined by a line at a distance of twenty sea miles along the Dutch coast to Terschelling Lightship, the meridian of longitude from Terschelling Lightship to Udsire; a line from there across the point 62 degrees north, 0 degrees longitude, to 62 degrees north, 5 degrees west; further to a point three sea miles south of the southern point of the Faroe Islands; from there across a point 62 degrees north, 10 degrees west, to 61 degrees north, 15 degrees west; then 57 degrees north, 20 degrees west, to 47 degrees north, 20 degrees west; further, to 43 degrees north, 15 degrees west; then along the parallel of latitude 43 degrees north to twenty sea miles from Cape Finisterre, and at a distance of twenty sea miles along the north coast of Spain to the French boundary.

In the South—The Mediterranean:

For neutral ships, remains open the sea west of the line Pt. Des Espiquettes to 38 degrees 20 minutes north and 6 degrees east; also north and west of a zone sixty sea miles wide along the North African Coast, beginning at 2 degrees longitude west. For the connection of this sea zone with Greece there is provided a zone of a width of twenty sea miles north and east of the following line: 38 degrees north and 6 degrees east to 38 degrees north and 10 degrees west, to 37 degrees north and 11 degrees 30 minutes east, to 34 degrees north and 22 degrees 30 minutes east.

From there leads a zone twenty sea miles wide, west of 22 degrees 30 minutes eastern longitude, into Greek territorial waters.

Neutral ships navigating these blockade zones do so at their own risk. Although care has been taken that neutral ships which are on their way toward ports of the blockade zones on Feb. 1, 1917, and have come in the vicinity of the latter, will be spared during a sufficiently long period, it is strongly advised to warn them with all available means in order to cause their return.

Neutral ships which on Feb. 1 are in ports of the blockade zones can with the same safety leave them.

The instructions given to the commanders of German submarines provide for a sufficiently long period during which the safety of passengers on unarmed enemy passenger ships is guaranteed.

Americans en route to the blockade zone on enemy freight steamers are not endangered, as the enemy shipping firms can prevent such ships in time from entering the zone.

Sailing of regular American passenger steamers may continue undisturbed after Feb. 1, 1917, if

(A) The port of destination is Falmouth.

(B) Sailing to or coming from that port course is taken via the Scilly Islands and a point 50 degrees north, 20 degrees west.

["Along this route," says the Sayville version, "no German mines will be laid."]

(C) The steamers are marked in the following way, which must not be allowed to other vessels in American ports: On ship's hull and superstructure three vertical stripes one meter wide, each to be painted alternately white and red. Each mast should show a large flag checkered white and red, and the stern the American national flag. Care should be taken that, during dark, national flag and painted marks are easily recognizable from a distance, and that the boats are well lighted throughout.

(D) One steamer a week sails in each direction with arrival at Falmouth on Sunday and departure from Falmouth on Wednesday.

(E) United States Government guarantees that no contraband (according to German contraband list) is carried by those steamers.

["Two copies of maps on which the barred zones are outlined are added," says the version received via Sayville.]

A second memorandum delivered with the German note, and made public late on Feb. 1 by the State Department, differs in some respects from the substance of the note itself. The understanding is that it was prepared at the German Embassy on instructions from Berlin prior to President Wilson's peace address to the Senate, and withheld then on account of the address. When Count von Bernstorff received the note and memorandum from Berlin he decided to deliver with them the original document prepared by him. The memorandum reads:

After bluntly refusing Germany's peace offer, the Entente Powers stated in their note addressed to the American Government that they are determined to continue the war in order to deprive Germany of German provinces in the West and East, to destroy Austria-Hungary, and to annihilate Turkey. In waging war with such aims the Entente Allies are violating all rules of international law, as they prevent the legitimate trade of neutrals with the Central Powers and of the neutrals among themselves. Germany has so far not made unrestricted use of the weapon which she possesses in her submarines. Since the Entente Powers, however, have made it impossible to come to an understanding based upon equality of rights of all nations, as proposed by the Central Powers, and have instead declared only such a peace to be possible which shall be dictated by the Entente Allies and shall result in the destruction and the humiliation of the Central Powers, Germany is unable further to forego the full use of her submarines.

The Imperial Government, therefore, does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation, thus

forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intention of the Entente Allies gives back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

Under these circumstances, Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing after Feb. 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean all navigaton, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, &c. All ships met within that zone will be sunk.

The Imperial Government is confident that this measure will result in a speedy termination of the war and in the restoration of peace, which the Government of the United States has so much at heart. Like the Goverment of the United States, Germany and her allies had hoped to reach this goal by negotiations. Now that the war, through the fault of Germany's enemies, has to be continued, the Imperial Government feels sure that the Government of the United States will understand the necessity of adopting such measures as are destined to bring about a speedy end of the horrible and useless bloodshed. The Imperial Government hopes all the more for such an understanding of her position, as the neutrals have under the pressure of the Entente Powers suffered great losses, being forced by them either to give up their entire trade or to limit it according to conditions arbitarily determined by Germany's enemies in violation of international law.

On Feb. 3 a slight modification in the prohibited zone as previously formulated was announced from Berlin to this effect:

It is officially stated that the eastern frontier of the barred zone around England is changed in the following fashion: From a point 52 degrees 30 minutes north and 4 degrees east, to a point 56 degrees north and 4 degrees east, to a point 56 degrees north and 4 degrees 50 minutes east. For the west the frontier remains unchanged.

The change thus announced proved to be the addition of about 4,500 square miles of the North Sea to the area which Germany is to embrace in the submarine blockade of the British coast.

Description of the Prohibited Zone

THE prohibited zone within which German submarines are ordered to wage unlimited war against merchant ships of neutrals and belligerents alike is described by marine experts as follows:

Not only are the coasts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, France, and Italy included, but also all of the Mediterranean except the northern coast of Morocco, the coast of Spain and its group of Balearic Islands, and an outlet, twenty miles wide, connecting the waters around Spain with Grecian waters.

The Italian islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily are within the banned area, as are the coasts of Algeria, Tunis, Libya, and Egypt, these, on account of their French, Italian, and English affiliations.

The approximate length of the line confining the zone around the British Isles is about 4,700 miles. If 300 submarines were used along this line in the attempt to maintain the blockade it would be necessary to place them about fifteen miles apart.

The line starts at the mouth of the Scheldt and runs along the Dutch coast to the Terschelling Lightship, then northward to Udsir Lightship, about twenty miles off the coast of Norway. Then it swings northwesterly toward the Faroe Islands, bends below these islands, sweeps westerly as far as the 20th degree of west longitude, then southerly to the 43d parallel of latitude, then easterly to a point twenty miles from Cape Finisterre and extends along the northern coast of Spain to the French boundary.

The zone is so mapped as to permit no entrance to France for American passenger ships. It is understood to be the German position that Americans may get to France the best they can by going from Falmouth to London and thence by Channel steamers to France at their own risk in crossing the Channel, or by way of Spain or Portugal.

The northern coast of France is included in the blockade, and so is the southern, except a stretch from the Spanish frontier to a point west of Marseilles, about one hundred miles long. There is no important port on this coast. Cette, which is on this stretch, is the only point with rail connection on either coast of France that is not included in the blockade.

Point de l'Espiquette, mentioned in the German note, had to be located by hydrographic experts. It is at the intersection of the meridian 4 degrees 10 minutes west longitude with the French coast, and is opposite the Aigues Mortes Lightship, about twenty-two miles east of Cette, and about sixty miles west of Marseilles.

From the Aigues Mortes Lightship, (or

SHADED AREAS INDICATE THE "PROHIBITED ZONES" FORBIDDEN TO NEUTRAL AS WELL AS BELLIGERENT SHIPS BY THE GERMAN SUBMARINE ORDER OF FEB. 1, 1917, ON PAIN OF BEING SUNK WITHOUT WARNING

Point de l'Espiquette,) a line is drawn to the point marking the intersection of 38 degrees 20 minutes north latitude with 6 degrees east longitude. West of this line the Mediterranean is open.

The Morocco coast is left open from the Strait of Gibraltar all the way around to Cape Kelas at 2 degrees west longitude, about fifteen miles east of the boundary between Morocco and Algeria. It is evident from the plotting of the zone that it was the purpose to exclude the Mediterranean coast of Morocco, which is under Spanish influence, from the blockade zone.

From 2 degrees west longitude a blockade zone, sixty-one sea miles wide, extends along the North African coast to 6 degrees east longitude. North of this zone is a strip of water open for traffic.

East of 6 degrees east longitude, the entire

Mediterranean is a blockade zone, except for a strip of water twenty miles wide which extends along the coasts of Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli to Greek territorial waters. This strip does not adjoin the coast, but is marked off in such a manner as to bar access to it.

It is thought significant that the German Government manifests solicitude for the Greek Government in providing an open route to Greece through an otherwise barred sea.

The northern coast of Egypt is blockaded. This means that any vessels emerging from the Suez Canal will be sunk. No part of the Mediterranean east of 22 degrees 30 minutes east longitude is open to traffic under the German decree.

German Chancellor's Official Announcement of the New Policy

THE German Imperial Chancellor, Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg, appeared before the Main Committee of the Reichstag on Jan. 31 to give official confirmation to the new policy, timing his appearance so that it should occur at the very hour when the notice was handed to the neutral Governments. His statement follows:

On Dec. 12 last year I explained before the Reichstag the reasons which led to our peace offer. The reply of our opponents clearly and precisely said that they decline peace negotiations with us, and that they want to hear only of a peace which they dictate. By this the whole question of the guilt for the continuation of the war is decided. The guilt alone falls on our opponents. Just as definite stands our task.

The enemy's conditions we cannot discuss. They could only be accepted by a totally defeated people. It therefore means fight. President Wilson's message to Congress shows his sincere wish to restore peace to the world. Many of his maxims agree with our aims, namely, the freedom of the seas, the abolition of the system of balance of power, which is always bound to lead to new difficulties, equal rights for all nations, and the open door to trade.

But what are the peace conditions of the Entente? Germany's defensive force is to be destroyed, we are to lose Alsace-Lorraine and the eastern provinces of the Ostmarken, the Danube monarchy is to be dissolved, Bulgaria is again to be cheated of her national unity, and Turkey is to be pushed out of Europe and smashed in Asia. The destructive designs of our opponents cannot be expressed more strongly. We have been challenged to fight to the end. We accept the challenge. We stake everything, and we shall be victorious.

By this development of the situation the decision concerning submarine warfare has been forced into its last acute stage. The question of the U-boat war, as the gentlemen of the Reichstag will remember, has occupied us three times in this committee, namely, in March, May, and September last year. On each occasion, in an exhaustive statement, I expounded points for and against in this question. I emphasized on each occasion that I was speaking pro tempore, and not as a supporter in principle or an opponent in principle of the unrestricted employment of the U-boats, but in consideration of the military, political, and economic situation as a whole.

I always proceeded from the standpoint as to whether an unrestricted U-boat war would bring us nearer to a victorious peace or not. Every means, I said in March, that is calculated to shorten the war is the humanest policy to follow. When the most ruthless methods are considered as the best calculated to lead us to a victory and to a swift victory, I said at that time, then they must be employed.

The Chancellor proceeded to explain why in March and May last year he opposed an unrestricted U-boat war; why again in September, according to the unanimous judgment of the political and military authorities, the question was not considered ripe for decision. In this connection the Chancellor repeated his previous utterance that as soon as he, in agreement with the supreme army command, reached the conviction that a ruthless U-boat war would bring Germany nearer to a victorious peace, then a U-boat war would be started. Continuing, he said:

This moment has now arrived. Last Autumn the time was not yet ripe, but today the moment has come when, with the greatest prospect of success, we can undertake this enterprise. We must, therefore, not wait any longer. Where has there been a change?

In the first place, the most important fact of all is that the number of our submarines has very considerably increased as compared with last Spring, and thereby a firm basis has been created for success. The second co-decisive reason is the bad wheat harvest of the world. This fact now already confronts

England, France, and Italy with serious difficulties. We firmly hope to bring these difficulties by means of an unrestricted U-boat war to the point of unbearableness.

The coal question, too, is a vital question in war. Already it is critical, as you know, in Italy and France. Our submarines will render it still more critical. To this must be added, especially as regards England, the supply of ore for the production of munitions in the widest sense, and of timber for coal mines. Our enemy's difficulties are rendered still further acute by the increased lack of enemy cargo space. In this respect time and the U-boat and cruiser warfare have prepared the ground for a decisive blow. The Entente suffers in all its members owing to lack of cargo space. It makes itself felt in Italy and France not less than in England. If we may now venture to estimate the positive advantages of an unrestricted U-boat war at a very much higher value than last Spring, the dangers which arise for us from the U-boat war have correspondingly decreased since that time.

The Chancellor then discussed in detail the political situation, and continued:

A few days ago Marshal von Hindenburg described to me the situation as follows: "Our front stands firm on all sides. We have everywhere the requisite reserves. The spirit of the troops is good and confident. The military situation, as a whole, permits us to accept all consequences which an unrestricted U-boat war may bring about, and as this U-boat war in all circumstances is the means to injure our enemies most grievously, it must be begun."

The Admiralty Staff and the High Seas Fleet entertain the firm conviction—a conviction which has its practical support in the experience gained in the U-boat cruiser warfare—that Great Britain will be brought to peace by arms. Our allies agree with our views. Austria-Hungary adheres to our procedure also in practice. Just as we lay a blockaded area (Sperrgebiet) around Great Britain and the west coast of France, within which we will try to prevent all shipping traffic to enemy countries, Austria-Hungary declares a blockaded area around Italy. To all neutral countries a free path for mutual intercourse is left outside the blockaded area. To America we offer, as we did in 1915, safe passenger traffic under definite conditions. Even with Great Britain.

The Chancellor then read the note to the United States, and added that corresponding notes had been sent to the remaining neutral States. He concluded with the following words:

No one among us will close his eyes to the seriousness of the step which we are taking. That our existence is at stake every one has known since August, 1914, and this has been brutally *(blutig)* emphasized by the rejection of our peace offer. When in 1914 we had to seize and have recourse to the sword against the Russian general mobilization, we did so with the deepest sense of responsibility toward our people, and conscious of the resolute strength which says, "We must, and, therefore, we can."

Endless streams of blood have since been shed, but they have not washed away the "must" and the "can." In now deciding to employ the best and sharpest weapon we are guided solely by a sober consideration of all the circumstances that come into question, and by a firm determination to help our people out of the distress and disgrace which our enemies contemplate for them. Success lies in a higher Hand, but, as regards all that human strength can do to enforce success for the Fatherland, you may be assured, gentlemen, that nothing has been neglected. Everything in this respect will be done.

Diplomatic Break Between the United States and Germany

THE fact that Germany had decided upon unrestricted submarine warfare was hinted at for several days prior to the announcement, and it is stated that it was known to the Entente Alliance several days before intimations had been received previously at Washington from Ambassador Gerard that the step was under discussion, and it was known that German official circles and the public generally were seriously divided on the issue. It was regarded as possible that the answer of the Allies to the German peace proposals would definitely bring a decision in favor of unrestricted submarine warfare. It is now believed that Secretary Lansing's declaration, on Dec. 20, 1916, to the effect that we were "on the verge of war," which precipitated a panic in the stock market, was made in the light of his information that German submarine pledges to the United States were likely to be recalled. Nevertheless, President Wilson was profoundly moved when he received news that the step actually

had been taken, and the country at large was thrown into a tense state of excitement.

As soon as Secretary Lansing delivered the note to President Wilson, the President telegraphed to New York for Colonel E. M. House, who is his confidential adviser in moments of extreme crisis, and the latter reached the White House at midnight on the 31st. On Thursday, Feb. 1, there was no indication in official circles of what course would be followed. President Wilson conferred at length with the Secretary of State, but no announcement was made; no Cabinet officers were summoned, nor were members of Congress consulted. All sorts of rumors were afloat, but there were no demonstrations, though a profound agitation in anticipation of momentous events swept the country.

On Friday, the 2d, it was known that the President had determined on a definite step, but just what form it would take was not divulged. The Cabinet was summoned Friday morning, and the session lasted more than two hours. It is understood that the President's official advisers unqualifiedly held to the opinion that he could do nothing less than stand on the warning he had given Germany after the sinking of the steamship Sussex.

After the Cabinet session President Wilson proceeded to the Capitol. He reached there at 5 o'clock, and went to the office of the Foreign Relations Committee. The Senate had adjourned, but pages were sent about the Capitol to summon any Senators who could be found. Sixteen Democratic Senators were gathered together, and were in conference with the President some time. President Wilson was told by most of the Senators that the German declaration was an affront to the United States and the civilized world, and that any other course than an immediate rupture of diplomatic relations would be "viewed by the world as cowardice."

Some, however, urged that Germany be notified of a definite time at which diplomatic relations would be severed, and a few others urged that nothing be done until Germany, by some overt act, demonstrated her deliberate determination to affront the United States. That no Republican Senators conferred with the President was due entirely to the fact that the President did not reach the Capitol until the Senate had taken a recess.

The President told the Senators he had come to feel the pulse of the Senate, and thereby the pulse of the people; that he wished each man to speak his mind frankly with the welfare of the nation and civilization at heart.

At the conclusion each Senator shook the President's hand and assured him that whatever course he took, whether in accord with their own views or not, he would be sustained by a unanimous Senate.

After the conference the President indicated that even then he had not definitely decided just what his next step would be. His decision was not reached until early Saturday morning, Feb. 3, when he announced that he would address both houses of Congress.

It was about 10:50 o'clock that morning that the President sent for Secretary Lansing and told him that he had determined that diplomatic relations with Germany should be broken at once. He then arranged for addressing Congress at 2 o'clock. Secretary Lansing went back to the State Department to make the necessary arrangements for dismissing Ambassador von Bernstorff and recalling Ambassador Gerard.

The scene when President Wilson appeared at the House at 2 o'clock was dramatic. Reports had been in circulation that he had ordered a break with Germany, but comparatively few persons in that large audience were certain as to what attitude he had decided to adopt. Floor and galleries were packed when the President entered the chamber. He got a cordial reception. In the thirty minutes that he stood at the rostrum facing that breathless, eager gathering of men and women, only twice did his hearers become really demonstrative. He had received a round of handclapping and a cheer or two when he appeared. Then the audience listened attentively to the President's words as he read from little printed pages.

Text of President Wilson's Address

THE President's address to the joint session of Congress on Feb. 3 was as follows:

Gentlemen of the Congress:

The Imperial German Government on the 31st day of January announced to this Government and to the Governments of the other neutral nations that on and after the 1st day of February, the present month, it would adopt a policy with regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas of the high seas, to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

Let me remind the Congress that on the 18th of April last, in view of the sinking on the 24th of March of the cross-channel steamship Sussex by a German submarine without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers aboard her, this Government addressed a note to the Imperial German Government, in which it made the following declaration:

"If it is still the purpose of the Imperial German Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines without regard to what the Government of the United States must consider the sacred and indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government should now immediately declare and effect an abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether."

In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance:

"The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of war for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also insuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes now, as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States.

"The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders: In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives, unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance.

"But," it added, "neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas, from whatever quarter it has been violated."

To this the Government of the United States replied on the 8th of May, accepting, of course, the assurance given, but adding:

"The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial German Government does not intend to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiations between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th inst. might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid any misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government, affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint, absolute, not relative."

To this note of the 8th of May the Imperial German Government made no reply.

On the 31st of January, the Wednesday of the present week, the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal note, a memorandum which contained the following statement:

"The Imperial Government therefore does not doubt that the Government of the United States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now openly disclosed intention of the Entente Allies gives back to Germany the freedom of action which she reserved in her note addressed to the

Government of the United States on May 4, 1916.

"Under these circumstances, Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, after Feb. 1, 1917, in a zone around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England and from and to France, &c. All ships met within the zone will be sunk."

I think that you will agree with me that, in view of this declaration, which suddenly and without prior intimation of any kind deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of the 4th of May, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which, in its note of the 18th of April, 1916, it announced that it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare which it was then employing and to which it now purposes again to resort.

I have therefore directed the Secretary of State to announce to his Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American Ambassador to Berlin will immediately be withdrawn; and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to his Excellency his passports.

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deplorable renunciation of its assurances, given this Government at one of the most critical moments of tension in the relations of the two Governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them, and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in the willful prosecution of the ruthless naval program they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe it even now.

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose should unhappily prove unfounded: if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before the Congress to ask that authority be given me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas. I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral Governments will take the same course.

We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are the sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it; and we purpose nothing more than the reasonable defense of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true alike in thought and in action to the immemorial principles of our people, which I have sought to express in my address to the Senate only two weeks ago—seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty and justice and an unmolested life. These are the bases of peace, not war. God grant that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of willful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany!

Dismissal and Departure of the German Ambassador

COUNT JOHANN VON BERNSTORFF, the German Ambassador, received his dismissal at 2 o'clock Saturday afternoon, Feb. 3, the precise moment when the President began his address to Congress. The note handed to him with his passports begins as follows:

The Secretary of State, to the German Ambassador.

Department of State, Feb. 3, 1917.

Excellency:

In acknowledging the note with accompanying memoranda, which you delivered into my hands on the afternoon of Jan. 31, and which announced the purpose of your Government as to the future conduct of submarine warfare, I would direct your attention to the following statements appearing in the correspondence which has passed between the Government of the United States and the Imperial German Government in regard to submarine warfare.

Then follow the quotations used by the President in addressing Congress—that from the Sussex note giving notification of a severance of diplomatic rela-

tions, unless Germany's submarine warfare is brought within international law; that from the German reply giving new pledges, but reserving liberty of action should the allied blockade continue unmodified; that from the American rejoinder saying the United States could not predicate Germany's compliance with international law upon the conduct of another belligerent, and, lastly, that from a memorandum accompanying the German note of Jan. 31, giving notice of unrestricted naval warfare. The note to the Ambassador concludes:

In view of this declaration, which withdraws suddenly and without prior intimation the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's note of May 4, 1916, this Government has no alternative consistent with the dignity and honor of the United States but to take the course which it explicitly announced in its note of April 18, 1915, it would take in the event that the Imperial Government did not declare and effect an abandonment of the methods of submarine warfare then employed and to which the Imperial Government now purpose again to resort.

The President has therefore directed me to announce to your Excellency that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American Ambassador at Berlin will be immediately withdrawn, and in accordance with such announcement to deliver to your Excellency your passports. I have the honor to be, your Excellency's obedient servant,

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

As soon as he received his dismissal Count von Bernstorff sent for Dr. Paul Ritter, the Swiss Minister, and asked him to take over the German Embassy affairs in the United States. The Swiss Government granted the permission, and the formal transfer of the records and papers of the embassy at once followed.

Sailing of Diplomatic Staff

Meanwhile Count von Bernstorff, now without official standing, remained quietly at his residence in Washington, awaiting a guarantee of safe conduct out of the country. The State Department took immediate steps to procure this, and within forty-eight hours a safe conduct to him and his suite was readily granted by Great Britain and France. The Scandinavian-American liner Frederik VIII. was selected with his approval; the Danish Government consented, and the shipowners accepted the guarantee that the vessel would not be molested on its homeward voyage, though it would be required to put in at Halifax for examination for contraband.

All preliminaries were speedily arranged; the German Consuls and their families from St. Louis, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Chicago, Philadelphia, Denver, Seattle, New Orleans, St. Paul, and Porto Rico joined the Ambassador and his staff at Washington. There were sixty members of the party; these, together with the Consuls and their families and other officials who joined them, brought the total to 149 persons. Among the prominent Germans in the party, besides the embassy and consular staff, were the following: Dr. Heinrich F. Albert, who was known as financial adviser to Dr. Dernburg, the first chief German propagandist in this country after war was declared; Wolf von Igel, who was secretary to Captain von Papen, the former German Military Attaché, dismissed from this country for conspiracy, and who is himself under indictment on the same charge and under $25,000 bail; Baroness Zwiedenek, wife of the Austrian Chargé d'Affaires at Washington; Dr. Karl Fuehr and family, and Dr. Mechlenburg, the latter formerly German Consul at Tokio, and both in charge, until their departure, of the German Publicity Bureau in the United States.

Count von Bernstorff was escorted from Washington by officials representing the State Department, and was carefully guarded from intrusion or any violence by a special detail of Secret Service agents. This precaution proved unnecessary, as he was accorded the fullest respect and consideration by every one from the moment he received his dismissal, and nothing of an unpleasant character occurred to mar the tranquillity of his departure. The Frederik VIII. sailed from the Port of New York at 4 P. M. Wednesday, Feb. 14.

On sailing the ex-Ambassador expressed his regret over the severance of relations, his warm thanks to the American people for the cordiality of their treatment, and his hope that war might

yet be averted. His wife, who was born in America of German parents, and his entire family accompanied him. He had filled the post at Washington for eight years. The Iron Cross of the White Ribbon was conferred upon him by the German Emperor on Feb. 5 for services rendered in time of war.

The American Ambassador's Detention in Berlin

THE departure from Berlin of the United States Ambassador, James W. Gerard, was preceded by action on the part of the German Government resembling an attempt to detain him as a hostage. American citizens who wanted to get away also encountered trouble in obtaining the necessary passes, while the delay in releasing seventy-two American sailors who had been captured by a German sea raider and brought in on the Yarrowdale aggravated the situation.

The news that the United States had broken off relations with Germany became known in Berlin on Feb. 4, through newspaper dispatches, but owing to delays the formal instructions from the State Department at Washington did not reach Mr. Gerard till Feb. 5, when he at once asked the German Foreign Office for passports and arranged to turn over the American Embassy—which thereupon was no longer the American Embassy—to departments of the Spanish Embassy and the Dutch Legation.

As soon as the news was officially confirmed hundreds of Americans, who were still in Berlin, anxiously hastened to the embassy to obtain the renewal of their passports and, above all, advice on their future course and possible routes back to America. According to information in the possession of the State Department there were before the break about two thousand Americans in the German Empire. This figure was arrived at by a census taken some time previously by Consuls and compiled at the embassy in Berlin, where the names were registered. A certain number of Americans decided to remain in Germany under the guarantees of the Prussian-American treaty of 1799, which was renewed by the amended treaty of 1828. The United States regarded this old treaty as obsolete until Germany suddenly invoked it when called upon to settle for the sinking of the American sailing ship William P. Frye early in the war.

An attempt was made by the German Government before Mr. Gerard's departure to secure reaffirmation of the old treaty for the purpose of saving the German ships now in American waters, which the German press alleged had been seized and confiscated. "The anxiety about these ships," said Oscar King Davis in a dispatch, "was such that a proposition was tentatively submitted to Mr. Gerard looking to his making efforts to have Washington undertake to obtain French and British safe conduct for their return to German waters. Mr. Gerard flatly refused to have anything to do with such a proposition. When it was delicately intimated that Mr. Gerard's friendly assistance in this matter might facilitate matters regarding the departure of Americans, Mr. Gerard retorted that he would sit there until Christmas before he would help such a plan."

Delay in Issuing Passports

The German Foreign Office was dilatory in dealing with the passports of Americans wishing to leave Germany. The excuse given was that the clerical staff was shorthanded. Even after Mr. Gerard finally got away there were still a number of Americans who were not able to leave. But it was the treatment accorded to the American Ambassador himself that for a time created a very bad impression. That he was actually treated as a prisoner is not acknowledged, but from the day that he asked for his passports he was unable to communicate with the American Consuls or to send telegrams in cipher. The embassy mail was not delivered, and the telephone, though restored before his departure, was cut off. Police were stationed in front of the embassy, the reason given by the Ger-

man authorities being that they were there in case of an outbreak of hostile feeling among the populace.

Besides anxiety for German ships in American ports, another alleged motive behind the treatment accorded the American Ambassador was to make sure of "the fate" of the German Ambassador in America. In fact, it was openly said in Berlin that Mr. Gerard was being held by the German Government until arrangements had been made for the departure of Count von Bernstorff and his suite, and until "the fate" of the German crews from the captured German ships in American waters had been decided.

Ambassador Gerard eventually left Berlin on the evening of Feb. 10 after a cordial leave-taking with representatives of the German Foreign Office and neutral diplomats. His party included 110 Americans in addition to his family and the embassy staff. The special train, which had been provided by the German Government, reached the Swiss frontier the following afternoon, where the party was met by Swiss high officials; the same evening the party arrived at Berne, and on the 15th reached Paris. Mr. Gerard took special care to issue a statement that he would grant no interviews, and his own version of recent events will remain unknown until he has officially reported to President Wilson, but it is asserted by those who are nearest to him that he bitterly resents the manner in which he was treated before his departure was permitted.

The Yarrowdale Prisoners

Closely connected with the line of conduct adopted toward Mr. Gerard was the attitude of the German Government regarding the continued detention of the seventy-two American sailors taken to Germany on Dec. 31, 1916, as prisoners on the prize ship Yarrowdale. On Feb. 12 Dr. Paul Ritter, the Swiss Minister, who is now acting on behalf of the German Government at Washington, formally notified the State Department that the American sailors would be held until Berlin had definite assurance that German crews in American harbors would not be held or imprisoned. Secretary of State Lansing replied on Feb. 13 that there was no just reason for the continued detention of the Yarrowdale crew, and insisted on their immediate release.

The German pretext for holding the men was that they had taken pay on armed enemy vessels. The American view was that according to international law they should not be treated as "prisoners of war" unless they had committed hostile acts. The German Government did not allege that the American sailors had done anything hostile.

The men were released on Feb. 15, just as our Government was preparing to issue a peremptory demand for them. It is stated that this demand will, nevertheless, be communicated to Germany to give expression to our Government's opinion of their detention.

Demanding a Treaty

Oscar King Davis, the staff correspondent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, who was with the Ambassador on his journey from Berlin to Berne, wrote on Feb. 14 regarding the German demands on Mr. Gerard:

I am in a position to make certain positive statements regarding Germany's proposition. She submitted to Mr. Gerard the draft of an agreement containing nine articles, ostensibly covering the specific reaffirmation of the Prussian treaty with slight emendations. The first article made it specifically applicable to the German Empire instead of merely to Prussia, and also specifically applicable in the event that war should now break out between the contracting parties.

Subsequent articles provided that Germans should be permitted not only to reside and travel but also to continue business in the United States during the war.

Article 6 began by making The Hague Conventions regarding the treatment of ships specifically applicable in the event of war between the contracting parties. This was merely a reaffirmation of present international law. This is the part which the German Government seems to have been emphasizing through its newspaper friends in America.

But the next paragraph of this article, which Germany seems to have avoided emphasizing, contains the astounding proposition that in the event of the outbreak of war between the contracting parties the ships of one lying in the ports of the other should not only have the right to leave when they pleased but also should have a contract,

binding upon all enemy sea powers, giving them safe conduct to a home port.

This was the precious document Germany sought to induce Mr. Gerard to sign on behalf of his Government, despite the fact that he had presented his recall orders.

It is utterly idle for Germany or any of her newspaper or other defenders to attempt to deny that in the endeavor to induce Mr. Gerard to sign this agreement Germany employed means smacking suspiciously of duress. It is utterly idle to attempt to say that Mr. Gerard was not held in Berlin.

He was held there against his will from Monday until Saturday, most of that time practically incommunicado in his house. His mail was withheld and he was unable to communicate confidentially with other officials of his Government or to transmit to American Consular officials in Germany the orders of his Government regarding their action under the circumstances. The telephone connection with Mr. Gerard's residence and the embassy was cut by the direction of German officials.

When this treatment began to show an unfavorable effect a minor official of the Foreign Office denounced it with vehemence as an outrage and explained that it was the unauthorized work of a subordinate police official. This explanation was laughable. Any one who knows anything of German life knows that such a thing is impossible, and the excuse is fantastic nonsense. The action was deliberate because the German Government hoped it might tend to drive Mr. Gerard into helping negotiate that agreement.

Mr. Davis asserts also that Germany is intentionally allowing matters to drag so that the submarine warfare may be thoroughly tested before there is a hostile break with the United States, and in the event the submarines do not bring Great Britain to submission, Germany will then agree to the American demands, and desist from these measures in order to have the assistance of the United States in forcing an early peace.

Indignities to Americans

Details concerning the past action of German officials in searching American Consuls and their wives at the frontier were made public by the State Department at Washington a few days later. Women as well as men had been subjected to humiliating indignities. It was further disclosed that while the practice of stripping and searching persons crossing the frontier was adopted with respect to all private individuals, no other Consuls save those representing the United States were so treated.

Vigorous protests against these indignities, it was learned, was filed by the State Department with the German Government shortly before the severance of diplomatic relations between the two countries. The explanation given at the time is one which has since been offered in connection with the detention of Ambassador Gerard, namely, that it was the work of subordinate officials acting on their own responsibility.

The State Department's records show three specific cases of American Consular officers and their wives who were either subjected to indignities on the frontier, or were threatened with such affronts. For the obvious reason of not wishing further to humiliate the women concerned, the department refuses to make public their names or the names of their husbands.

The last case reported, and that which drew forth the formal protest from the United States, concerned an American Consul General and his wife who were held up by the German frontier guards at Warnemunde, a German town on the boundary between Germany and Denmark. Both of the other incidents occurred at the same town.

Persons crossing into Denmark at this point are ferried across a bay. When the Consul General and his wife arrived at Warnemunde their baggage was first taken from them and carefully searched. They were then required to turn over all their papers, including their passports. These papers were subjected to microscopic examination and other tests to determine whether they contained any invisible ink writing disclosing information of military or other character.

Following these measures, which failed to disclose anything suspicious, the husband and wife were separated. The Consul General was first taken into a room, where he was ordered to strip off every particle of clothing, each piece being carefully examined. Various chemical solutions were then applied to his body to ascertain whether any invisible ink markings had been written on his skin. Semi-medical inspectors then took him in hand and subjected him to many

COUNT VON BERNSTORFF

The Late German Ambassador to the United States, Whose Difficult Task Came to an End on Feb. 3, 1917, When Diplomatic Relations Were Broken.

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AMBASSADOR JAMES W. GERARD AND HIS EMBASSY STAFF

The United States Ambassador at Berlin Was Recalled with His Entire Staff When the Break Came with Germany. In the Group, Seated Left to Right, Are: Major G. B. Langhorne. Ambassador Gerard, Lieut. Commander W. R. Gherardi. Standing: L. H. Hoite, C. W. Dyer, A. B. Ruddock, Willing Spencer, L. L. Winslow, W. Knoth, and J. C. Grew.

(Photo Bain News Service.)

indecencies in order to see whether any written information was concealed in his mouth or throat.

After the examination of the husband, the wife was taken in hand by women inspectors, who put her through the same processes. She was compelled to submit to the most intimate searching, even being required to unbraid her hair in order that the inspectors could make certain that no slips of paper were concealed in the coils.

The previous case reported was that of another Consul who was put through the same indignities. This man, however, was not accompanied by his wife.

The third incident reported was that of an American Consul and his wife who were returning to the consulate in Germany from Denmark. When the Consul learned of the search to which he and his wife were to be subjected he refused to give up his papers, and returned to England.

Attempt at Compromise Refused

ON Feb. 10 and 11 rumors were afloat in Washington that the German Government had approached the United States Government through the Swiss Minister with a suggestion that the submarine order might be modified to avoid war. Whereupon the following official announcements were made by Secretary Lansing on the 12th:

Department of State, Feb. 12, 1917.

In view of the appearance in the newspapers of Feb. 11 of a report that Germany was initiating negotiations with the United States in regard to submarine warfare, the Department of State makes the following statement:

A suggestion was made orally to the Department of State late Saturday afternoon by the Minister of Switzerland that the German Government is willing to negotiate with the United States, provided that the commercial blockade against England would not be interfered with. At the request of the Secretary of State this suggestion was made in writing and presented to him by the Swiss Minister Sunday night. The communication is as follows:

"MEMORANDUM

"The Swiss Government has been requested by the German Government to say that the latter is now, as before, willing to negotiate, formally or informally, with the United States, provided that the commercial blockade against England will not be broken thereby.

"(Signed) P. RITTER."

The memorandum received immediate consideration, and the following reply was dispatched today:

"My Dear Mr. Minister:

"I am requested by the President to say to you, in acknowledging the memorandum which you were kind enough to send me on the 11th inst., that the Government of the United States would gladly discuss with the German Government any questions it might propose for discussion were it to withdraw its proclamation of the 31st of January, in which, suddenly and without previous intimation of any kind, it canceled the assurances which it had given this Government on the 4th of May last, but that it does not feel that it can enter into any discussion with the German Government concerning the policy of submarine warfare against neutrals which it is now pursuing unless and until the German Government renews its assurances of the 4th of May and acts upon the assurance. I am, my dear Mr. Minister, &c.,

"ROBERT LANSING.

"His Excellency, Dr. Paul Ritter, Minister of Switzerland."

No other interchange on this subject has taken place between this Government and any other Government or person.

The German Version

This statement was replied to by the German Government, which gave the following version of the matter:

A telegram from the Swiss Minister in Washington was transmitted to Germany by Switzerland in which the Minister offered, if Germany was agreeable, to mediate in negotiations with the American Government about the declaration of prohibited areas, as thereby the danger of war between Germany and the United States might be diminished.

The Swiss Government was then requested to inform its Minister at Washington that Germany, as before, was ready to negotiate with America in case the commerce barrier against our enemies remained untouched. As is obvious, Germany could only have entered into such negotiations on condition that, firstly, diplomatic relations between America and Germany should be restored, and, secondly, that the object of the negotiations could only be certain concessions respecting American passenger ships.

The interdiction of overseas imports, pro-

claimed against our enemies through unrestricted submarine warfare, would thus, even if diplomatic relations with America were restored, be in no circumstances relaxed.

The reply to the Swiss Minister at Washington expressed very clearly that in the resolute carrying out of our U-boat war against the entire overseas imports of our enemies there is for us no turning back.

An Amsterdam dispatch to Reuter's stated that an obviously inspired article had been published in a majority of the German papers, dealing with the convoy of neutral ships through the barred zone. The article said that, convoyed or not, merchantmen in the restricted region would be exposed to all the possibilities of intensified submarine warfare. It added that submarines would not attack neutral war vessels acting as convoys, but that such vessels would enter the prohibited zone at their own risk, in view of the danger from mines.

The same day an official German notice was issued from Berlin, referring to reports from abroad to the effect that the marine barrier against Great Britain maintained with submarines and mines had been or would be weakened out of regard for the United States, or for other reasons. It went on to say:

Regard for neutrals prompts the clearest declaration that unrestricted war against all sea traffic in the announced barred zones is now in full swing and will under no circumstances be restricted.

The Crisis in American Ports

THE Port of New York was sealed on the night of Jan. 31 by Collector of the Port Malone to prevent any craft from leaving in the night. This was not on orders from Washington, but was not disapproved. The restrictions were removed the next morning.

Shipping in American ports was affected by the breaking off of diplomatic relations in several ways. One of the first questions that arose concerned the German and Austrian vessels which took refuge in the ports of the United States and the insular possessions in August, 1914, and have remained there ever since. The German crews of these ships at once disabled or damaged their own vessels—with few exceptions—so as to make them useless without extensive repairs.

Ninety-one German vessels, totaling 594,696 gross tons, took refuge in American ports at the outbreak of the war and have voluntarily remained there. The thirty-one Teutonic steamers in New York Harbor alone are valued at $29,000,000.

There is evidence to show that some hours at least before the publication of the German note announcing the resumption of unrestricted warfare instructions were received to damage the German and Austrian ships in all ports of the United States and its dependencies, and that these instructions were carried out during the three days, Jan. 31-Feb. 2. The method adopted was either to remove or destroy parts of the engines. So thoroughly was the work done that it is believed that in some cases new engines will be required before the ships can be navigated again. In other cases the ships may have to remain tied up till the new parts can be sent from Germany.

The damage to the Kronprinzessin Cecilie, a steamer that cost $4,500,000 to build, is a leading example. After inspecting the vessel at Boston on Feb. 6, Captain John B. Coyle, an engineer of the United States Coast Guard Service, reported that it had been rendered useless for months by the disabling of the engines, and that his investigation showed a deliberate attempt to cripple the liner. The Kronprinzessin Cecilie, through civil suits against her owners, which are pending in the Federal courts, was in nominal custody of the United States Marshal from November, 1914, when she was taken to Boston from Bar Harbor, Me., until the night of Feb. 3, 1917, when the Marshal took physical possession of her on demand of the New York banking institutions which were the libelants. The German crew was removed and the ship manned by agents of the United States Marshal.

Secretary Baker's Statement

The sinking of the German freighter Liebenfels, (2,830 tons gross,) in the harbor at Charleston, S. C., took place on Feb. 1. The circumstances indicated that the vessel had been scuttled. Fear lest there might be a general plan to sink German-owned ships in American ports led the United States Government to seize those at anchorage in the Panama Canal Zone and in the Philippines. Explaining this step, Secretary of War Baker, whose department administers the Canal Zone and the Philippines, made the following statement on Feb. 7:

In the harbors of Manila and elsewhere in the Philippine Islands, and at Colon, Panama, the German merchant vessels were discovered to have certain parts of their machinery removed, and in some instances evidences of preparation for the sinking of these vessels had been made.

Solely for the purpose of protecting the several harbors and other shipping and property therein, steps have been taken to prevent damage, but none of the ships has been seized by the Government of the United States, and in all cases the commanders and crews have been informed that the Government of the United States has made no seizures, claims no rights to the vessels, and does not deny the right of the commander and crew to dismantle the vessel if they see fit, so long as the destruction is accomplished in a way which will not obstruct navigable port waters or injure or endanger other shipping or property.

The breach of diplomatic relations between the Governments of the United States and Germany has not changed the relation of these ships and their crews to the Government of the United States or forfeited their rights to our hospitality, and the steps taken are limited to necessary police regulations to prevent injury to the property of others or the obstruction of harbor waters.

In reply to an inquiry Secretary Baker said the War Department had no evidence that it was the purpose to sink any of these vessels in ship channels or to sink them anywhere except where the vessels were moored. Subsequent information received by the War Department indicated that the boarding of the four German ships at Cristobal on Feb. 3 was necessitated by evidence that an attempt was about to be made to sink the ships at the entrance of the Panama Canal. The damage to the German ships has been general. Reports from the Philippines, the Hawaiian Islands, and elsewhere have all been to the same effect. At Honolulu the crew of the interned German gunboat Geier set the vessel on fire.

Problem of Interned Sailors

The Navy Department has also been busy, but mainly with interned auxiliary cruisers. Secretary of the Navy Daniels, in instructions issued on Feb. 3 to officers in command of navy yards, ordered them to take measures for the safety of interned warships. The crews of the German auxiliary cruisers Kronprinz Wilhelm and Prinz Eitel Friedrich, both at Philadelphia, were accordingly removed and placed in isolation barracks. Lieutenant Hans Berg and his German prize crew were on the same day removed from the liner Appam at Newport News, Va., by coast guard cutters directed by a United States Marshal. Like the Kronprinzessin Cecilie, the Appam is now under the control of the Department of Justice because of proceedings in the United States courts, there being an appeal pending against a decision awarding the Appam to her English owners. Lieutenant Berg had been allowed to retain possession under a bond given by the German Government.

Other German and Austrian ships in United States ports were placed under guard by the police, and "neutrality squads" stationed at all piers where the ships are berthed. In New York Harbor there are thirty-one such ships requiring surveillance. The guards are not on the ships, and no official can go aboard without the owners' or the Captain's permission so long as there is no violation of the law, because merchant ships are not interned and are private property. Nevertheless, so persistent were the rumors of impending American seizure of the German merchant ships that on Feb. 4 the United States Government authorized a statement that seizure was not even being considered. All the Government is concerned about is that there be nothing done to interfere with or imperil navigation. Almost immediately after the diplomatic break the crews of the German merchant ships who had been living aboard began seeking lodgings on shore. Steps were taken to prevent their doing so in violation of the immigration laws,

and, as guarantees have been given that they will not take advantage of the permission to spend their leisure ashore, the rule prohibiting them from leaving their ships has been relaxed.

A Virtual Embargo

American vessels plying to ports which can only be reached by traversing the danger zone have almost all been held up, thus causing serious delays in the forwarding of cargo and mails and the conveyance of passengers. Interest has chiefly centred in the American Line's difficulties. After five days' waiting and uncertainty, P. A. S. Franklin, President of the International Mercantile Marine Company, announced on Feb. 7 that the dates of departure from New York of the St. Louis and other American liners had been indefinitely postponed. This decision was reached after the Directors of the company received the following message from the Secretary of State:

> The Government cannot give advice to private persons as to whether their merchant vessels should sail on a voyage to European ports by which they would be compelled to pass through the waters delineated in the declaration issued by the German Government on Jan. 31, 1917.
>
> It, however, asserts that the rights of American vessels to traverse all parts of the high seas are the same now as they were prior to the issuance of the German declaration, and that a neutral merchant vessel may, if its owners believe that it is liable to be unlawfully attacked, take any measures to prevent or resist such attacks.

The Standard Oil Company of New Jersey recalled by wireless those of its vessels which were bound for the danger zone at the time of the break with Germany. "Other shipowners," said the manager of the company's foreign shipping department, "have adopted the same policy. We had been trying for some time to reach our ships by wireless, and we have been able to bring back two of them to New York." The company has a fleet of about forty ships, twelve of which are in the Atlantic service.

It was stated by American Line officials that they were considering whether to sail their ships without protection or to provide guns, if they could be obtained, and gunners on their own account. As the American Line provides a regular mail service between America and England, no mail was sent from New York to Liverpool after the departure of the Philadelphia on Jan. 27 until the sailing of the White Star liner Cedric on Feb. 12. The Cedric took the sacks which should have gone by the St. Louis on Feb. 3. The American Line, however, was still sending its vessels from England as usual. The company's office in London said it was booking passages for the Philadelphia, due to leave Liverpool on Feb. 10, and the Finland, due to leave the same port on Feb. 15. These ships would have British naval protection in the danger zone.

The State Department on Feb. 7 announced that no convoys would be provided for ships intending to traverse the danger zone, the Government policy apparently being that shipowners should do what they thought fit and that the armed forces of the nation would intervene only in case of an "overt act" by German submarine commanders. At the present writing the American liners are waiting until they can obtain guns and gunners. After the presentation of the German note on Jan. 31 only five American freighters had left American territorial waters and faced the danger zone up to Feb. 19. The Dochra, bound for Genoa, Italy, was the first to go, and on Feb. 11 the Rochester and the Orleans, both armed, sailed for Bordeaux, France. The Oswego for Genoa and the City of Puebla bound for Havre followed a few days later.

The agents in America for British, French, and Italian steamship lines state that their plans are unchanged, and their vessels are sailing as usual when loaded and ready for sea. Up to date the derangement of ocean transportation has affected only neutral shipping through the fear that no vessel is safe in the danger zone.

Public Sentiment and Defense Measures

THE severance of relations with Germany met with a burst of approval from all parts of the country. The Governors of every State—also every State Legislature that was in session—expressed approval and a willingness to stand by the President in any further course he might pursue. The newspapers of the country with practical unanimity indorsed the President's action. The United States Senate, after a spirited debate, passed by a vote of 78 to 5 the following resolution:

Whereas, The President has, for the reasons stated in his address delivered to the Congress in joint session on Feb. 3, 1917, severed diplomatic relations with the Imperial German Government by the recall of the American Ambassador at Berlin and handing his passports to the German Ambassador at Washington; and

Whereas, Notwithstanding this severance of diplomatic intercourse, the President has expressed his desire to avoid conflict with the Imperial German Government; and

Whereas, The President declared in his said address that, if in his judgment occasion should arise for further action in the premises on the part of the Government of the United States, he would submit the matter to the Congress and ask the authority of the Congress to use such means as he might deem necessary for the protection of American seamen and people in the prosecution of their peaceful and legitimate errands on the high seas; therefore be it

Resolved, That the Senate approves the action taken by the President, as set forth in his address delivered before the joint session of the Congress, as above stated.

Forty-three Democrats and thirty-five Republicans voted for the resolution; two Democrats, Kirby of Arkansas and Vardaman of Mississippi, and three Republicans, Gronna of South Dakota, La Follette of Wisconsin, and Works of California, voted nay.

When the German note was first received there was a sharp decline in stocks and the markets were nervous and soft for two days thereafter; but as soon as the severance of relations was announced there was immediate recovery, and the markets grew strong and firm, with substantial advances, which continued uniformly for several days.

The response from naturalized Germans was one of immediate and fervent loyalty to the United States. The Directors of the German-American National Alliance, of which Dr. Charles J. Hexamer is President, a body said to have a membership representing 3,000,000 persons, adopted resolutions indorsing the President's action, offering their services and declaring that the funds which they are collecting for the German Red Cross and German widows and orphans, in case of war with Germany, will be employed for the benefit of German-American widows and orphans. Many other influential German-American Societies throughout the country took similar action, pledging loyalty and willingness to stand by the President. The German-American press, with no notable exceptions, commented on the severance with marked restraint, expressing deep regret, but affirming that German-Americans would stand by their adopted country.

As soon as the action of the President was known offers began to pour into the various departments from leading industries which placed their plants at the command of the Government if needed. The National Defense Council met on Feb. 12 at Washington and took preliminary measures to mobilize American industries and all resources in case of hostilities.

First Military Precautions

As soon as the German Ambassador received his dismissal the navy yards and Government buildings were closed to the public, the wireless stations were taken in charge by the Government, announcements of movements of naval vessels ceased, guards were placed at important arsenals and Government plants and the State authorities placed National Guardsmen on watch at important bridges, subway entrances, aqueducts, and water supply reservoirs. Units of the National Guard of New York, Connecticut, and New Jersey were called out for such duties, and the police authorities of many cities were given similar orders. A watch

was established at all seaports, to prevent any obstruction to the channels; the Panama Canal was carefully guarded, and similar precautions were taken at all American ports. The New York Legislature appropriated $1,000,000 for preliminary measures to guard New York property. The United States Government commenced the erection of a new fort at Rockaway Point, the eastern extremity of Long Island, for the emplacement of two or more sixteen-inch guns and four six-inch siege guns, as an additional protection to the Harbor of New York and the contiguous coasts.

Large Naval Appropriation

The House on Feb. 12, by a vote of 353 to 23 passed the Naval Appropriation bill, the largest in the history of the Government. The bill appropriates $368,553,388.07, about $55,000,000 in excess of the bill of last session. In former years a naval budget of $125,000,000 was considered large.

While thus appropriating hundreds of millions for preparedness, the House paused to adopt an amendment which reaffirms this nation's belief in a policy of arbitration in international disputes. This amendment, offered by Mr. Mann, the minority leader, and adopted without debate and by a unanimous viva voce vote, reads:

> It is hereby reaffirmed to be the policy of the United States to adjust and settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration to the end that war may be honorably avoided.

The House included in the bill the Administration amendments empowering the President to commandeer shipyards and munitions factories in time of war or national emergency. It also approved the Administration amendment to appropriate $1,000,000 to acquire basic patents to an airplane suitable for Government uses. These amendments were approved informally during the debate, and when the measure was put on its final passage no demand was made for a rollcall upon them.

The building program carried in the bill calls for three battleships, one battle cruiser, three scout cruisers, fifteen destroyers, one destroyer tender, one submarine tender, and eighteen submarines. The bill also provides that the limit of cost for the four battle cruisers authorized last session shall be increased to $19,000,000 each, and the limit of cost for the three scout cruisers heretofore authorized to $6,000,000 each, exclusive of armor and armament.

As reported by Chairman Padgett, the bill appropriated approximately $351,000,000, but $17,100,143 was added during consideration of the measure in the House. These additions were by committee amendments which had the approval of the Navy Department.

Having given the President blanket authority to commandeer shipyards and munition plants "in time of war or national emergency," the House, because of a conflict in committee jurisdiction, left to the Senate the question of whether there shall be included in the present bill an appropriation of $150,000,000 for the more expeditious construction of any naval vessels which the President may regard as necessary. The original House amendment included provision for a bond issue of $150,000,000 to meet this emergency allowance, but the House Rules Committee did not feel justified in reporting a special rule for a bond issue which had not been considered by the Ways and Means Committee.

Protests of Other Neutrals Against Germany's Submarine Order

PRESIDENT WILSON, in notifying the other neutral nations of the break between the United States and Germany, expressed the hope that they might find it possible to take similar action. The following communication was sent by the State Department on Feb. 4 to American diplomatic representatives in neutral countries:

> You will immediately notify the Government

to which you are accredited that the United States, because of the German Government's recent announcement of its intention to renew unrestricted submarine warfare, has no choice but to follow the course laid down in its note of April 18, 1916, (the Sussex note.)

It has, therefore, recalled the American Ambassador to Berlin and has delivered passports to the German Ambassador to the United States.

Say also that the President is reluctant to believe Germany actually will carry out her threat against neutral commerce, but if it be done the President will ask Congress to authorize use of the national power to protect American citizens engaged in their peaceful and lawful errands on the seas.

The course taken is, in the President's view, entirely in conformity with the principles he enunciated in his address to the Senate Jan. 12. (The address proposing a world league for peace.)

He believes it will make for the peace of the world if other neutral powers can find it possible to take similar action.

Report fully and immediately on the reception of this announcement and upon the suggestion as to similar action.

No other nation followed the example of the United States to the extent of breaking off relations with Germany; the Russian semi-official press even warned the small European neutrals against any move that would give Germany a chance to crush them and lengthen the lines to be defended by the Allies. But all these nations sent protesting notes to Germany. The South American republics and China also made vigorous protests, indicating that they stood with the United States on the subject.

Spain's Reply to Germany

The Spanish Government's answer to Germany's submarine war zone note was handed to the German Ambassador at Madrid on Feb. 6. The text is as follows:

His Majesty's Government has attentively examined the note which your Serene Highness was good enough to remit to me Jan. 31, in which is set forth the German Government's resolute intention to interrupt as from the following day all sea traffic, without further notice, and by no matter what arm, around Great Britain, France, Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean.

I must say that the note caused a very painful impression on the Spanish Government. The attitude of strict neutrality which Spain adopted from the beginning and has maintained with loyalty and unshakable firmness gives her the right to expect that the lives of her subjects engaged in sea trade should not be placed in such grave peril. It also gives her the right to expect that that trade should not be troubled nor diminished by such an increase in the extent of the zones in which the Imperial Government insists that, in order to attain its ends, it must use all weapons and suppress all limitations which it has hitherto imposed upon its methods of naval warfare.

Even before the Imperial Government had set aside these restrictions his Majesty's Government had protested, holding them insufficient to comply with the prescriptions of national maritime law. But the methods of war announced by Germany are being carried to such an unexpected and unprecedented extreme that the Spanish Government, considering its rights and the requirements of its neutrality, must with still more reason protest calmly but firmly to the Imperial Government, and must make at the same time the necessary reserves, imposed by the legitimate presumption of ineluctable responsibility, which the Imperial Government assumes, principally in view of the loss of life which its attitude may cause.

His Majesty's Government bases its protest on the fact that the decision to close completely the road to certain seas by substituting for the indisputable right of capture in certain cases a pretended right of destruction in all cases is outside the legal principles of international life. Above all and beyond all it considers that the extension, in the form announced, of this pretended right of destruction to the lives of noncombatants and the subjects of neutral nations such as Spain is contrary to the principles observed by all nations even in moments of the greatest violence.

If the German Government, as it says, expects that the Spanish people and Government will not close their ears to the reasons which have caused its decision, and hopes that they will co-operate to avoid further calamities and sacrifices of human life, it will also understand that the Spanish Government, while disposed to lend at the proper time its initiative and support to everything that could contribute to the advent of a peace, more and more wished for, cannot admit the legality of exceptional methods in warfare. These methods, indeed, notwithstanding Spain's right as a neutral and her scrupulous fulfillment of the duties incumbent on her as such, make more difficult and even stop altogether her sea trade, compromising her economic life and threatening with grave dangers the lives of her subjects.

His Majesty's Government, supported more firmly than ever by the justice of its position, does not doubt that the Imperial Government, inspired by the sentiments of friendship which unite the two countries, will find, notwithstanding the severe exigencies of this terrible war, means of giving satisfaction to Spain's claims. These claims are based on the inexorable duty which binds a Government to protect the lives of its subjects and maintain the integrity of its sovereignty so that the

course of national existence be not interrupted. For the reasons set out his Majesty's Government feels itself fully sustained in its position by reason and law.

Holland's Attitude

When Mr. Langhorne, the American Chargé d'Affaires at The Hague, formally communicated President Wilson's message to the Dutch Government, he received the reply from Dr. Loudon, Minister of Foreign Affairs, that Holland was not inclined to support America's action. In the Second Chamber of Parliament Premier Vandenlinden made an address on Feb. 8 in which he said:

There is now no more reason for the Government to change its international policy than on the occasion of previous violations of international law. The Government remains resolutely attached to the policy of strict impartiality, and maintains its resolve to offer armed resistance to any violation of our territory or sovereign rights by any power whatsoever. The Government hopes by determination and tact to overcome the difficulties resulting from the international situation.

At the same time the Dutch Government sent a note of protest to Germany, dated Feb. 7, in which it pointed out that the zone proclaimed as dangerous in the Mediterranean completely blocked the passage between Port Said and the channel from Gibraltar to Greece, so that the Indian route, which is essential and of importance to the commerce of Holland as a colonial power, is cut off. The Dutch Government recalled its earlier protests against the British and German measures relating to the proclamation of war zones in the North Sea, and continued:

With all the more reason the Government is obliged to object with extreme energy against the régime now announced, which not only applies to much vaster areas, but also includes attacks on neutral ships, whatever their cargo or destination, and without discriminating as to whether their presence in said zone is voluntary or not.

It further pointed out that even had Germany qualified the new measure as a blockade, the merciless destruction of neutral ships would be contrary to international law, which only permits the confiscation, and not the destruction, of blockade runners. The note continues:

Germany does not use the term blockade, and rightly so, because it cannot be applied to such vast areas and because, by the rules of international law, it can only be directed against traffic with hostile ports, and in no wise against direct navigation between two neutral countries. Now, the German warships are ordered to destroy ships irrespective of their trafficking with enemy ports or between neutral ports.

Faithful to the principle which has always been observed in this war, the Queen's Government can only see in such destruction of neutral ships violation of the rights of nations, to say nothing of an attack upon the laws of humanity, if this happened regardless of the security of the persons aboard. The responsibility in the event of the destruction of Dutch ships and loss of life will fall on the German Government, and all the more heavily in the foreseeable event of Dutch ships being forced to enter the danger zone by constraint of adversary warships exercising the right of search.

Protest of Switzerland

The Swiss Federal Council answered the German note with an energetic protest against the proposed submarine action. The text, made public Feb. 11, says in part:

The Imperial Government cannot fail to recognize that the measures announced by this memoire constitute an attack upon the right of peaceful commerce which in conformity with the principles of international law belongs to Switzerland, in its character as a neutral State. In fact, the blockade of nearly all ports susceptible of being utilized by Switzerland presents a serious danger in the matter of our provisionment in food products and in raw materials as well as with respect to our exportations over the sea.

Even if by friendly agreement with the French Government the utilization of the Port of Cette, exempted from the blockade, is rendered possible, maritime transport would be restrained to a degree which would cause sensible injury to our national economy.

The maritime blockade by the Government of the German Empire follows a series of measures taken during the war by both parties of belligerents in opposition to the law of nations and international agreement, by which our liberty of action in economic matters is already restricted and against which we have vainly raised our voice.

In such circumstances this blockade is all the more pressing and more weighty with consequences. The Federal Council sees itself, therefore, obliged to protest energetically and to make all reservations against the blockade announced by the Imperial Government and against its realization so far as it violates the rights of neutrals recognized by the general principles of international law, in particular where the effective application of the blockade appears incomplete.

The Federal Council gives notice in advance of all legal reservations if it happens that the means put into effect by Germany and her allies are applied to the destruction of Swiss

interests or property. The Federal Council, however, does not doubt that the Government of the empire will do all that is necessary to assure in the measure possible the security of Swiss interests and spare the painful consequences which could arise from the blockade for the economic life of the Swiss.

The same note was addressed to the Government of Austria-Hungary.

Brazil's Warning to Germany

All the South American republics, while declining to break with Germany at present, sent protests to the Berlin Government. Brazil warned that Government that it would be held responsible for acts against Brazilian citizens or ships. The text of Brazil's note, sent on Feb. 6 by Lauro Muller, the Foreign Minister, is as follows:

I have transmitted to my Government by telegraph your letter of Feb. 3, in which your Excellency informed me of the resolution of the German Imperial Government to blockade Great Britain, its islands, the littoral of France and Italy, and the Eastern Mediterranean by submarines which would commence operations on Feb. 1. Your letter stated that the submarines would prevent all maritime traffic in the zones above mentioned, abandoning all restrictions observed up to the present in the employment of means for sea fighting, and would use every military resource capable of the destruction of ships.

The letter of your Excellency said further that the German Government, having confidence that the Government of Brazil would appreciate the reasons for the methods of war which Germany was forced to take on account of the actual circumstances, hoped that Brazilian ships would be warned of the danger they ran if they navigated the interdicted zones, the same as passengers or merchandise on board any other ship of commerce, neutral or otherwise.

I have just been directed to inform your Excellency that the Federal Government has the greatest desire not to see modified the actual situation, as long as the war lasts, a situation in which Brazil has imposed upon itself the rigorous observance of the laws of neutrality since the commencement of hostilities between nations with whom she has had friendly relations. My Government has always observed this neutrality while reserving to itself the right, which belong to it and which it has always been accustomed to exercise, of action in those cases where Brazilian interests are at stake. The unexpected communication we have just received announcing a blockade of wide extent of countries with which Brazil is continually in economic relations by foreign and Brazilian shipping has produced a justified and profound impression through the imminent menace which it contains of the unjust sacrifice of lives, the destruction of property, and the wholesale disturbance of commercial transactions.

In such circumstances, and while observing always and invariably the same principles, the Brazilian Government, after having examined the tenor of the German note, declares that it cannot accept as effective the blockade which has just been suddenly decreed by the Imperial Government. Because of the means employed to realize this blockade, the extent of the interdicted zones, the absence of all restrictions, including the failure of warning for even neutral menaced ships, and the announced intention of using every military means of destruction of no matter what character, such a blockade would neither be regular nor effective and would be contrary to the principles of law and the conventional rules established for military operations of this nature.

For these reasons the Brazilian Government, in spite of its sincere and keen desire to avoid any disagreement with the nations at war, with whom it is on friendly terms, believes it to be its duty to protest against this blockade and consequently to leave entirely with the Imperial German Government the responsibility for all acts which will involve Brazilian citizens, merchandise, or ships and which are proven to have been committeed in disregard of the recognized principles of international law and of the conventions signed by Brazil and Germany.

Chile and Peru

Peru demanded reparation and indemnity for the sinking of the Lorton. Chile flatly rejected Germany's pretensions in the "prohibited zone" and reserved liberty of action to protect her rights and her citizens. Uruguay, Bolivia, Panama, and Cuba took similar action. Argentina's reply to the German submarine note declared that she would conform her conduct at sea to her fundamental rights under established international law.

The reply of the Chilean Government, made public on Feb. 7, is as follows:

The Chilean Government has taken cognizance of the note sent to it by his Majesty the German Emperor, in which Chile is informed that Germany has fixed the limits of a blockade area around the coasts of England, France, and Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean. It has been informed also that within said limits Germany will resort to hostile acts against whatever ship is encountered, even if it belongs to a neutral power.

Such a measure, in the opinion of the Chilean Government, amounts to a restriction of the rights of neutrals, to which restriction Chile cannot agree because it is contrary to

the principles that have been long established in favor of neutral nations.

The acceptance by Chile of the measures adopted by Germany would, moreover, divert her from the line of strict neutrality which has been followed during the European conflict.

Chile consequently reserves liberty of action to protect all of her rights in the event of any hostile acts against her ships.

The reply of the Peruvian Government, made public on Feb. 9, declares that it reserves all rights for the protection of Peruvian citizens, ships, and cargoes to which neutrals are entitled under international law. The note continues:

However deplorable may be the extremes to which the belligerents are carrying hostilities now, under new threats to neutral trade, the Peruvian Government must declare that it cannot admit the resolution of which your Government has given notification, because the Peruvian Government considers it opposed to international law and the legal rights of neutrals.

The recent odious case of the vessel Lorton, which resulted in a claim being made by my Government, proves the error and injustice of the submarine campaign, now generalized in an unacceptable form by the closure of enormous zones of free seas, with serious danger to the lives and interests of neutral countries.

The Peruvian Foreign Minister, Enrique de la Riva Aguero, in replying to the American Minister respecting President Wilson's suggestion that other neutral nations take the same position as the United States on the German submarine campaign, said:

In reply to your Excellency's note of Feb. 9, it gives me pleasure to say that my Government fully appreciates the principles and intentions that guide your Excellency in the present emergency, which are in complete conformity with your note of April 18, and which uphold the defense of the rights of all neutral nations, seriously threatened by the new methods of maritime war now attempted to be established.

My Government trusts that some modification can still be obtained, speeding the way to sentiments of justice and concord which will prevent the bringing upon America the horrors of a war without parallel in history.

The Scandinavian Protest

Norway, Sweden, and Denmark answered Germany in an identic note, agreed upon after a joint consultation in Stockholm lasting a whole week. The following official summary of it was made public by the Swedish Government:

On Tuesday, the 13th inst., the Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish Governments handed to the German Ministers in their respective capitals notes identical in tenor protesting against the barring of certain sea zones announced by Germany and Austria.

The note begins by recalling the fact that during the war the Governments have several times found themselves obliged to formulate formal protests against serious infringements of the rights of neutrals involved by measures of various belligerent powers. It then emphasizes the fact that the Governments, whose actions on these various occasions were, as always, inspired by the spirit of the most perfect loyal impartiality, confined themselves to defending the imprescriptable rights of neutrals.

After pointing out that the Governments have on previous occasions protested against measures of belligerents tending to restrict the free use of the seas by neutrals, the note proceeds to emphasize that the Governments on this occasion are all the more bound to maintain, in taking the same point of view, that the obstacles placed in the way of neutral navigation are now more considerable, in both extent and gravity.

The note draws attention to the fact that the only rules of international law which might be invoked in support of measures having as their object the prevention of all commerce and all navigation with the enemy are those relating to a naval blockade. The note affirms that no belligerent has the right to prohibit peaceful navigation through zones the limits of which are very distant from enemy coasts which could be blockaded only in legitimate manner.

The Governments recall the universally recognized law on naval blockade, namely, that a neutral ship cannot be captured if it is not making any attempt to violate the blockade, and that in the event of a ship being captured it must be brought before a prize court in conformity with the general regulations.

The Governments declare their anxiety in regard to the measures which have been announced is aggravated further by the fact that the zones declared dangerous will, it appears, be watched exclusively by submarines, whose activity involves great danger for neutrals' subjects, as has been shown by experience on various occasions in the course of the war.

Finally, the note points out that the measures announced will be all the more contrary to the principles of international law if, as the tenor of the communications of the Imperial Governments seems to indicate, they are to be applied without distinction to all ships entering the zones described, and consequently to those not bound for enemy ports, but on the way from one neutral port to another.

On the ground of the considerations set forth above, the Governments formally protest against the measures taken by Germany

and Austria-Hungary, and make all reservations with regard to the loss of human lives and to material damage which may result from them.

The note handed to the German Minister at Peking by the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs indicated an intention to follow the lead of the United States in case the latter should enter a state of war with Germany. Observers in Peking have long noted what they believed to be a desire on the part of the Chinese Government to enter the war on the side of the Entente. A dispatch from Tokio on Feb. 11 stated that the Japanese Government would offer no interference with whatever course China might decide to follow. The text of the Chinese note, made public on Feb. 11, is as follows:

The new measures of submarine warfare inaugurated by Germany are imperiling the lives and property of Chinese citizens even more than the measures previously taken, which have already cost China many lives and constitute a violation of international law. The toleration of their application would introduce into international law arbitrary principles incompatible with legitimate intercourse between neutrals and between neutrals and belligerents.

China, therefore, protests energetically to Germany against the measures proclaimed on Feb. 1, and sincerely hopes that the rights of neutral States will be respected and that the said measures will not be carried out. If contrary to expectation this protest be ineffective China will be constrained, to its profound regret, to sever diplomatic relations. It is unnecessary to add that China's action is dictated by a desire for further peace and the maintenance of international law.

A communication explanatory of China's action was also handed to Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, American Minister to China. It follows:

China, like the President of the United States, is reluctant to believe that the German Government will actually execute measures which imperil the lives and property of the citizens of neutral States and jeopardize legitimate commerce, and which tend, if allowed to be enforced without opposition, to introduce new principles into international law. China, being in accord with the principles set forth in your Excellency's note and firmly associating itself with the United States, has taken similar action by protesting energetically to Germany against the new blockade measures. China also proposes to take such other action in the future as will be deemed necessary for the maintenance of the principles of international law.

Eighteen Days of Ruthless Submarining

A SUFFICIENT time has now elapsed since the inception of unrestricted submarine warfare in accordance with the German announcement of Jan. 31 for us to formulate certain general conclusions. In the first place, it should be remembered that the restriction, which has now been removed, did not check the sinking of ships; it only limited the sinking of ships without previous warning. The present method does not, therefore, necessarily mean the destruction of greater tonnage; it means primarily a greater destruction of life. This would seem to show that the large tonnage destroyed on certain days in February is due, not to the removal of restrictions, not to the omission of warning, (after which the ship would have been sunk in any case,) but rather to the employment of larger numbers of submarines, and also, perhaps, of newer and larger types of submarines.

So far, the losses announced during the month of February, 1917, are as follows:

	Ships Sunk.	Tonnage.
Feb. 1	10	13,039
Feb. 2	8	7,337
Feb. 3	6	10,159
Feb. 4	2	2,623
Feb. 5	5	8,729
Feb. 6	14	44,457
Feb. 7	13	30,352
Feb. 8	10	21,504
Feb. 9	6	10,424
Feb. 10	7	22,271
Feb. 11	2	1,725
Feb. 12	5	8,361
Feb. 13	4	*14,896
Feb. 14	5	†12,287
Feb. 15	6	7,750
Feb. 16	7	9,736
Feb. 17	4	7,483
Feb. 18	3	12,008

*Including the Afric, 11,999 tons.
†Including Lyman M. Law, (Amer.)

This makes a total of 117 ships sunk, with a tonnage of 245,140 during the first eighteen days of February; computation at the same average rate gives 200 ships of 408,905 tons for one month, as against the total of 1,000,000 tons a month which is said to be the estimate of the German Admiralty.

The world's total mercantile tonnage is said to be about 48,000,000, of which about 20,000,000 tons are British. Complete destruction of the world's commercial navies, at the average monthly rate given above, would, therefore, require 120 months; or, if we include British tonnage alone, fifty months.

This estimate is based on the supposition that no new ships are built. In reality, new ships are being built almost as fast as ships are sunk. We may illustrate this by the figures for 1915, the year of the Lusitania, when submarine warfare was largely unrestricted and before Britain had made large inroads on the German subsea fleet. The figures are:

1915.	New British Tonnage.	Number of New Ships.
Steam	1,461,816	655
Sailing	61,934	152
1915.	**British Losses. Tonnage.**	**British Ships Lost.**
Steam	1,452,679	741
Sailing	82,222	334

So that there was an actual net gain in British steam tonnage in the year 1915, and a small net loss in sailing tonnage.

Great Britain's total mercantile tonnage in December, 1915, was:

	Number of Ships.	Tonnage.
Steam	12,776	19,154,277
Sailing	8,021	844,391

While announcements have been made that Great Britain has for months been making intensive efforts to increase the number of ships built and has simplified and standardized building plans with this end in view, the actual figures do not appear to be available. The fact that since the battle of Jutland—that is, during nine months—Great Britain's losses in warships have been almost negligible has released large energies for the building of new mercantile tonnage that would otherwise have been employed in building new warships to replace losses. On Feb. 14 a high Admiralty official was quoted as saying:

"More ships have entered and left English ports in the last few days than for months past. On Feb. 13 more ships arrived and departed than on any day for six months. The average loss since Friday (Feb. 9) was one ship out of every thirty-five. In the English Channel, at a period when a greater number of ships than ever before are plying between British and French ports, the losses in the last two weeks (Feb. 1-14) have been extraordinarily small."

The submarine campaign has had almost as slight an effect on shipping entering and leaving French ports, according to Marcel Hutin, editor of the Echo de Paris. On Feb. 12, M. Hutin says, 112 French and neutral vessels entered French ports—little less than before the unrestricted submarine campaign. These conclusions seem to be supported by the arrival at the Port of New York of considerable groups of British and French ships of large tonnage. It has not been announced whether, or in what way, they were convoyed through the forbidden zone or across the ocean.

Anti-Submarine Defenses

Estimates of the numbers of German submarines in action vary from 100 to 300. No trustworthy figures are obtainable, but the number must be considerable. The question, therefore, arises: How have the Entente naval Powers been able to keep the losses down to the very moderate figures above recorded?

One answer comes from Italy, from Signor Paolo Giordani: "The invention of nets against submarines is due to the British Admiralty, which, not long ago, after several months of toilful silence, celebrated the certain sinking of the one hundredth enemy submarine snared in the toils. These nets are most ingenious and formidable."

The nets are towed through the water by small steam fishing boats known as drifters. Great Britain has already mobilized more than 100,000 fishermen,

with at least 3,000 ships. Some hundreds of these "drifters" have been loaned to Italy. Each drifter drags out and places a section of the net some 1,000 yards long, for which it is responsible. A submarine strikes a piece of net like some blind night-flying beetle. The nearest "drifters" wait a certain time to see if the submarine is prepared to come to the surface and surrender. If not, a bomb is dropped into the water. There is a muffled report, a commotion in the waves, and then all is still. Submarine and net have disappeared, and the returning "drifter" hoists the black flag to indicate successful fishing. Every "drifter" is further armed with a small gun fore and aft, with wireless apparatus and with a megaphone to communicate with its neighbors.

Armed and Armored Boats

Next to this netting process come the armed motor boats. These speedy boats have the advantages of rapidity and vision over the submarines. They draw so little water that it is almost impossible to torpedo them. Back and forth, day and night, in calm or storm, these small boats skim in search of submarines. The first motor boats used in this way were pleasure boats impressed into service; recently special boats have been built, larger, faster, more comfortable, more seaworthy; they are painted leaden gray and carry quick-firing guns, machine guns, torpedoes, and sometimes bombs. And next, in ascending order, come torpedo boats, destroyers, cruisers, all of which aid in hunting for submarines. And, further, hydroplanes, armed with bombs which explode thirty or forty feet under water, do good service, not only in sighting submarines but often in destroying them. Every day, especially in the more confined waters of the Mediterranean, squads of airmen fly out over the waves on regular patrol duty.

There remains yet another method which is perhaps the most effective of all. It is described in a communication published on Feb. 10 and accredited to a British expert, who said:

> I know personally that as many as two or three submarines have been bagged in one day by light guns in the hands of trained gunners, mounted on merchant ships. A submarine commander looking through his periscope has a range of vision of about three miles, but he must get his target broadside on to have a reasonable chance of making a torpedo hit what it is aimed at, and as torpedoes are very expensive missiles he cannot afford to take many chances on a miss. A periscope above the water at a distance of 200 or 300 yards makes a fair mark for a gunner working from the deck of a ship thirty or forty feet above the surface of the sea. One shot hitting the mark is all that is needed, as the submarines are of light construction, easily penetrated, and a hole anywhere in the shell spells their doom. It is seldom that a torpedo is fired when a threatened ship can so manoeuvre as to show only her stern for a mark, and in most of the cases of this nature so far reported the submersibles have come to the surface and resorted to gunfire from the deck. In this kind of a fight a gun mounted on a steamship has a great advantage, for the platform offered by a submarine is an unsteady thing to fire from, and despite the smaller target offered the gunners on ships have the better of it. Careful observations made during the last year (1916) of steamers mounting defense guns show that they are in a measure immune from attack—unless it is without warning, as in the case of the California. The number of U-boats that the Germans have lost has made them chary about showing themselves within range of ships on which they see guns, or which they have learned are defensively armed. Other methods of catching submarines, such as nets, bombs, and devices that are Admiralty secrets, are still being used, but the deck gun on steamers in the hands of good marksmen is leading all others in results.

Two conclusions seem to follow from these facts. The figures of losses during the first three weeks of unrestricted submarining show that the average tonnage of ships lost is low, apparently under 2,000 tons per ship. If we deduct the larger ships, like the Afric and the California, the average of ships sunk is considerably under 2,000 tons. It is probable that these small ships are often unarmed. Their large numbers would make this almost necessary. There are over 12,000 British steamships in commission; with one gun each, this would mean over 12,000 guns, with gun crews; with a gun fore and aft, it would mean 24,000 guns, with crews, to say nothing of the needed structural alterations to support the guns. Here is a large practical difficulty; also, perhaps, the explanation of the fact that the larger steamships seem

nearly immune; they are well armed. The second conclusion is this: So far, only belligerents have armed their ships. Norway, which has lost very heavily, is, as a neutral, debarred, not from putting guns on her ships, so much as from using them. To fire on a duly commissioned war vessel is an act of war, and hitherto this has debarred neutrals from defending themselves. The net result of this situation is to give belligerents a very large and valuable advantage, as against neutrals, throughout the whole field of war commerce.

According to the Board of Trade Journal of London the first week of the unrestricted warfare by submarines did not affect England's food importations. In the week ended Feb. 10, the first full week of the intensified submarine activities, the amount of wheat imported into the United Kingdom was 2,766,200 cwt. The figures for the corresponding weeks in the three preceding years are: 1916, 1,111,800 cwt.; 1915, 1,839,700 cwt., and 1914, 1,474,400 cwt. The totals of corn, grain, meal and flour imported in the same weeks are: 1917, 4,265,810 cwt.; 1916, 2,456,440 cwt.; 1915, 4,050,044 cwt., and 1914, 2,972,910 cwt.

Two Hundred Americans Lost in Submarine Attacks

AT least 200 Americans, and probably more, went to their deaths through German and Austrian submarine operations up to Feb. 1, 1917. Most of the Americans lost were traveling on unarmed merchant ships. More than 2,000 citizens of other nationalities lost their lives in the attacks which cost the lives of Americans, but they comprise only part of the toll of life taken by submarine warfare.

The cases which involve the United States and Germany are primarily those in which American life was lost or endangered. The first American of whom there is record to lose his life in submarine attack was Leon Chester Thresher, a passenger on the British liner Falaba, bound from Liverpool for West Africa, which was torpedoed and sunk March 28, 1915, off Milford, England. The Falaba, after a hopeless attempt to escape, stopped and while boats were being lowered and passengers still were aboard, the submarine drove a torpedo into her side, and she went down in ten minutes. Of 242 persons, 136 were saved. Thresher was among the lost.

The first American ship attacked by submarines was the Gulflight, an oil tanker, from Port Arthur, Texas, for Rouen, France, torpedoed without warning off the Scilly Islands May 1, 1915. Two men jumped overboard and were drowned; her Captain died of heart failure. The Gulflight did not sink, and was towed to port by British patrols. The German Government acknowledged the attack as an accident, expressed its regrets, and promised to pay damages.

The Lusitania Tragedy

The next attack shocked the civilized world and brought the United States and Germany for the first time to the verge of war. It was the destruction of the Lusitania on May 7, 1915. Unarmed, with 1,257 passengers, of whom 159 were Americans, and a crew of 702, she was torpedoed without warning and sank in twenty-three minutes off Old Head of Kinsale, as she was nearing Liverpool. In all, 1,198 lives were lost, of which 124 were Americans, many of them men of national prominence. The case passed into diplomatic negotiations, which never took final form.

While the Lusitania case was still fresh in the public mind a German submarine torpedoed another American ship, the Nebraskan, without warning, on May 25, 1915, south of Fastnet Rock. The Nebraskan's name was painted on her sides in letters six feet high, but her American

flag had been hauled down at dark, as is the custom at sea. Like the Gulflight, the Nebraskan owed her safety to her seaworthiness, and she reached port, damaged, under her own steam, and no one was injured. The German Government again expressed its regret for a mistake and promised to pay damages.

Twenty American negro muleteers on the Leyland liner Armenian were killed June 28, 1915, by shellfire and drowning when the Armenian failed to escape with her cargo of army mules from a submersible near the Cornwall coast. The Armenian was warned and invited her destruction by flight.

Case of the Orduna

The next submarine attack in which Americans were endangered was unsuccessful, but only because the Cunard liner Orduna was too speedy for her pursuer. After sending a torpedo just under the Orduna's stern, the submarine rained shells after the fleeing liner without hitting the mark, and then gave up the chase. A score or more of Americans were on the ship, and the attack, coming close on the assurances for the safety of passenger liners during the course of the Lusitania negotiations, aroused American public opinion to a high pitch. Germany explained that the submarine commander had failed to observe his orders and that more explicit instructions had been issued.

Three Americans were endangered when the Russian steamer Leo was torpedoed without warning on her way from Philadelphia to Manchester on July 9, 1915. An American bark, the Normandy, which had just been permitted to go on her way by a German submarine, picked up the survivors. Fourteen were lost, but none was American.

On July 25, 1915, came the first complete destruction of an American ship by a submarine. It was the Leelanaw of New York, bound from Archangel to Belfast with flax, which is contraband. The American sailing ship William P. Frye had been previously sunk in the war, but under different circumstances.

The Leelanaw, which was caught off the Orkney Islands, attempted to escape. She finally stopped, as the German submarine was firing at her, and sent her papers to the submersible by a small boat. The German commander, evidently proceeding on the theory that he could not take the contraband cargo into port, decided to destroy it by sinking the ship. He not only gave the Leelanaw crew all the time they required to take to their boats, but after sinking their ship by shot and torpedo took the crew on board the submarine and towed their boats toward the Orkney mainland. Eight miles from land a strange steamer appeared, and he set the crew in their boats and disappeared beneath the surface. The men reached Kirkwall the next morning.

Nicosian and Baralong

On Aug. 19, 1915, came the case of the Leyland liner Nicosian and the British patrol boat Baralong. The Nicosian, with mules from New Orleans to Avonmouth, was stopped by a submarine off Ireland, and her crew, including thirty-six Americans, took to the boats.

While the submarine was making ready to destroy the Nicosian, the Baralong appeared and destroyed the submarine by gunfire, took on the Nicosian's crew, and towed the ship to safety. The German Government charged that the British commander ordered his men to take no prisoners among the Germans on the submarine, and that many were deliberately murdered. No Americans were hurt.

The next crisis came on Aug. 19, 1915, when the White Star liner Arabic from Liverpool to New York was torpedoed without warning near the Lusitania's grave, and sunk in about ten minutes. Out of 375 passengers and crew, forty-eight were lost. Thirty Americans were on board and all but two were saved. The German Government contended that the submarine commander thought the Arabic was about to ram him and fired in self-defense, but disavowed the act, expressed regret, and gave additional assurances for the future safety of passenger ships, supplementing those previously given in the Lusitania case.

One American of the crew of the Allan liner Hesperian was lost on Sept. 4, 1915, when the ship, returning from Liverpool to Montreal, was torpedoed and sunk without warning off the southern coast of Ireland. The German Admiralty contended that no German submarine was in that vicinity, but a piece of a German torpedo was picked up on the Hesperian's deck.

Sinking of the Ancona

Austria's first submarine operations of consequence, and those which brought Germany's closest ally into the situation, began with the destruction of the Italian liner Ancona in the Mediterranean on Nov. 7, 1915. With hundreds of passengers, many of them women and children, bound from Naples to New York, the Ancona was chased and stopped by an Austrian submarine. Twelve Americans were on board and nine were lost.

Italian official figures say that 308 persons were lost out of 507 on board. Some of the American survivors swore that the Austrian submarine even shelled the lifeboats as the passengers were getting into them. The United States made representations, and the Austrian Government, after some parley, gave assurances which prevented a break.

On Dec. 3, 1915, a submarine, presumably Austrian, fired on the American oil steamer Communipaw, sailing from Portici, Italy, to Alexandria, Egypt. No damage was done to the Communipaw and no one was hurt.

The same submarine, presumably, attacked the American oil steamer Petrolite two days later off the coast of Tripoli. A sailor was injured by a shot into the Petrolite's engine room, and the submarine continued firing after the Petrolite had swung broadside so that the submarine commander could see her name painted on her side and the American flag flying between her masts. The submarine commander finally permitted the Petrolite to proceed after he had taken some of her stores. The American Government made representations to Vienna, which replied with a dispute over the facts. Diplomatic negotiations over the case are still unfinished.

The sinking of the Japanese liner Yasaka Maru, without warning, in the Mediterranean, on Dec. 21, 1915, threatened to involve the United States because Walter James Leigh, of "American parentage," was on board. His American citizenship has never been formally established. No lives were lost, but the incident was notable as the first action of the war involving Japan outside of the Far East.

Attack on the Persia

A new crisis was developed by the destruction of the British liner Persia, on Dec. 30, 1915, southeast of Crete, while on her way to the Orient. American Consul McNeeley, on his way to his post at Aden, was among the 335 persons who lost their lives, of which two or more were Americans. The wake of a torpedo was seen, but no submarine was visible.

Germany, Austria, and Turkey denied responsibility. The United States again made representations and assurances were given for what Germany termed "cruiser warfare," which involved a promise not to sink any peaceful ships without warning or providing for the safety of those aboard.

With the passing of Winter Germany declared a new policy of sinking without warning any merchant ship carrying any armament whatever, and on March 1 the submarine campaign was resumed with renewed vigor.

Promptly on the first day of the new campaign the French liner Patria, carrying no armament, sailing from Naples to New York, was attacked without warning by a submarine north of Tunis. Passengers and crew saw the torpedoes pass under the Patria's stern and some saw a periscope. The Patria put on full speed and escaped further attack, but had another narrow escape in the same way the next month. Americans were on board in both instances.

On March 9, 1916, the Norwegian bark Silius, while lying at anchor in Havre Roads, was torpedoed and sunk without warning. A survivor of the French steamer Louisiane, torpedoed fifteen minutes previously, 500 yards away, swore that he saw the submarine. There were seven Americans in the crew of the Silius and one was injured. Three men, not Americans, lost their lives. Germany disclaimed responsibility.

The next great passenger ship destroyed was the Dutch liner Tubantia. While she was in the North Sea, bound for Rio de Janeiro, an explosion rent the ship asunder, and she sank. Three Americans were passengers. All persons on board were saved except one Russian. Germany disclaimed responsibility for its submarines, torpedo boats, or mines. The Dutch Government made an investigation which indicated a submarine attack, and members of the Tubantia's crew testified to seeing the wake of a torpedo, but did not see a submarine.

On March 18, 1916, the British steamer Berwindvale, with four Americans on board, was torpedoed without warning off Bantry, Ireland, but no lives were lost.

On March 24, 1916, a German submarine chased the Dominion liner Englishman, bound from Avonmouth for Portland, Me., and while the crew was attempting to abandon the ship, shot away her starboard lifeboats. After more firing, as the crew was leaving the ship, the submarine torpedoed and sank her. One American of the crew was among the ten men lost. Many other Americans were aboard, having signed as Canadians. One of the rescued Americans testified that the submarine was the U-19.

The Crucial Sussex Case

On the same day came the culmination of a long list of submarine outrages, which caused President Wilson to lay the situation before Congress. This was the destruction of the French Channel steamer Sussex between Folkestone and Dieppe. All the evidence went to prove that the ship was torpedoed without warning, and, although Germany at first disclaimed responsibility, the statements which the Berlin Foreign Office made in its disclaimer went to prove that a submarine destroyed the ship. With bows shot away, the Sussex, kept afloat by her watertight bulkheads, was towed to Boulogne. Among her wreckage were found parts of a torpedo which, when compared with captured German torpedoes at the French naval station at Toulon, were pronounced by British, French, and American naval officers to be parts of the "warhead" of the German Schwartzkopf torpedo.

On March 27, 1910, the British ship Manchester Engineer, outbound from Philadel-

UNITED STATES NAVAL COMMANDERS

Admiral Henry T. Mayo
Commander in Chief
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Admiral William B. Caperton
Commanding Pacific Fleet

Rear Adm. Frank E. Fletcher
Navy General Board

Admiral W. S. Benson
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Commanding Dept. of East
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Major General Tasker H. Bliss
Army General Staff
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phia, was torpedoed and sunk without warning thirteen miles south of Waterford, and the crew saw the periscope of a submarine for ten minutes. Two American negroes were in the crew of thirty-three. All on board were rescued.

The next day the British steamer Eagle Point was shelled by a German submarine 130 miles south of Queenstown. The Eagle Point gave up her attempt to escape, and her crew of forty-two, which included one American, took to the boats in a heavy swell and a stormy wind. All were saved. The submarine came up and sank the ship with a torpedo.

After Germany gave her promise as the result of the Sussex notes there was a temporary lull in submarine warfare, but within a few weeks it began again. By Oct. 1, 1916, the British Government has stated, 262 vessels had been destroyed by German submarines, following the Sussex case, and at least fifteen had been sunk without the warning Germany had promised she would give. The American State Department compiled reports on all the cases through diplomatic and Consular agencies, and about Oct. 1, 1916, it was stated officially that nothing had been found in any which could be taken as proof of a violation of Germany's promises.

Visit of the U-53

The next development came when Germany carried the submarine war to the American side of the Atlantic. On Saturday, Oct. 7, 1916, the German war submarine U-53 entered Newport Harbor unannounced, delivered a package of mail for the German Embassy, and departed as swiftly, as silently, as she had come. Within forty-eight hours afterward she sank five ships within sight of the American coast—three British, one Dutch, and one Norwegian. With the assistance of American destroyers, which witnessed the operations, all lives were saved. In each case the submarine commander gave legal warning and permitted the escape of passengers and crew.

Nothing was developed to show any breach of faith on Germany's part, although there was some discussion of whether the operation did not constitute an offense to the United States and, in fact, a pacific blockade of the American coast. There was some talk of asking Germany to keep her ships away from American ports, as had been done in the case of Great Britain's cruisers early in the war. But as the U-53 disappeared without sinking more ships, the matter did not reach a head.

In the meantime, however, the United States declined to accede to the view of the Allies that neutrals should bar their ports to submarines of all kinds, whether war or merchant.

On Oct. 26, 1916, the British merchant ship Rowanmore was attacked by a German submarine. She fled, but was overhauled and destroyed by gunfire. There was no loss of life, although two Americans and five Filipinos, (naturalized Americans,) the only Americans on board, stated that the submarine shelled the lifeboats as they were leaving the ship.

On Oct. 30 the British ship Marina, bound for the United States, was torpedoed and six of the fifty Americans on board were lost. Survivors said that two submarines torpedoed the ship without warning, and that the boats were compelled to leave her more than 100 miles from land in a heavy sea.

Investigation was ordered, and the German Government was asked for its version of the affair. It developed that the Marina had a 4.7-inch gun mounted astern, but survivors said no attempt was made nor opportunity had to use it. It was the first case of loss of American life since the Sussex case.

Then followed the attack on the American steamer Chemung, the loss of seventeen Americans on the steamer Russian, and, finally, on Jan. 31, a notice that a campaign of ruthlessness was to begin on Feb. 1, irrespective of the consequences.

A Net to Protect New York Harbor

AN ingenious contrivance to protect New York Harbor from submarines has been constructed, consisting of a heavy steel wire net stretched between Sandy Hook and Rockaway Point, crossing the three channels—the Swash, the old Main Ship Channel, and the Ambrose Channel.

During daylight, when torpedo boat destroyers, airplanes, and a mosquito fleet, which will be created for the purpose, are sufficient to make it impossible for any undersea craft to approach the harbor undetected, the net will be lowered so as to permit vessels to pass through the channels. From sunset to sunrise the net will be raised to bar all ingress for submarines at any depth. Similar steps are also being taken for the protection of other harbors on the Atlantic Coast; a net to protect the Norfolk Channel at Hampton Roads was in position by Feb. 20.

Netting is the first and most obvious

method for the defense of a harbor at night and in heavy fogs. It has proved so successful that no submarine has yet been able to operate successfully in any English or French harbor. Hundreds of miles of heavy netting are in use in English waters, and outside of the German coast nets have been stretched for the entanglement and capture of submarines.

Though the Germans say that they have perfected a device for cutting nets which enables their submarines to escape from wire meshes of the weight used by the British during the first two years of the war, no submarine equipped to hack itself through netting has invaded British harbors, and it is concluded that they avoid encounters with nets whenever possible, even if they are sometimes able to extricate themselves.

No details have been made public about the weight of the netting used by the Navy Department or about the size of the meshes, but it is said that the net is strong enough to bar entrance to the harbor to undersea boats of any type yet known.

The Navy Department has kept closely in touch with the methods of defense against submarines which have been used by the British and French to make vessels safe while resting at anchor. One device which is in general use to give warning of the approach of a submarine to a harbor is a detectaphone which reproduces sounds in the water and indicates the presence of a submarine when the motion of a propeller is caught in water which is not used for ordinary shipping.

The Ambrose Channel, which is the principal entrance to New York Harbor, is 2,000 feet wide and 40 feet deep. The old Main Ship Channel used prior to the Summer of 1913 has a width of 1,000 feet and a depth of 30 feet.

Entente Shipbuilding vs. U-Boats

THE announcement by Berlin of unrestricted U-boat warfare finds the balance even between loss due to war causes and new construction, in the tonnage of allied merchantmen. Slightly more than 3,000,000 tons of merchant shipping was the toll exacted by submarines up to Feb. 1, while new construction since the declaration of war in shipyards of England and her allies, France, Russia, Italy and Japan, has totaled 2,800,000 tons to Feb. 1, 1917. Portugal, the newest ally, added about 150,000 tons of confiscated German shipping, while recent purchases from Greece and other neutral nations have swelled the ranks of Entente shipping to a total higher than the losses.

According to Lloyd's Register the merchant tonnage built in England, France, Russia, Italy and Japan in 1913 was 1,450,908. In 1914 it amounted to 2,198,765 tons, of which 900,000 was launched after the outbreak of war. The 1915 total fell to 836,946. Last year saw an increase of 965,499.

How nearly the Entente shipping stands at par after two years of the war is shown by Lloyd's figures comparing the tonnage owned in July, 1914, with that of July, 1916, for the five nations. England was the chief sufferer, her tonnage in 1914 being 21,045,049, and two years later 20,901,999, a net loss of only 143,000 tons. Italy shows the greatest gain, owing to her late entrance into hostilities, from 1,668,296 to 1,896,534 tons, a net gain of 228,238 tons. The Entente nations as a whole registered a slight gain of 136,000 tons for this period.

Since last Summer the U-boat campaign has become more severe. Figures compiled by the Federal Bureau of Navigation from reliable sources give the loss from war causes for 1916 as 2,082,683 tons, as against a total of new construction for the year of 1,899,943 tons. According to another trustworthy estimate* the Entente nations lost 2,000,000 tons during 1916, England losing 1,600,000 as against new construction of 600,000 for the year; France lost 200,000 tons, as

*Journal of Commerce Statistics.

against only 39,000 launched; Japan put in commission 246,000 tons, against a debit of 16,000.

Lloyd's Register gives the allied shipping at the outbreak of war as 27,794,000 tons, (exclusive of Belgium.) Of this total 10.8 per cent. has been lost by war causes. New construction and confiscation of enemy shipping has made good completely the depreciation. Even in 1916, when the U-boat campaign was at its worst, the loss on the basis of sailings was slightly more than one-half of 1 per cent. For every 180 merchant vessels that left the allied ports one was sunk by mines or submarines.

New British Blockade in the North Sea

THE British Admiralty announced on Jan. 27 that the mined area in the North Sea had been enlarged. The previous district banned as dangerous on account of mines was a rectangular area extending from the mouth of the Scheldt River opposite Flushing to the Kentish Knock Lightship and Goodwin Sands Lightship, opposite the entrance to the Thames. This field was established to bar the entry of German naval forces into the Strait of Dover and the English Channel. The new area is designed to serve as a bulwark against the egress of the German Fleet from the Kiel Canal and its various bases on the North Sea coast of Germany.

By this action the British Government barred to merchant shipping practically all the area of the North Sea east of the Dogger Banks, between a point high on the Danish coast to a point where the Dutch coast makes its wide bend eastward, the Danish and Dutch territorial waters being excluded.

The Admiralty on Feb. 13 announced a modification of this area, designating new limitations "in view of unrestricted warfare carried on by Germany." The new zone makes important concessions to neutrals. The zone, laid out in the proclamation of Jan. 27, extended in a fan-like shape from off Flamborough Head on the east coast of England to the Dutch and Danish coasts, and covered the entire North Sea coast of Germany.

After this vast area had been proclaimed by England as dangerous, Germany established its submarine blockade, the eastern boundary of which in the North Sea extended along the line of 4 degrees 50 minutes east longitude from Terschelling Lightship to Udsire Lightship on the Norwegian coast. Later Germany moved part of the eastern boundary of its North Sea danger

GREAT BRITAIN'S NEW "ZONE OF DANGER"

area to the line marked by 4 degrees east longtitude.

The original British danger area, which was established so as to extend much further west of 4 degrees east longitude, has been changed so that all of it is east of 4 degrees 30 minutes east longitude.

There has thus been established, by England's action as well as by Germany's recent modification, an irregular lane, the narrowest neck of which is thirty miles wide, through which shipping may pass between the Danish, Norwegian, and Holland coasts without skirting their respective coasts. This newly established lane restores an open sea route to and from Holland through an irregularly shaped zone, which lies between the German danger area on the west and the British danger area on the east.

The German Submarine Record

Details of Chief Vessels Sunk, With Diplomatic Developments

GERMAN methods of submarine warfare, which have at last caused the breaking of friendly relations between the United States and Germany, have a record extending from October, 1914, to the present time. According to a statement published by the German Admiralty, 1,303 merchant vessels had been sunk by the Teutonic allies up to June 30, 1916. A later statement, issued officially at Berlin, claimed a total of 4,000,000 tons of Entente shipping destroyed up to the beginning of 1917, including 3,000,000 tons under the British flag. These figures, however, are believed to be in excess of the facts. According to Lloyd's Register, the total to Feb. 1 was a little more than 3,000,000 tons.

According to Germany's official claims, the month of December, 1916, brought the destruction of 152 merchant ships of the Entente Powers and 65 neutral vessels, "sunk because of their tranportation of contraband to the enemy," making 415,000 tonnage destroyed in that month alone. The record for January was on a similar scale. That for the first two weeks of February—under the policy of "intensified warfare"—was 101 ships of 208,010 tonnage sunk.

A valuable summary of the leading cases of this kind from the beginning of the war to the end of last October, with dates, details, and diplomatic developments, recently appeared in the semi-official Nouvelles de France, from which it is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. All direct quotations from diplomatic notes have been verified from the official text:

Period Preceding the Lusitania Case

Oct. 26, 1914—The French steamship Amiral Ganteaume is torpedoed without warning while transporting from Calais to La Pallice 2,500 refugees from the North of Belgium. Thirty sailors and passengers are killed or drowned; the others are saved, thanks to the proximity of the coast and the swiftness of the aid furnished.

Jan. 29, 1915—The French Government addresses to the neutral powers a memorandum protesting against the torpedoing of the Amiral Ganteaume. This memorandum states the facts ascertained after a careful investigation. "The attack upon the French steamer and its passengers," it says, "was committed by a vessel of the Imperial German Navy: (1) Without daring to show its colors; (2) without visit, order, or warning; (3) upon a defenseless passenger ship loaded with women, children, and old men; (4) without any military, strategic, or naval utility, and without any other possible result than the murder of inoffensive persons and the destruction of a merchant vessel outside of all possibility of capture and subsequent judgment in a prize court." The Government of the republic brings these facts to the knowledge of the powers which at the second peace conference (session of Oct. 9, 1907) had received, as the memorandum recalls, from Baron Marshal von Bieberstein, first German plenipotentiary, the following declaration: "The officers of the German Navy, I say it emphatically, will always fulfill in the strictest manner the duties based on the unwritten law of humanity and civilization."

Jan. 30, 1915—Torpedoing by German submarines of the English steamships Take Maru and Icaria in the North Sea, and of the English steamships Linda Blanche and Ben Cruachen in the Irish Sea. The two former were torpedoed without the required warning; the others after an examination of papers and a notice to the crews to leave the ships.

Jan. 31, 1915—Protest of the French Minister of Marine against these acts.

Feb. 1, 1915—A German submarine fires a torpedo at the English hospital ship Asturias without hitting it.

Feb. 3, 1915—Note from the French Minister of Marine protesting against the attack on the Asturias and invoking the immunity guaranteed to hospital ships by Convention X., signed at The Hague on Oct. 18, 1907.

Feb. 3, 1915—Memorandum from Germany to the neutral powers declaring "all the waters around Great Britain and Ireland, including the whole of the English Channel, a war zone," and announcing that on and after Feb. 18 Germany "will attempt to destroy every enemy ship found in that war zone, without its being always possible to

avoid the danger that will thus threaten neutral persons and ships." Germany gives warning that "it cannot be responsible hereafter for the safety of crews, passengers, and cargoes of such ships," and it furthermore "calls the attention of neutrals to the fact that it would be well for their ships to avoid entering this zone, for, although the German naval forces are instructed to avoid all violence to neutral ships, in so far as these can be recognized, the order given by the British Government to hoist neutral flags and the contingencies of naval warfare might be the cause of these ships becoming the victims of an attack directed against the vessels of the enemy."

The War Zone Controversy

Feb. 10, 1915—American note in reply to the German memorandum. It states that the American Government views the possibilities referred to in this memorandum "with such grave concern, that it feels it to be its privilege, and, indeed, its duty, in the circumstances to request the Imperial German Government to consider before action is taken the critical situation in respect of the relation between this country and Germany which might arise were the German naval forces, in carrying out the policy foreshadowed in the Admiralty's proclamation, to destroy any merchant vessel of the United States or cause the death of American citizens. * * * To declare and exercise a right to attack and destroy any vessel entering a prescribed area of the high seas without first certainly determining its belligerent nationality and the contraband character of its cargo would be an act so unprecedented in naval warfare that this Government is reluctant to believe that the Imperial Government of Germany in this case contemplates it as possible."

After stating that the destruction of American ships or American lives on the high seas would be difficult to reconcile with the friendly relations existing between the two Governments, the note adds that the United States "would be constrained to hold the Imperial Government of Germany to a strict accountability for such acts of their naval authorities, and to take any steps it might be necessary to take to safeguard American lives and property and to secure to American citizens the full enjoyment of their acknowledged rights on the high seas."

Feb. 15, 1915—Note from the German Admiralty indicating that after Feb. 18 Germany will make war by all the means in her power against the British merchant marine in the war zone, and warning neutrals not to enter that zone because they would expose themselves to the same risks "as if they sailed through the midst of naval battles"—risks "for which Germany disowns all responsibility."

Feb. 17, 1915—Germany answers the American note. She holds that the creation of a war zone is a reply to the war methods of England, which are contrary to the law of nations, and that it is a means for hindering the importation of war materials into England and the allied countries. She asks the American Government to advise merchant ships of that nationality to avoid the war zone.

Attempt at Modus Vivendi

Feb. 22, 1915—American note containing certain suggestions for the establishment of a modus vivendi among the belligerents; one of the articles of this modus vivendi proposes that no Government should use submarines to attack merchant vessels of any nationality except to enforce the right of visit and search; on the other hand, England should allow foodstuffs to pass through to the German civil population.

Feb. 28, 1915—Germany replies to the preceding note. She declares herself favorable to the establishment of a modus vivendi, but with modifications. She subordinates the observance of general rules of international law by submarines to the condition that merchant ships shall not be armed; she exacts, besides, that Germany be permitted to import articles of prime necessity indicated in the free list of the Declaration of London, (cotton, rubber, ores, &c.;) she suggests, likewise, that the importation of war munitions from neutral to belligerent countries be forbidden.

March 1, 1915—Declaration of France and England criticising as contrary to international law the German policy of torpedoing at sight, in the war zone, every merchant ship under every flag, without regard for the safety of the crew and passengers. The declaration announces the purpose of the Allies to employ methods of reprisal consistent with the principles of humanity, and consisting in the interception of merchandise destined for Germany or proceeding from Germany.

March 10, 1915—Declaration from the German Ambassador at Washington attributing to an error the attack on the hospital ship Asturias.

March 13, 1915—British memorandum to the United States. It indicates that, as the Germans refuse to renounce the use of mines for offensive purposes, and are not disposed to discontinue their attacks on merchant ships, it is useless to examine the terms of the proposed modus vivendi.

March 13, 1915—Torpedoing of the Hanna, a Swedish vessel; six victims.

March 28, 1915—Torpedoing of the British steamer Falaba by a German submarine. The torpedoes are fired while the crew and passengers are entering the small boats. More than 100 persons, including Mr. Thrasher, an American citizen, perish with the ship.

April 8, 1915—A German submarine torpedoes the steamer Harplyce, in the service of the American Commission for the Aid of Belgium, and provided with a safe conduct issued by the German Minister at The Hague; fifteen victims.

May 1, 1915—American steamer Gulflight torpedoed by a German submarine, entailing the death of two Americans.

May 1, 1915—Count von Bernstorff, German Ambassador, publishes in the American newspapers a notice informing the public that allied vessels entering the war zone are liable to destruction, and that neutral passengers traveling on such vessels will do so at their own risk.

Sinking of the Lusitania

May 7, 1915—The British passenger steamer Lusitania is torpedoed without warning by a German submarine; 1,198 victims, of whom 124 were American citizens.

May 13, 1915—Note from Secretary of State Bryan to Germany. The American Government declares itself unable to believe that such acts as the destruction of the Falaba, the Gulflight, and the Lusitania, "acts so absolutely contrary to the rules, practice, and spirit of modern warfare," can have the sanction of the German Government. The adoption of measures of reprisal so far exceeding ordinary methods of maritime warfare, the warning against the danger of traversing a so-called zone of war, cannot limit the rights of commanders of American vessels or of American citizens traveling legally as passengers on commercial vessels of belligerent nationality. The American Government cannot believe that the German Government questions these rights.

"It assumes, on the contrary, that the Imperial Government accept, as of course, the rule that the lives of noncombatants, whether they be of neutral citizenship or citizens of one of the nations at war, cannot lawfully or rightfully be put in jeopardy by the capture or destruction of an unarmed merchantman, and recognize also, as all other nations do, the obligation to take the usual precaution of visit and search to ascertain whether a suspected merchantman is in fact of belligerent nationality or is in fact carrying contraband of war under a neutral flag."

The note goes on to point out the practical impossibility of employing submarines for the destruction of commerce without "disregarding those rules of fairness, reason, justice, and humanity which all modern opinion regards as imperative. It is practically impossible for the officers of a submarine to visit a merchantman at sea and examine her papers and cargo. It is practically impossible for them to make a prize of her; and if they cannot put a prize crew on board of her, they cannot sink her without leaving her crew and all on board of her to the mercy of the sea in her small boats." In the cases cited the necessary time was not allowed for taking the most elementary measures of safety, and in at least two of them no warning was given. The notice published in the newspapers, and supposed to come from the German Embassy, cannot be accepted as an excuse. The American Government wishes to believe that the German submarines have disobeyed orders, and that the German Government will disavow the acts in question, make reparation for them, and take immediate measures to prevent their repetition. The note concludes:

"Expressions of regret and offers of reparation in case of the destruction of neutral ships sunk by mistake, while they may satisfy international obligations if no loss of life results, cannot justify or excuse a practice the natural and necessary effect of which is to subject neutral nations and neutral persons to new and immeasurable risks. The Imperial Government will not expect the Government of the United States to omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens, and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

May 25, 1915—American steamship Nebraskan attacked by a German submarine, which fires a torpedo without warning.

May 28, 1915—Foreign Secretary von Jagow replies. The attack on the Gulflight is explained as an error due to the fact that English ships use the American flag. The Falaba had been allowed only a brief time for the escape of passengers and crew because that vessel had tried to escape. As to the Lusitania, it was an auxiliary cruiser; it had guns hidden under the deck; it was transporting Canadian troops and munitions of war; the rapidity with which it sank was due to an explosion of munitions caused by the torpedo, "otherwise, in all human probability, the passengers of the Lusitania would have been saved." The German Government submits all these facts to the American Government and reserves its final decision until it shall have received a reply.

June 1, 1915—Note from von Jagow declaring that the torpedoing of the Gulflight is the result of an error, for which the marine commander was not to blame, and offering to pay an indemnity.

June 2, 1915—Count von Bernstorff proposes to President Wilson: (1) The cessation of submarine warfare if the United States insist on obtaining from England the freedom of Germany to import foodstuffs, cotton, and materials of prime necessity; (2) immunity of vessels and passengers coming from American ports if the United States will guarantee that these vessels are not carrying contraband of war. President Wilson rejects these suggestions and holds to the terms of his note of May 13.

Reply in Lusitania Case

June 9, 1915—American reply to the German notes of May 28 and June 1. As regards the case of the Falaba, the United States Government is surprised to find the German Government holding that an effort on the part of a merchant ship to escape can modify the obligation to safeguard the lives of those on board. "Nothing but actual forcible resistance or continued efforts to escape by flight when ordered to stop for the purpose of visit on the part of the merchantman has ever been held to forfeit the lives

of her passengers or crew." The German Government is misinformed when it asserts that the Lusitania was carrying troops or was armed for offense.

"Whatever be the other facts regarding the Lusitania, the principal fact is that a great steamer, primarily and chiefly a conveyance for passengers, and carrying more than a thousand souls that had no part or lot in the conduct of the war, was torpedoed and sunk without so much as a challenge or a warning, and that men, women, and children were sent to their death in circumstances unparalleled in modern warfare. The fact that more than one hundred American citizens were among those who perished made it the duty of the Government of the United States to speak of these things and once more, with solemn emphasis, to call the attention of the Imperial German Government to the grave responsibility which the Government of the United States conceives that it has incurred in this tragic occurrence, and to the indisputable principle upon which that responsibility rests. * * * The Government of the United States, therefore, deems it reasonable to expect that the Imperial German Government will adopt the measures necessary to put these principles into practice in respect of the safeguarding of American lives and American ships, and asks for assurances that this will be done."

[Remark.—The foregoing note does not radically condemn the use of submarines against commercial vessels, as did the note of May 13. It limits itself to requiring that this use shall be combined with respect for neutral ships and for the lives of noncombatants.]

July 8, 1915—Germany replies to the American note of June 9. She asserts that all the evil is due to Germany's enemies, who have paralyzed commerce between Germany and neutral countries contrary to international law, and that this obliges Germany to make submarine war upon commerce. In the fight for existence which has been imposed upon Germany by her adversaries it is the sacred duty of the Imperial Government to do all within its power to protect and save the lives of German subjects. The case of the Lusitania "shows with horrible clearness to what jeopardizing of human lives the manner of conducting war employed by our adversaries leads." * * * The German Government declares itself "ready to do all it can during the present war also to prevent the jeopardizing of lives of American citizens. In order to exclude any unforeseen dangers to American passenger steamers, made possible in view of the conduct of maritime war by Germany's adversaries, German submarines will be instructed to permit the free and safe passage of such passenger steamers when made recognizable by special markings and notified a reasonable time in advance." * * * The note remarks in closing that with such an arrangement there would be no compelling necessity for American citizens to travel to Europe in vessels carrying an enemy flag in time of war, and that "in particular the Imperial Government is unable to admit that American citizens can protect an enemy ship through the mere fact of their presence on board."

[Remark.—Germany here proposes the establishment of a modus vivendi comprising, on the one hand, immunity for American vessels on condition that the Federal Government prevent their carrying contraband, and, on the other hand, the torpedoing of merchant ships of belligerents without regard to neutral passengers.]

July 9, 1915—The English passenger steamer Orduna, plying from Liverpool to New York, with 227 passengers, of whom 21 are Americans, is attacked without warning by a German submarine, which fires a torpedo, followed by several shells, without hitting the vessel.

July 12, 1915—Germany sends a memorandum stating that the attack on the Nebraskan was a "regrettable accident," due to an error, for which the commander of the submarine was not to blame. The German Government expresses its regrets, and declares itself ready to repair the damages suffered by American citizens.

July 21, 1915—America replies to the German note of July 8. The note is declared "very unsatisfactory," because it fails to indicate the way in which the accepted principles of law and humanity may be applied to the grave matter in controversy, but proposes, on the contrary, arrangements for a partial suspension of those principles. It is vain for the German Government to seek to justify its acts by representing them as reprisals against illegal acts by England. On the one hand, the United States cannot discuss the policy of England save with the British Government itself, and, on the other hand, reprisals directed against the enemy ought not to harm the lives or property of neutrals. The American Government is ready to take into account the new aspects of naval warfare, but cannot assent to the diminution of any essential or fundamental right of its citizens. "The rights of neutrals in time of war are based on principle, not upon expediency, and the principles are immutable." The American Government cannot accept the suggestion that "certain vessels shall be designated and agreed upon which shall be free on the seas now illegally proscribed. The very agreement would, by implication, subject other vessels to illegal attack, and would be a curtailment and, therefore, an abandonment of the principles for which this Government contends, and which in times of calmer council every nation would concede as of course." The American Government concludes by declaring that "repetition by the commanders of German naval vessels of acts in contravention of these rights must be regarded by the Government of the United

States, when they affect American citizens, as deliberately unfriendly."

Aug. 19, 1915—The British steamer Arabic, bound from Liverpool to New York, is torpedoed without warning at the moment when it is approaching the English steamship Dulsley, just struck by a torpedo, in order to rescue the crew. Sixteen victims, including two Americans.

Aug. 24, 1915—Count von Bernstorff communicates to the State Department the instructions he has received in regard to the Arabic. After making all reserves as to the facts, the note says that the loss of American lives is contrary to the intention of the German Government, and is deeply regretted.

Germany's Promise to Reform

Sept. 1, 1915—A letter from Count von Bernstorff informs Mr. Lansing that his instructions contain the following passage: "Passenger liners will not be sunk by our submarines without warning and without taking measures to secure the safety of the lives of noncombatants, on condition that the steamers shall not try to escape or offer resistance."

Sept. 4, 1915—The English passenger steamer Hesperian, bound from Liverpool to Montreal, is torpedoed without warning; twenty-five deaths, including one American, and twenty persons injured. The English inquest establishes the fact that this vessel was torpedoed; the German view, however, is that it struck a mine. The American Government, considering the case doubtful, merely places the incident on file.

Sept. 7, 1915—The German Government hands a communication to the American Ambassador. It states that the Arabic was torpedoed without warning because the submarine commander was convinced that the vessel intended to attack and ram him. The German Government regards itself as under no obligation to pay an indemnity, even if the commander of the submarine was mistaken as to the intentions of the Arabic.

Sept. 9, 1915—German memorandum to the United States, declaring that "the attack on the Orduna by means of a torpedo was not in accord with existing instructions, which stipulate that large passenger steamers can be torpedoed only after due warning and after the passengers and crew have been placed in safety"; the error will not occur again, as more precise instructions have been given.

Sept. 12, 1915—Mr. Lansing communicates to Count von Bernstorff the unanimous testimony of the survivors of the Arabic that the vessel was peacefully pursuing its course when it was unexpectedly torpedoed.

Sept. 21, 1915—The newspapers publish a communication from Foreign Secretary von Jagow declaring that enemy ships carrying passengers will not be attacked without warning or without taking precautions to safeguard the lives of the passengers and crews; that, moreover, merchant ships will have nothing to fear from submarines if they do not carry contraband of war.

September, 1915—About the end of this month England, in concert with Russia, organizes submarine cruises in the Baltic against merchant vessels. These cruisers are conducted in conformity with the rules of international law regarding visit and search, and the safeguarding of the lives of noncombatants.

Oct. 5, 1915—A letter from Count von Bernstorff to Mr. Lansing disavowing in the name of his Government the torpedoing of the Arabic; the German Government expresses regrets and promises an indemnity. The letter adds that orders given to submarines have been made so rigorous that the recurrence of such incidents is considered impossible.

Torpedoing of the Ancona

Nov. 8, 1915—The Italian passenger steamer Ancona, bound from Italy to America, is fired upon without warning, torpedoed, and sunk between Sardinia and the coast of Tunisia by a submarine flying the Austro-Hungarian flag; the fire is directed in part against the lifeboats; more than 200 victims, including twenty Americans. (This act was committed outside of the war zone proclaimed on Feb. 4, 1915; it was in September, 1915, that German and Austrian submarines began to attack merchant ships in the Mediterranean.)

November, 1915—Protest of the Italian Government to the neutral nations against the destruction of the Ancona in violation of the fundamental laws of humanity and of the right which requires the belligerents to do all in their power, whatever the circumstances, to save the lives of noncombatants.

Dec. 5, 1915—Attack on the Petrolite, an American oil tank steamer, by an Austrian submarine that fires on it without warning, and continues to fire, wounding one man, after the vessel has stopped; in the end the submarine exacts a tribute of provisions from this vessel. The United States demands apology and reparation. Austria alleges that the submarine had mistaken the Petrolite for an enemy in disguise. The United States replies, (note of June 26, 1916,) that such a fear was without valid grounds, and that the conduct of the submarine commander showed an absolute lack of judgment and presence of mind, or else a well-matured intention equivalent to complete contempt for the rights of neutrals.

Dec. 9, 1915—A note from the United States to Austria-Hungary on the destruction of the Ancona. The American Government, referring to the views it had expressed in its correspondence with Austria's ally, considers that the commander of the submarine "violated the principles of international law and of humanity by shelling and torpedoing the Ancona before the persons on board had been put in a place of safety or even given sufficient time to leave the vessel"; this was "a wanton slaughter of defenseless noncombatants." It refuses to believe that the Austro-Hungarian Government sanctions such acts; it thinks that the sub-

marine commander acted in violation of his instructions, and it therefore "demands that the Imperial and Royal Government denounce the sinking of the Ancona as an illegal and indefensible act; that the officer who perpetrated the deed be punished, and that reparation by the payment of an indemnity be made for the citizens of the United States who were killed or injured by the attack on the vessel."

Dec. 14, 1915—Baron von Burian hands an answer to the American Ambassador. It is a document of a dilatory nature. It states that the American note does not contain enough material proofs, that it does not give the names of the American victims on the Ancona, that it does not enunciate the judicial principles adopted by the Federal Government, but refers to a correspondence with another Government, with which the Government at Vienna has no authentic relation. Consequently it demands of the United States a more precise statement of rights and of facts.

Dec. 21, 1915—A second American note on the Ancona. It refers to the fact that the report of the Austro-Hungarian Admiralty states that the engines were stopped and the passengers still on board when the steamer was torpedoed. This is enough to show that there was a violation of the universally established rules of international law; the evidence is so clear that the Government of the United States has no need to discuss it, and does not understand that the Austro-Hungarian Government doubts it. It therefore renews its former demands.

Dec. 29, 1915—Austria replies on the subject of the Ancona. She communicates the result of an investigation and takes her stand upon this to impute the loss of human lives to the bad conduct of the crew of the Ancona. Nevertheless, she announces that the commander of the submarine has been punished for not obeying his instructions. The Austro-Hungarian Government promises, with slight reservations, to indemnify the victims. It reserves the right, however, to discuss later the difficult international questions arising out of submarine warfare.

Dec. 30, 1915—The Clan MacFarlane, a British vessel sailing from England to Bombay, is torpedoed without warning amid a violent storm in the Mediterranean. Fifty of the men cannot be saved.

The British passenger liner Persia is sunk in the Mediterranean; 335 victims, including several Americans. No submarine having been seen, Germany and Austria-Hungary declare that, according to the reports of their naval officers, this destruction was not caused by any of their submarines.

Jan. 7, 1916—The German Embassy at Washington issues a memorandum indicating that the submarines have received orders to conform to the general principles of international law in their operations against commerce in the Mediterranean; the measures of reprisal used in the war zone around the British Isles are not to apply in the Mediterranean. German submarines will not destroy enemy merchant ships that do not try to escape or to resist until after having assured the safety of the passengers and crews.

Question of Armed Merchantmen

Jan. 18, 1916—Secretary Lansing writes a letter to the diplomatic representatives of England, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan at Washington, suggesting the establishment of a modus vivendi by the Allies on the following basis: Submarines will not attack enemy merchantmen without warning and will not sink them until after having placed passengers and crews in safety; the merchantmen will carry no armament.

Feb. 8, 1916—Germany sends a memorandum to the neutral powers announcing that armed merchant vessels of Germany's enemies will be treated as warships and attacked as such; the neutral powers are asked to warn their citizens not to intrust their lives or property to such ships.

Feb. 10, 1916—Austria-Hungary sends a memorandum to the neutral powers on the same subject.

Feb. 15, 1916—Secretary Lansing tells representatives of the American press that by international law commercial vessels have the right to carry arms in self-defense.

Feb. 24, 1916—President Wilson writes a letter to Mr. Stone, Chairman of the Committee of Foreign Affairs in the Senate. He refuses to advise American citizens not to travel on armed merchant ships belonging to Germany's enemies, because this would be to renounce the inalienable rights of Americans based on principles established by all nations to lessen the horror and sufferings of war. It would be "an implicit, all but an explicit, acquiescence in the violation of the rights of mankind everywhere," and an "abdication of our hitherto proud position as spokesmen, even amid the turmoil of war, for the law and the right."

March 3, 1916—The American Senate tables the Gore resolution, in which it had been intended to warn Americans not to travel on armed vessels of belligerents.

March 7, 1916—The House of Representatives takes similar action.

March 8, 1916—The German Ambassador to the United States communicates a memorandum regarding the naval measures adopted by the belligerents. It states that Germany in February, 1915, was compelled by her enemies to resort to "a new weapon, the use of which had not yet been regulated by international law, and in doing so could not, and did not, violate any existing rules, but only took into account the peculiarity of this new weapon, the submarine boat"; furthermore, this action was one of retaliation against the deeds of England.

The Tubantia and Palembang

March 15-16, 1916—During the night and in a wild sea the Dutch steamer Tubantia, carrying passengers, is torpedoed without warn-

ing. The German press pretends that the ship struck a mine, and even intimates that it may have been torpedoed by an English submarine. The British Admiralty issues a denial of this rumor, and adds that no mine was laid by the English fleet in the region where the sinking occurred. On the other hand, the German Legation assures the press of Holland that no German submarine or torpedo boat caused the loss of the Tubantia, and that the Germans have not planted mines in that locality. A Dutch investigation establishes the fact that the explosion was caused by a Schwartzkopf torpedo of bronze, (No. 2,033, verdict of the Dutch Navigation Council, April 11;) now, this kind of torpedo is used only by the German Navy. The German Admiralty then asserts that the torpedo in question was fired on March 6 at an English destroyer, that it missed the ship and traveled to the shore, and that the Tubantia there ran into it by accident, (declaration of June 9.) On Sept. 25 the Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs announces that he has proposed to submit the examination into the causes of the Tubantia's destruction to an international commission of inquiry, and that the German Government has accepted, with the proviso that the commission shall not act until after the conclusion of peace; Holland has given its assent.

March 18, 1916—The Dutch steamship Palembang is sunk in the North Sea; the crew is saved, but nine men are wounded. An investigation made in Holland shows that there were three explosions, the first possibly produced by a mine, the others producible only by torpedoes; at the time of the last explosion the ship was not moving. The torpedo causing the second explosion might have been intended for an English destroyer lying near by, but the last could have been aimed only at the Palembang. The German Government affirms, on the contrary, that this vessel was not torpedoed, because, it says, no German warship was near the Palembang at the moment of the accident.

March 22 and 23, 1916—The Ambassadors of the allied powers at Washington present a note and memorandum in answer to Mr. Lansing's letter of Jan. 18. They remind the United States that the arming of merchant ships is the exercise of a recognized right, and that this protection against illegal attacks cannot be renounced save upon receipt of guarantees against a renewal of such attacks. As Germany has greatly extended her submarine war methods on lines contrary to international law, the authors of these acts would be encouraged by being left to go unpunished. Mr. Lansing's proposition is therefore rejected.

Torpedoing of the Sussex

March 24, 1916—The French passenger steamer Sussex, on its way from Folkestone to Dieppe, is torpedoed without warning. This vessel was not armed, and was not following the route of the military transports. About eighty passengers, including American citizens, were killed or wounded; a Spanish composer, Granados, is among the victims.

March 29, 1916—The Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs announces that he has received from the German Minister at The Hague the following declaration: "The principles laid down by the Imperial Government in regard to submarine warfare, in the form in which they were communicated to the neutral Governments, have not been modified, except that the instructions concerning armed commercial vessels have been more clearly defined. The German naval forces have the strictest orders to abstain from all attacks upon neutral ships unless they try to flee or resist search."

April 5, 1916—The English steamer Zent is torpedoed without warning by a submarine and sinks in a few minutes; 49 victims.

April 6, 1916—The Reichstag passes a resolution offered by its Budget Committee, holding that as the submarine has shown itself to be the most effective weapon against the attempts of England to starve Germany, it is desirable to use the submarine, as well as all other military means, in such a way as to guarantee to Germany her future and a sure peace, and to safeguard Germany's interests on the seas—in her negotiations with foreign States—by the maintenance of the necessary liberty to employ this weapon, while at the same time not losing sight of the legitimate interests of neutral States.

April 7, 1916—The Dutch steamer Eemdijk, bound from Baltimore to Rotterdam, and displaying the Dutch flag and other visible signs of its nationality, is struck by a torpedo fired by a German submarine, as shown by an investigation made in England after the vessel has taken refuge there.

The Sussex Negotiations

April 10, 1916—Von Jagow delivers a note to the United States Ambassador at Berlin. A German submarine, he states, did indeed sink a long, black vessel in the English Channel, but according to sketches made by the Captain it could not have been the Sussex, but rather a warship or an English mine layer. The Sussex probably must have struck a British mine.

April 18, 1916—The Danish press tells of the sufferings endured by the crew of the Danish sailing vessel Proven, who spent three days and two nights in open boats after their vessel, which was carrying salt from Portugal to Sweden, had been sunk by a German submarine.

April 18, 1916—Secretary Lansing sends a note in reply to the German note of April 10. After proving that the Sussex was sunk without warning by a German torpedo, the note expresses regret at perceiving that the German Government does not understand the gravity of the situation resulting not only from the attack on the Sussex, but from the whole German method of submarine warfare, comprising the destruction of merchant ships

without distinction of nationality or destination. It recalls the fact that the United States has protested against submarine warfare as contrary to the principles of humanity recognized by all civilized nations. Germany has promised to respect passenger ships, but the commanders of her submarines have not kept that promise, and the list of Americans who have thus lost their lives has grown longer from month to month, until it now has reached 100. The United States Government has been very patient, but now "it has become painfully evident to it that the position which it took at the very outset is inevitable, namely, the use of submarines for the destruction of an enemy's commerce is, of necessity, because of the very character of the vessels employed, and the very methods of attack which their employment of course involves, utterly incompatible with the principles of humanity, the long-established and incontrovertible rights of neutrals, and the sacred immunities of non-combatants." The note ends with the statement that if it is still the purpose of the Imperial Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminate warfare, the American Government will have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire altogether.

April 24, 1916—The Dutch steamer Berkelstroom, on its way to England, is shelled by a German submarine without warning. The vessel, having stopped, is sunk, though the contraband found on board amounts to only one-third of the cargo, and despite the offer to throw this overboard; to a remark of the Captain on this subject the commander of the submarine replies: "Everything that goes to England is contraband."

May 4, 1916—Von Jagow answers the American note. The Sussex affair is reserved for later treatment; if a German submarine sank that ship Germany will asume the consequences. The note protests against the American criticism of submarine warfare. "The German naval forces are under orders to conduct submarine warfare in conformity with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels recognized by international law, the sole exception being the conduct of warfare against enemy trade carried on enemy freight ships encountered in the war zone surrounding Great Britain." Errors have occurred: they are inevitable in all wars. The note contends that the German submarine warfare is only a reply to the British violation of international law in condemning millions of women and children to starvation. The German Government announces that the German naval forces have received the following order:

"In accordance with the general principles of visit and search and the destruction of merchant vessels, recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without saving human lives unless the ship attempt to escape or offer resistance."

In consequence of these new orders the German Government "does not doubt that the Government of the United States will now demand and insist that the British Government shall forthwith observe the rules of international law universally recognized before the war," rules which the United States has invoked in its notes to the British Government. "Should steps taken by the Government of the United States not attain the object it desires, to have the laws of humanity followed by all the belligerent nations, the German Government would then be facing a new situation in which it must reserve to itself complete liberty of decision."

May 10, 1916—Secretary Lansing replies to the German note of May 4. This response is very brief. It takes cognizance of the intention to make German naval officers observe the rules of international law. The American Government assumes that, despite certain passages of the German note, Germany does not intend to make the fulfillment of her promises depend upon the negotiations between the United States and any other belligerent Government. The note concludes: "In order to avoid any possible misunderstanding, the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, a suggestion that respect by German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high seas should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and noncombatants. Responsibility in such matters is single, not joint; absolute, not relative."

June 2, 1916—The Norwegian steamers Bure and Orkedal are torpedoed without warning by an unknown submarine which is seen by some of the sailors; in the crew of the Bure one man is killed and two are wounded.

Submarines in Neutral Ports

June 21, 1916—The German submarine U-35 enters the Spanish port of Carthagena and is there treated as an ordinary warship, its stay being limited to twenty-four hours.

July 9, 1916—The German commercial submarine Deutschland enters the American port of Norfolk and proceeds to Baltimore. It is considered a merchant ship and treated as such.

July 10, 1916—The Dutch sloop Geertruida, though displaying its flag and other marks of its nationality, (the national colors painted on its sides, with the word "Holland" in large letters,) is fired upon without warning by a German submarine; it sinks in three minutes. When the master of the ship expresses his contempt for such methods the commander of the submarine replies: "It's war. Germany will pay well for everything."

July 19, 1916—A Swedish law forbids for-

eign war submarines to enter Swedish waters under peril of being attacked without warning. An exception is made in cases where submarines are forced by stress of weather to put into port.

July 27, 1916—Captain Fryatt is condemned to death by a German court-martial and shot. Commanding an English vessel that was summoned to stop by the German U-53, he had tried to sink the latter by heading his ship toward it at full speed. This had occurred on March 28, 1915.

Aug. 9. 1916—According to press dispatches, the Bundesrat approves the rejection by the Chancellor of the unrestricted submarine warfare urged by the Pan-German radicals.

Aug. 29, 1916—The French boat François Joseph is torpedoed in the Mediterranean, fifty miles from the Balearic Islands. The seven men of the crew remain in an open boat through a violent storm until the 31st.

August, 1916—Memorandum from the Entente Allies to the neutral powers contends that the characteristics of submarines are an obstacle to allowing them the ordinary privileges of international law in neutral ports. By their ability to dive they can evade control; it is impossible to identify them, to ascertain their nationality, their character as neutral or belligerent, or as warship or merchant ship; every place at a distance from its base where the submarine can stay and obtain supplies becomes for it a base of naval operations. Consequently the Allies are of the opinion that submarines belonging to belligerents ought not to be admitted to neutral waters and that every belligerent submarine entering a neutral port should be interned.

To this memorandum the Government of the United States replies (Aug. 31) that it is not "at present aware of any circumstances concerning the use of war or merchant submarines which would render the existing rules of international law inapplicable to them," and that in consequence it will reserve its liberty of action. It adds that it is the duty of belligerent powers to distinguish between submarines of neutral and belligerent nationality.

Oct. 7, 1916—The German submarine U-53 arrives at Newport, R. I., and remains there a few hours.

Oct. 8, 1916—German submarines sink five British and neutral vessels in proximity to American waters. Among the latter is the Dutch steamer Blommersdijk. The Netherlands Government protests, holding that the cargo was destined for Holland. It receives assurance that "the commanders of submarines have strict orders not to sink neutral ships without fully observing the stipulations of the German code for maritime prizes," and that if these orders have not been executed the German Government will indemnify Holland. (Communiqué of the Netherlands Government, published Oct. 14.)

Oct. 11, 1916—A note from Norway to Germany protests against the fact that Norwegian vessels have been sunk recently without sufficient provision for the safety of the lives of the crews, a course contrary to the law of nations. It holds that the Convention of London does not authorize the destruction of neutral ships except in special cases, and that the German practice is making a rule of the exception.

Oct. 13, 1916—A Norwegian decree forbids naval submarines of the belligerent powers to enter Norwegian waters under pain of being attacked without warning. Exception is made in case of forced refuge. The interdiction does not extend to naval submarines of neutrals, nor to any commercial submarines.

[Remark—The German press, which approved the similar Swedish decree of July 19, freely condemns that of Norway.]

Oct. 14, 1916—Holland replies to the allied memorandum of August. The Netherlands Government declares that when it forbade all warships to enter its territorial waters, war submarines were included in that interdiction; as for commercial submarines entering Dutch ports, no rule of international law authorizes their internment.

Oct. 18, 1916—A communiqué from the German Legation to the Norwegian press gives an answer to the note of the 11th. It assures Norway that the German naval forces destroy neutral vessels only when they cannot do otherwise. It adds that in such cases the German commanders take the greatest care to bring the Norwegian vessels as near to the shore as possible.

Oct. 20, 1916—A German note to Norway places on record certain reservations which the Imperial Government makes in regard to the Norwegian decree of Oct. 13.

Statistical Data

March 30, 1916—Mr. Nelson communicates to the United States Senate a list of 136 Norwegian, Swedish, Danish, and Dutch ships sunk by submarines.

April 18, 1916—Mr. Runciman informs the House of Commons that from Aug. 4, 1914, to April 15, 1916, 3,117 persons (1,754 sailors, 188 fishermen, and 1,175 passengers) lost their lives on British ships by acts of the enemy.

May 11, 1916—The British Government communicates to the House of Commons a list of 37 English and 22 neutral vessels that were torpedoed without warning from May 7, 1915, to May 10, 1916.

Oct. 10, 1916—Norway has lost to date 171 vessels, totaling 235,000 tonnage; 140 Norwegian sailors have perished.

Nov. 18, 1916—The Paris edition of The London Daily Mail cites a response of Lord Grey to the effect that from June 1 to Sept. 30, 1916, German submarines have sunk, not counting warships, 714 British vessels, 314 vessels belonging to England's allies, and 281 neutral merchantmen, of which 160 were Norwegian.

WAR SEEN FROM TWO ANGLES

[GERMAN VIEW]

Military Operations of the Month

By H. H. von Mellenthin

Foreign Editor New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung

ACCURATE judgment of the present war situation from the military standpoint and a discussion of the whole development of the politico-military conditions during the period ending about the middle of February must be based upon consideration of the grand offensives predicted for the approaching Spring which are expected to decide the conflict.

Even the outstanding military event of the past month, the declaration by Germany of unrestricted U-boat warfare, which led to the rupture of diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, and which at the present moment threatens to develop into armed conflict between the two nations, must be divested of its political garb and viewed from the standpoint of its effect upon the shaping of the war situation.

The cause and the purpose of unrestricted warfare in the barred zone around the British Isles and in the Mediterranean was fully explained by the German Chancellor in his speech at the session of the Main Committee of the Reichstag on Jan. 31, published elsewhere in these pages.

The German U-boat "blockade" has a dual purpose. England is to be forced by lack of supplies to consider peace, and the forthcoming allied offensive in the west is to be hampered, and, if possible, frustrated by the blocking of the sources of supply. The Allies are to be incapacitated to draw upon new men, new munitions, and new supplies at a time when they will most sorely need them.

The situation on the principal fighting fronts has again degenerated to trench activity, but considerable mobility marks the areas behind the fronts. Each nation is sharpening its weapons for the Spring campaign. These preparations cannot be overshadowed even by the U-boat war. Just as storming attacks are prepared by artillery, so the operations of the submarines are to be valued merely as preliminary actions.

The lull on the various battle fronts has been dictated chiefly by the adverse weather conditions of the season. All the livelier is the activity behind the fronts. Everywhere there is ceaseless hustle and bustle. Every factory, every munitions plant, every arsenal, and every shipyard is working at full blast. Preparations are made for the grave hour of the decision which Spring is expected to bring.

Field Marshal von Hindenburg in reporting to Chancellor von Bethmann Hollweg shortly before the declaration of unrestricted U-boat warfare, stated that all fronts are firmly intact and that all necessary reserves are at hand.

The Month's Military Activities

A detailed review of the operations of the month past follows:

1. WEST FRONT—After a period of comparative calm marked by artillery duels, reconnoitring "feelers" along the German front as far as the Swiss mountains, and minor scout actions, the British are of late displaying a lively activity along the Ancre-Somme front. This British front now extends as far as the area south of the Somme where the British have taken over the positions formerly held by the French. General Sir Douglas Haig is making strenuous efforts to "build up" his lines in this area. He was partly successful in this during the last few days in the northern sector, on both banks of the Ancre and in the direction of Bapaume. The Germans have evacuated Grandcourt, thus enabling the British to straighten out their northern front line, which had been

German Lines in Moldavia, Feb. 20, 1917.

SCENE OF LATEST ACTIVITIES ON THE RUMANIAN FRONT

hitherto a source of danger because of its salient form.

This front lies directly west of Bapaume, the immediate object of the last grand offensive of the joint French and British forces. It may be safely assumed that it is against this sector that a new allied offensive will be directed. But in the meantime military conditions have changed. The value of the possession of Bapaume has been decreased in proportion to the new defense fronts established during the last few months by the Germans behind the Bapaume-Péronne highway. Today it is known that the German high command was seriously considering the abandonment of Péronne during the Entente offensive on the Somme; that the French, who advanced to the very gates of this stronghold, failed to occupy it, is cause for much astonishment. Thus, the evacuation of Bapaume would scarcely form an important military event as the situation stands today. The entire terrain in front of the city has been literally battered to pieces, while the newly established lines in the rear have been strongly fortified for an efficacious defense. Through the evacuation of Grandcourt and Serre the Germans have now gained closer coherence with their new lines.

Only the future developments of the situation can show whether the six sharp attacks launched in quick succession by the British on Feb. 1 were the beginning of a new offensive. It would seem that weather conditions at present would scarcely permit this, but the lively activity which is marking the situation on the entire west front indicates that the phase of preparation is approaching its end.

At Verdun the army of the German Crown Prince made an important advance on the west bank of the Meuse, storming French trenches east of Hill 304 on a front of 1,600 meters. Simultaneous attacks on Dead Man's Hill and

to the northeast of Avocourt brought the desired success.

Offensive actions also took place on the Woevre plain. These, however, assumed no important proportions, though it should be recalled here that a prominent French military expert long ago made the prediction that upon this plain the fate of Verdun would one day be decided.

At the moment of writing comes official news from Berlin of a substantial success achieved by the Crown Prince's right wing in the Champagne, where his storming columns smashed through four lines of strongly defended French positions on Hill 185 and the Maison de Champagne, south of Ripont. More than 800 prisoners were taken, including 28 officers. This unusual ratio between officers and men captured indicates heavy losses on the part of the defenders, as does the large booty reported by the Berlin War Office. Curiously enough, this action has been thus far completely ignored by the French official communiqués. The assumption is justified that no reference to it will be made until the French have succeeded in regaining at least part of the ground lost.

This German success in the Champagne is the most important infantry action reported this year from the west front. Any further successes in this region will necessarily influence the situation at Verdun, since the scene of this latest German offensive movement is only some nine miles from the Paris-Verdun railway. Astonishingly little attention has been paid by allied and neutral military observers to the obvious connection between the Champagne and Verdun positions. Penetration on a large scale of the French Champagne lines and subsequent cutting of the Paris-Verdun railway east of Rheims would mean the isolation of France's Verdun army and of the whole southern chain of French fortresses. For this reason the situation in the Champagne bears particularly attentive watching.

The Situation of Russia

2. RUSSIAN FRONT—The Russian offensive on the Riga front after small successes won in the initial onrush has been stifled in blood and mud amid the frozen swamps of the Aa River. The Muscovite attacks were directed chiefly against the Village of Kalnzem, which is nearest the important German base at Mitau, and, incidentally, nearest to the East Prussian frontier. On Jan. 23 the German counterthrusts set in. They resulted in the expulsion of the enemy from the greater part of the river terrain. All subsequent Russian attempts to regain the lost ground failed under the heaviest losses, according to Berlin. The bitterness of the battles in this region may be seen in the fact that it is impossible in the ice-covered swamp region to dig new trenches, so that the fighting takes place virtually without cover.

Bloody battles are still under way on the Dwina front, midway between Dwinsk and the Narotch Lake, near Driswiaty Lake, as well as north of Kisilim, in Volhynia, and on the Halicz-Stanislau sector, in East Galicia. On these fronts the Teutonic forces have undertaken a series of strong advances which were met by stubborn resistance on the part of the Russians.

Once more the adequacy of the military strength and the resources of Russia have taken the foreground in the discussion of the future conduct of the Entente war, the subject being revived by the mission of General Castelnau, who recently arrived in Petrograd. The assertion has been frequently made of late that the Central Powers with their proclamation of an independent kingdom of Poland "spoiled Russia's peace soup."

In judging the present war situation the question of Russia's preparedness for a continuation of the struggle and her necessity for peace must be considered. Russia's necessity for peace is determined by her dependency upon her allies for munitions and money.

Armed conflict between the United States and Germany would primarily benefit Russia, for all the U-boats of the Central Powers would be unable to prevent wholesale shipments of munitions from America to Russia.

The lively aerial activity along the whole Russian front proves that there, too, preparations for a Spring campaign are under way.

Balkan and Italian Fronts

3. RUMANIAN CAMPAIGN — King Frost is holding back the armies of the Central Powers, having made impossible a continuation of their victorious advance after the Sereth River was reached. During the final stages of mobile warfare on that front Russian resistance had become considerably stiffened, particularly in the battle for Galatz.

In the region of the "three countries' corner," in the northern sector of the wooded Carpathian front, the troops of the Central Powers have lately made a series of successful advances. The battles in the Meste-Canesti sector, on the Jacobeny-Kimpolung railway, may signify the beginning of a renewed offensive in the Rumanian campaign. At present that front runs as follows: West of Polgyes Pass and Gyimes Pass, east of the wooded Carpathians, as far as the region west of Tergu Okna, along the railway running north from Focsani, east of Oitutz Pass to the Putna west of Panciu, then along the Putna to east of Focsani, to the bridgehead Fundeni, Nemoloasa, to the Sereth, along that river as far as Braila, and further across the Danube into the Dobrudja. This line is held by the following armies of the Central Powers: (1) Army of General von Gerok, (right wing of army group Kovess.) (2) Army group Arz von Straussenburg. (3) Army of General Krafft von Delmensingen. (4) Army of General von Morgen, (Falkenhayn's Ninth Army.) (5) Army Koch, (Danube Army.) (6) Army Nezerow, (Dobrudja Army.)

4. ITALIAN FRONT—The Isonzo front is no exception to the sudden flare-up of preparatory activity which is marking all other chief battle lines. Austro-Hungarian troops have attacked the Italian on the Carso Plateau, on the heights to the east and southeast of Goritzia, thus taking the initiative in a reopening of mobile operations. Fighting also has been resumed around Tolmein. Even Italian military experts had predicted that after the conclusion of the Rumanian campaign the forces released on the German side would be sent against Italy.

5. MACEDONIAN FRONT—At the great war council of the Allies in Rome at the beginning of the year, which was attended by Lloyd George and Briand, Italy's backbone was to be stiffened. Particularly, she was to be induced to participate in the fighting in Macedonia. Military necessity had made it imperative for the Entente to render the Greek Army armless, thus removing the menace of a possible enemy in the rear of the Saloniki expedition. Italy has from the outset disapproved of the Entente's policy toward Greece. Rome never trusted the ambitions and aims of Venizelos, and Italy as far as she could stood off from the military events in Macedonia. Since the Rome war council Italian forces have appeared in greater strength on the Macedonian theatre, without, however, relieving the stagnation of the military situation on that front. Here, too, renewed mobility of action has been begun by the Central Powers. The storming of a height to the east of Paralovo defended by Italian troops signifies no exciting military event in itself. However, it gains interesting color by the fact that the attackers were Germans. It had been a long time since German participation in operations on the Macedonian front had been heard of.

6. TIGRIS FRONT—Of the extra European theatres of war the Mesopotamian front has again come into the forefront of war news of late. The British expeditionary army has resumed its advance against Kut-el-Amara, on the road to Bagdad. As far as the military situation in this region can be judged at this time, it appears that the Turks have been driven off from the southern banks of the Tigris. It is more than probable, however, that only advance positions have been abandoned, since the Turkish main forces are concentrated on the northern banks. But these battles undoubtedly will play an important rôle in connection with the expected decisive combats looked for in the coming Spring, since for England success or failure in Mesopotamia means security or menace to the Persian Gulf.

NEUTRAL DIPLOMATS FACING CRISIS

Nils Claus Ihlen
Foreign Minister of Norway
(Bain News Service.)

C. Th. Zahle
Prime Minister of Denmark
(Bain News Service.)

Knut Hammarskjold
Prime Minister of Sweden

Jonkheer J. Loudon
Foreign Minister of Holland
(Bain News Service.)

NEW RUSSIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

N. N. Pokrovsky, Who Succeeds M. Sturmer in the Foreign Office at Petrograd. His First Notable Utterance Was Against Germany's Peace Proposals.

(Photo from Press Illustrating Co.)

[American View]

The Month's Strategic Developments

From January 15 to February 15, 1917

By J. B. W. Gardiner

Formerly Lieutenant Eleventh United States Cavalry

THE prevalence of extreme Winter temperature on all the battle fronts negatived to a great extent all fighting during the last month. Local actions of an unimportant character have been the only indications of activity. The Russian move against the Riga lines, which was just beginning as last month's review was being written, was followed by a heavy countermove on the part of the Germans. Both the Russian and the German efforts, however, proved abortive and soon died out, leaving the situation exactly as it was at the outset. From Riga to the Rumanian front there has been no change in the general situation.

On Feb. 15 the Germans officially reported taking two important heights in Rumania, but the fact remains that the forces confronting each other on that front are at present without essential advantage to either side. There was for a time some sharp fighting along the southern Sereth, where the Russians had retreated across the river and had taken up a position in front of the fortified post of Galatz. Evidently the Russians had reached the line which was intended by the High Command to be held, for the Germans were able to make no headway.

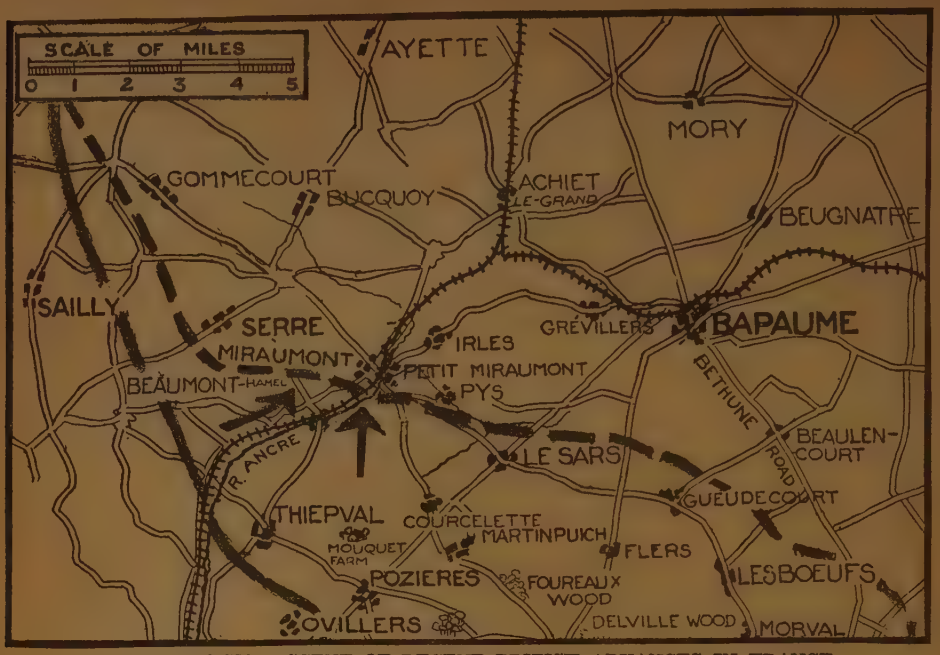
Checked in the south, they turned their attention to the passage through the mountains at Oituz. This is the most important point on the entire Transylvanian frontier at the present time, as through it alone can the positions along the Trotus River, which positions are a northern extension of the Sereth line, be attacked. The mountains are entirely closed north of the Oituz Pass, and between it and the crossing of the Trotus there is not a single passage. If the way through this pass were cleared, therefore, the Germans would be in an excellent position to carry their lines across the Putna to the Trotus and middle Sereth and force this smaller stream, thus flanking the entire line of defense.

Here also, however, the Germans met with a distinct check. The Russians were assisted at what appeared to be a critical time by heavy snows and extreme cold. These, combined with the natural strength of the Russian defenses, finally caused cessation of fighting, so that the long line from Riga to the Danube settled down to do nothing until the weather became more propitious.

British Fighting on the Ancre

On the western front the British alone have been active. Trench raids have been frequent on all sides, but these are for purposes of reconnoissance and involve little fighting. All the fighting that has been done has been along the Ancre in the Somme district. It has been presumed that the battle of the Somme had ended, the presumption being entirely on the part of the Germans. Arguing from their own experience at Verdun they came to the conclusion that the cessation of the fighting there last November meant an allied defeat and a German victory. The two battles, however, have little in common.

Verdun was lost in April. At least by April it was evident that the Germans had been checked and that whatever they had hoped to accomplish had escaped from them. The battle ceased to be fought in July. From July to the end of October is the best fighting weather of the year. Had the Germans not been defeated, had they not seen the futility of carrying the battle further, and, above all, had they not been furnished with an excellent excuse for crying quits by the combined allied attack, the battle could have gone on without hindrance. But they



ANCRE REGION, SCENE OF RECENT BRITISH ADVANCES IN FRANCE

were defeated, and, seeing the opportunity of stopping the attack because of the worldwide distraction caused by the allied offensive, judged that the chance to withdraw was too good to lose.

The situation at the battle of the Somme is in no way to be compared with this situation. In the first place, the Allies had no one objective. There was no strongly fortified point in their front toward which their military aspirations led them. Bapaume was there, also Péronne, but neither of these is of sufficient importance either from a military or a sentimental viewpoint to be considered the final objective of such a titanic effort. And when the fighting ended it was not because the advance of the Allies was checked. On the contrary, the rate of advance with each successive major attack was greater in the final days of the fighting than it was at the beginning. The question was decided for the time being by weather conditions. The whole front had been turned into a sea by heavy rains. The Ancre, instead of being, as in normal times, a stream scarcely larger than a brook, was a wide river, a no man's land between the rival trenches passable only in boats. There was nothing for the Allies to do but suspend operations until the ground would permit the passage of infantry and artillery.

During the last month excessive cold prevailed on the Somme front during almost the entire period. The ground was frozen, as was also the stream itself. This afforded the British an opportunity to continue where they left off last Fall.

It will be remembered that the last effort made on the Somme was a British attack along the Ancre, which resulted in an advance on both sides of the stream and the occupation of Beaucourt and Beaumont Hamel. It was in an extension of this section of the front that the British effort was exerted. Taking first a trench on the south bank of the river, then one on the north bank, the British gradually extended their lines until the town of Grandcourt was almost surrounded. The Germans were placed in a desperate position, and, lest their line of retreat be closed altogether and they be forced back against the stream, they evacuated the town without making a fight to defend it.

The British since Grandcourt fell have been conducting the same sort of operation against Serre. There has been no attempt to break the line, no grand effort such as marked the Fall operations

in this region. It has been nothing more than a steady but uninterrupted creep forward, trench by trench, until a favorable moment for a more definite attack occurs. The result is that while the changes in position are too small to appear on any but a large-scale map, the German position is getting more and more difficult to retain.

The line of advance up the Ancre is the most dangerous that the British could adopt. It draws the noose tighter about the Germans in what still remains of the old salient, and if it continues will throw the British so far in the rear of the German positions south of Hebuterne that a retreat will become necessary. In fact, not a great many more blows will have to be delivered before the Germans are pinched out of the entire salient and the line drawn straight from Arras to Peronne.

Germany's Serious Plight

The most important development of the month, however, has been the action of Germany in what in reality amounts to a declaration of war against all neutrals in issuing her submarine notification. What can be the necessity that forced Germany to this step?

In the first place, German efficiency as exemplified in this war has been misunderstood and in a way misnamed. It was not so much efficiency as preparedness, made with an understanding more acute perhaps than that of the Entente Powers of what the war would mean. But the degree of preparedness which the Germans had reached has now been exceeded by the Allies. In trained and well drilled men they are greatly superior. In guns and shell production they also have the decided advantage.

England today is manufacturing more shells than she and her allies can use. The importance of shells may be readily seen when the various steps in a battle are understood. The first step is the heavy gunfire with high explosive shells. The function of this is to destroy the wire entanglements and demolish the trenches. It does not, however, as a general thing reach the dugouts where the German machine guns are located. As soon as the heavy guns have done their work, the barrage fire is started, usually with shrapnel, the object being the old trenches and the purpose to keep the German gunners in their dugouts until the infantry is upon them. This barrage, or curtain of fire, is kept up until the infantry is not more than twenty-five or fifty yards from the trench, when it is lifted and the infantry go down into the dugouts, hoping to cover the distance before the machine guns can come into play.

While this is going on, the air scouts are busy trying to locate the enemy's artillery. If this cannot be done the chances of winning are much reduced. But, given superiority in shell and ascendency in the air, the end is inescapable. Not only are the Allies superior in shell, but they also control the air. There are actually more men in the British Royal Flying Corps today than there were men in the regular British Army when the war broke out. With these advantages the Germans will have a hard time this Spring in keeping the Allies from shattering their lines and driving them out of France.

But this is only a part. The German people are running very short of other things. Whether it is of food or not, no one knows. It would seem that, in spite of the blockade, it is impossible to force Germany into defeat by hunger. But to starve it in other things besides food is entirely another thing. War demands certain raw materials which Germany does not possess within her own confines nor those of her allies. These can be obtained only through importation, and Germany cannot import. The amount she can get from Holland, Denmark, and Sweden is negligible. Among these supplies that are lacking are cotton for use in the manufacture of high explosives; copper for use in shell manufacture, wool for clothing her soldiers; rubber and fats. All these things Germany must bring into the country, and if her supply is nearing exhaustion, her plight is desperate. But desperation does not pardon her form of lawlessness.

A BRITISH REVIEW

Major Gen. F. B. Maurice of the British War Office stated on Feb. 15 that since the beginning of the new year the trench raids which the British forces have been carrying on have netted a gain in ground to an average depth of three-quarters of a mile over a front of 10,000 yards and the capture of 2,000 Germans, and also have greatly encouraged the British troops. On the debit side of the ledger, General Maurice said, the total losses of the British have not been as great as the number of German prisoners. He added the following:

"We are now capturing Germans of all ages, including both ends of the age limits, from 17 to 60 now being forced into the German Army. While it would not be safe to say that deterioration of the German Army has become general, it can be said that the prisoners show marked evidence of such decline, and the fact that they have abandoned villages without attempting to defend them confirms this impression."

Progress of the War

Recording Campaigns on All Fronts and Collateral Events From January 12, Up to and Including February 18, 1917

GERMAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

On Jan. 31—The United States Government received from Germany a note and memorandum in which she replied to President Wilson's address before the United States Senate on peace, denounced the Allies for their rejection of her peace overtures and for alleged violations of international law and announced that beginning Feb. 1 German submarines would sink without warning any merchant vessel entering a prescribed zone around the coasts of the allied countries, thus repudiating the pledges she had made in her note of May 4, 1916, in reply to a note from the United States on the Sussex case. Under certain conditions one American vessel was to be allowed to pass through the safety zone to and from Falmouth each week. Two days later the German Ambassador was authorized to extend this offer to include any American ship.

On Feb. 3—The United States severed diplomatic relations with Germany. Count von Bernstorff received his passports, Ambassador Gerard was recalled and President Wilson laid the situation before Congress and notified neutrals of the break, expressing the hope that they would find it possible to take similar action. American interests in Germany were put into the hands of the Spanish Minister and German interests in the United States were put into the hands of the Swiss Minister. Steps were taken immediately to protect the country against spies and conspirators, defense measures were rushed in Congress, railroads were prepared for emergencies and plans were made for the mobilization of the country's industries.

On the same day, the Housatonic, an American ship, was sunk by a German submarine off the Scilly Islands. She received full warning, however, and her entire crew was saved.

The American Government demanded the immediate release of the 72 American citizens held as prisoners of war in Germany after being brought to a German port on the Yarrowdale as captives from the crews of merchant ships sunk by a German raider. The German Government announced on Feb. 4 that these men would be released, but as she did not act on her promise Secretary Lansing, acting through the Swiss Minister, made a second demand that they be freed. On Feb. 15 a message from Berlin stated they had been released.

On Feb. 5—The British S. S. Eavestone was sunk without warning and an American negro seaman was killed as the boats which left the sinking vessel were shelled.

Official information was received from the American Minister at Copenhagen that Ambassador Gerard and all Americans, including consular officials, were being detained in Germany pending assurance of fair treatment of Ambassador Bernstorff and the crews of interned German ships. The German Foreign Office asked Ambassador Gerard to reaffirm the treaties of 1799 and 1828, but he refused to act and referred the German officials to Spanish and Swiss intermediaries. It is believed that Germany was influenced by alarmist dispatches concerning the treatment of

German subjects and property in the United States.

On Feb. 10—The Swedish Minister conveyed to the State Department an informal offer from Germany to revive negotiations for the safety of Americans at sea. At the request of Secretary Lansing the suggestion was put in writing. The State Department sent a reply to the Swiss Minister announcing that no discussion was possible until submarine warfare against neutrals was abandoned. Germany later repudiated this offer to negotiate.

Ambassador Gerard left Berlin in safety with his party on Feb. 10 and on Feb. 17 word was received that all American consular officials would be allowed to leave Germany.

The American sailing schooner Lyman M. Law was destroyed off the coast of Sardinia by a submarine, but whether by an Austrian or German boat has not been ascertained.

SUBMARINE BLOCKADE

Between Jan. 13 and Jan. 31 twenty-four merchant ships were sunk in the war zone.

On Jan. 31 the German Government announced to neutral nations that beginning Feb. 1 German submarines would sink without warning any merchant vessel entering a prescribed zone extending from north of the British Isles around into the Mediterranean Sea. A prohibited zone was established for hospital ships on the ground of their alleged misuse by the Allies. Austria-Hungary issued a similar note. As a concession to Holland, the safety zone was later extended off the coast of the Netherlands.

Spain, Brazil, Argentina, Cuba, and Switzerland sent notes of protest and the Chinese Government indorsed the action of the United States in breaking off diplomatic relations.

From Feb. 1 to Feb. 18, 121 vessels of 245,437 tons were sunk in the danger zone. These included the S. S. California on which forty-one lives were lost, the Afric, two Belgian relief ships, the Euphrates, and the Lars Kruse, and two American vessels, the steamship Housatonic and the schooner Lyman M. Law.

CAMPAIGN IN EASTERN EUROPE

Jan. 13—Germans on the Riga front attack Russian lines east of Kalnzem south of Lake Babit.

Jan. 23—German attacks in the Riga region north of Lake Kuggerion repulsed.

Jan. 25-Feb. 4—Indecisive battles on the Kalnzem-Chlok line.

Feb. 7—Russians repulse Teutons on the Beresina River.

Feb. 8—Russians attack Teuton positions near Kirlibaba and capture first-line trench.

Feb. 9—Teutons shell Stanislau.

BALKAN CAMPAIGN

Jan. 12—Teutons capture the town of Laburtea in Rumania; Russians driven back toward the Sereth between Braila and Galatz.

Jan. 13—Bulgarian troops capture a monastery at the junction of the Buzeu and Sereth rivers; Rumanians throw Teutons back on the River Kasino and occupy their trenches.

Jan. 14—Teutonic forces capture the town of Vadeni, six miles southwest of Galatz.

Jan. 15—Bulgarian artillery shells the town of Galatz from the Dobrudja bank of the Danube; Russians repulse Teuton attacks north of Focsani; fighting renewed on the Macedonian front; Vardar bombarded.

Jan. 17—Russians retake Vadeni; Rumanians in the Trotus-Kasino region throw attacking Teuton forces back in disorder.

Jan. 19—Teutons bombard Ocna in Moldavia; Russian attacks north of the Suchitza Valley repulsed.

Jan. 20—Germans take Nanesti on the Sereth River.

Jan. 21—Russians retire across the Sereth River.

Jan. 22—Russians repulsed in attack on German advance lines in the Putna Valley.

Jan. 23—Teutons resume their advance in Dobrudja; Bulgarian forces cross the southern estuary of the Danube near Tultcha.

Jan. 27—Rumanians in Moldavia drive Teutons south of the Kasino and Suchitza Valleys.

Jan. 28—Russians assume the offensive against Austro-German fortified positions on both sides of the Kimpolung-Jacobeni road and break through the Teuton lines along a front of nearly two miles.

Jan. 31—Russians capture Austro-German fortifications east of Jacobeni.

Feb. 8—French occupy Ojani in Macedonia and reach Vestini.

Feb. 13—Teutonic troops take the offensive in the Cerna bend and take an Italian position east of Paralovo.

Feb. 14—Germans recapture two heights east of Jacobeni; Italians recapture greater part of trenches occupied by Germans at Hill 1,050, east of Paralovo.

CAMPAIGN IN WESTERN EUROPE

Jan. 12—British make slight gains north of Beaumont.

Jan. 14—Germans repulsed by British near Guidecourt.

Jan. 15—British raid German lines east of Loos.

Jan. 17—British forces on the Ancre launch successful attack north of Beaucourt.

Jan. 22—Germans repulsed in two attacks on the right bank of the Meuse.

Jan. 23—British make successful raid northeast of Neuville-St. Vaast.

Jan. 26—French, in strong counterattack, drive Germans from positions near Hill 304.

Jan. 27—British on the Somme capture commanding position near Le Transloy; new French attack near Hill 304 repulsed.

Jan. 28—French launch successful attack against German positions between Les Eparges and the Calonne trench.

Jan. 31—French penetrate the first two lines of German trenches in Lorraine, south of Leintrey.

Feb. 2—British make successful raid near Guidecourt.

Feb. 4—British advance 500 yards east of Beaucourt.

Feb. 5—Germans fail in four counterattacks against the new British line east of Beaucourt.

Feb. 7—British force the Germans out of Grandcourt.

Feb. 8—British drive the Germans from a dominating height near Sailly-Saillisel and advance on both banks of the Ancre; French capture German patrol near Bonzee in the Verdun sector and take some prisoners in a surprise raid on the German trenches in the Argonne.

Feb. 12—British occupy 600 yards of German trenches north of Beaucourt.

Feb. 13—British penetrate several hundred yards into Teuton lines east of Souchez.

Feb. 14—British capture strong point southeast of Grandcourt and penetrate to German third line near Arras.

Feb. 16—Germans pierce the Champagne line and make gains south of Ripont.

Feb. 17—British troops on the Ancre capture German positions on a front of about a mile and a half on both sides of the river and carry an important German position north of Baillecourt.

Feb. 18—British capture slopes dominating the villages of Miraumont and Petit Miraumont.

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN

Jan. 19—Austrians bombard Italian lines in the Oppachiasella sector on the Carso front.

Jan. 24—Italians repulse Austrian ski attacks in the Tenale district.

Feb. 12—Italians re-establish their lines east of Gorizia and expel Austrians from captured trenches.

ASIA MINOR

Jan. 15—British take a town on the Shatt-el-Hai River south of Kut-el-Amara.

Jan. 23—British force Turks to evacuate a position east of Kut-el-Amara.

Jan. 26—British consolidate gain of 1,000 yards of Turkish first-line trenches southwest of Kut-el-Amara and positions of Turkish second-line trenches in Mesopotamia.

Jan. 29—British take two and a half miles of Turkish trenches southwest of Kut-el-Amara.

Feb. 1—Turks advance in Persia; occupy Dizabad and approach Sultanabad.

Feb. 3—British advance east and west of Tigris-Hai junction.

Feb. 13—British establish a line across the Tigris bend west of Kut-el-Amara, completely hemming in the Turks.

GERMAN EAST AFRICA

Jan. 26—Germans retire in the direction of Utete and Utembe Lake.

AERIAL RECORD

Italian and French aviators raided Austrian seaplane bases at Trieste and the arsenal and harbor at Pola.

Turkish munitions factories at Bagdad were bombarded by the British.

On the western front French aviators dropped bombs on the military works at Lahr in Baden and on the railway station and barracks at Karlsruhe, and British airmen bombarded Bruges and Ghistelles. The Germans raided Amiens and Dunkirk.

NAVAL RECORD

A Russian squadron, in a raid off the Anatolian coast on Jan. 13, sank forty Turkish food ships.

Two Austrian submarines, the VC-12 and the VT-12, were captured by the Italians.

A German raider operating in the South Atlantic sank or captured twenty-five allied merchant ships. The Yarrowdale, which she armed, was taken into a German port with neutral sailors from the lost vessels on board. These men were detained in Germany as prisoners of war, a step which led to an issue with the United States Government.

On the night of Jan. 22-23 two battles were fought in the North Sea. In one a British torpedo boat was reported sunk. In the other a German destroyer was reported sunk and other torpedo craft scattered. The Germans, however, denied the loss of a ship.

The British auxiliary cruiser Laurentic was sunk by a mine off the coast of Ireland, Jan. 25.

On Jan. 27 the British Admiralty issued a statement declaring an enlarged area of the North Sea dangerous to shipping on account of belligerent operations.

A British cruiser gave battle to three German raiders off the coast of Brazil on Feb. 15. One raider was reported damaged, one probably beached, and the third escaped.

MISCELLANEOUS

Greece has accepted in their entirety the demands of the Allies.

Great Britain, in a note sent to the United States Jan. 13 supplementing the reply of the Entente to President Wilson's peace note, named the bases for a durable peace.

On Jan. 22 President Wilson, in an address before the United States Senate, laid down the principles which he thought should guide the United States in its participation in a peace league.

CURRENT HISTORY CHRONICLED

Dismissal of the German Ambassador

AT four in the afternoon of St. Valentine's day, Feb. 14, 1917, the Scandinavian-American liner Frederik VIII. sailed from New York for Copenhagen, carrying Count Johann H. von Bernstorff and some 200 German diplomatic and consular agents. The departure of Count Bernstorff is a far more serious matter than was the earlier going of Dr. Dumba, the Austro-Hungarian Ambassador. The charges made against the latter referred to him personally; he had ceased to be, in diplomatic language, persona grata to the Government of the United States. His departure made no breach between the United States and Austria-Hungary; his work at Washington was immediately put into the hands of Baron Zwiedinek, and Count Tarnowski von Tarnow was, in course of time, appointed as his successor and accepted by the Government of the United States, though conditions which have arisen since that acceptance have, so far, prevented the presentation of his credentials from the Emperor Charles.

But the departure of Count Bernstorff is a censure not of the person of the Ambassador, but of his Government; no Chargé d'Affaires takes his place. The German Embassy is closed. The cessation of direct relations is complete, though indirect relations are still possible through Dr. Ritter, the diplomatic representative of Switzerland. Yet, within the last two years, there has been sharp criticism of Count Bernstorff's personal methods. His official warning concerning the Lusitania might easily have caused a breach. The activities of the German military and naval attachés, who are technically independent of the embassy, since they report to the German War Office and Admiralty, not to the Foreign Minister, led to their own dismissal, and might easily have involved Count Bernstorff also. But the strongest feeling was, perhaps, aroused by the fact that he was able instantly to stop all outrages against munition plants.

On Feb. 17 Captain Polack of the German steamship Kronprincessin Cecilie testified in a Federal Court hearing for the sale of the vessel that the day the new German submarine order was promulgated and three days before the severance of relations he had been ordered by an official of the German Embassy to disable the steamship so that the United States Government could make no use of it in the event of hostilities. This is strong evidence that the German Ambassador expected the break and was not loath to impugn the fairness of our Government if war should ensue.

* * *

Cannons on Liners

THE question whether liners and merchant ships should carry guns for defense against unlawful attacks seems to have entered its modern phase when, on March 27, 1913, a year and four months before the beginning of the world war, Winston Churchill made a speech in the House of Commons upon the navy estimates, in which he announced that the British Admiralty proposed to encourage ship owners in the British Isles to provide for the defense of their vessels in time of war by lending them guns, furnishing them with ammunition and training crews for them, provided that the ship owners would pay for the necessary structural alterations in their ships. Winston Churchill's idea, which had the support of Mr. Asquith's Cabinet, was not, apparently, to arm merchant ships for aggressive action in time of war, but rather to enable the larger merchantmen to protect themselves against attacks by warships, whether surface craft or submarines. A very clear distinction must be drawn between purely defensive action of this kind and the creation of a volunteer fleet like that, for example, of Russia, where merchant ships are built with the intention of turning them into auxiliary cruisers in time of war, as was done with vessels of the American Line in the war between the United States and Spain, in 1898. Merchant ships commissioned as auxiliary

warships lose their immunities; but it is held by most maritime powers, including England and the United States, that this is not the case with liners and other ships armed solely for defensive purposes. The question what exactly constitutes defensive action has not, however, been definitely settled.

* * *

The Leak Investigation

WHEN CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE went to press in February the Congressional investigation was in progress to ascertain whether any Government officials had given advance information to stock operators of the proposed peace proposals of President Wilson, the announcement of which caused a violent break in the stock markets. A number of hearings were held and much testimony adduced, but nothing at all was revealed to confirm the gossip spread by Thomas Lawson and others which reflected on high Government officials. The only fact adduced was that two newspaper correspondents at Washington, who had learned from other journalists that President Wilson intended to present a peace proposal, broke faith and communicated the fact to certain brokers who took advantage of the news to notify their customers, but there was nothing shown to indicate that any public official profited in any way thereby.

* * *

Parallel of 1917 and 1812

PRESIDENT JAMES MADISON on June 1, 1812, sent a special message to Congress which is of peculiar interest now because of its startling applicability to the situation between the United States and Germany when President Wilson dismissed the German Ambassador. In his message President Madison said:

> Under pretended blockades, without the presence of an adequate force and sometimes without the practicability of applying one, our commerce has been plundered in every sea, the great staples of our country have been cut off from their legitimate markets, and a destructive blow aimed at our agricultural and maritime interests. * * *
>
> It might at least have been expected that an enlightened nation, if less urged by moral obligations or invited by friendly dispositions on the part of the United States, would have found its true interest alone a sufficient motive to respect their rights and their tranquillity on the high seas. * * *
>
> Other counsels have prevailed. Our moderation and conciliation have had no other effect than to encourage perseverance and to enlarge pretensions. We behold our seafaring citizens still the daily victims of lawless violence, committed on the great common and high way of nations, even within sight of the country which owes them protection. We behold our vessels, freighted with the products of our soil and industry, or returning with the honest proceeds of them, wrested from their lawful destinations * * * whilst arguments are employed in support of these aggressions which have no foundation but in a principle equally supporting a claim to regulate our external commerce in all cases whatsoever.

In summing up "these progressive usurpations and these accumulating wrongs," he said:

> We behold, in fine, on the side of Great Britain, a state of war against the United States, and on the side of the United States a state of peace toward Great Britain.

On June 18, 1812, Congress declared war against Great Britain.

* * *

American Troops Evacuate Mexico

GENERAL PERSHING and his 12,000 American regulars withdrew from Mexican territory in February after a stay of eleven months. The raid by Villa and his followers on Columbus, N. M., occurred March 9, 1916; American troops crossed the border in pursuit—over the protest of Carranza, the de facto President—on March 15, 1916. The expeditionary column was in command of General Pershing and pursued Villa's fleeing forces far into Mexico, making final camp near Parral, 300 miles south of the border. The announcement of the order for withdrawal was made public Jan. 28, 1917, and the final evacuation occurred on Feb. 5.

The withdrawal was made without any agreement with the Carranza de facto Government. On Jan. 30 the United States decided to grant Carranza full recognition and Ambassador Henry P. Fletcher was ordered to Mexico City at once; when his credentials are presented complete diplomatic intercourse between the two Governments, which was severed in 1914, will be restored. Ignacio Bonillas, Secretary of Communications in the Mexican Government, has been appointed

Mexican Ambassador to the United States in succession to the former Ambassador-designate, Eliseo Arredondo; Senora Bonillas is an American, the sister of former Governor Safford of Arizona.

A protocol was agreed upon at Atlantic City by the American-Mexican Joint Commission on Nov. 24, 1916, after several months of deliberation, but was rejected by General Carranza, leaving the border question still unsettled. Some irritation was caused on Feb. 12 by General Carranza's action in sending an identic note to all the neutrals on both American continents calling upon them to cease the shipment of munitions and contraband to the European belligerents —as an effective measure to bring about peace. It was thought at first that this was instigated by German intrigue to embarrass the United States, but it is now ascribed to a desire on Carranza's part to make himself conspicuous. The suggestion has not been seriously considered anywhere.

Mexican bandits resumed outlawry on the border on Feb. 16, and three Americans were murdered. The United States border cavalry patrol was ordered to prepare again to cross the lines to capture the murderers unless the Mexican authorities took effective measures to do so.

* * *

Revolt in Cuba

A SPORADIC revolt broke out in Cuba during the first ten days of February, a sequel to the inconclusive Presidential election which occurred in November, 1916.

The second balloting to determine the result of the election occurred in Santa Clara Province Feb. 14. Prior to this vote a conspiracy was instigated by certain Liberals, having for its aim the kidnapping or assassination of President Menocal, the Conservative President, who was seeking re-election. The purpose of the Liberals was to place Vice President Varona in the Presidential chair before the second balloting occurred; the Liberal candidate is Alfredo Zayas. There was some fighting at Havana and considerable at Santiago, the capital of Santa Clara Province. It was reported that the revolutionists had seized that city; a number of Liberal leaders were killed in the conflicts.

The Government of the United States, by the terms of the Platt amendment, has authority to intervene in the affairs of Cuba to preserve order. In accordance therewith the United States Government granted the request of President Menocal to sell Cuba 10,000 rifles and 5,000,000 rounds of ammunition, and on Feb. 14 caused official notice to be posted throughout the disturbed districts that no Government set up by revolution would be recognized by the United States. It was strongly intimated, besides, that the United States would intervene to crush the rebellion if the disorders continued. The effect of this notice was very disquieting to the rebel leaders, and the uprising was thought to be pretty well quelled a few days later. The vote in Santa Clara Province was said to favor the Conservative President, Menocal.

* * *

The Most Recent Airplane Activities

A SENTENCE just published in England has a very Olympian ring: "By the Summer (of 1916) we were more supreme aloft than we had ever been, and when the Somme offensive began we were practically able to do as we liked in the clouds." Jupiter could hardly say more. But there seems to be justification for the boast in the reports of air fighting from the lines in France, and especially in the description of what is practically a new method of warfare when, during infantry attacks, the men are in fact led not by their regimental and company commanders, but by an airman, generally a Lieutenant, in a rapid plane 1,000 feet up in the air. A new development of signaling makes this possible; and it is evident that at that height the air guide can easily watch the grouping of the enemy, point out weak and ill-defended trench sections, indicate ambushes, the emplacements of machine guns and the most advantageous line of approach.

All this means victory, but it obviously means extreme risk for the airman at such a low elevation; others, equally

self-devoted, must be ready instantly to take his place if he is brought down by enemy anti-aircraft guns. To meet this allied superiority in the air the Germans have developed new machines. Late last year they brought into action a small, single-seated Halberstadt biplane, with a 220 horse-power Benx engine and a speed of 120 miles an hour, or two miles a minute. This machine had a climbing power of 1,000 feet a minute, or a vertical mile in five minutes.

But even this has just been superseded by the new German Roland biplane, which is peculiar in having the fuselage —the shuttle-shaped body—completely inclosed, so that it looks exactly like a winged submarine. The pilot and gunner are seated within this chrysalis-like shell, the pilot in front, steering through windows cut in the sides, top and floor of the body, while the gunner-observer, also liberally supplied with windows, sits behind.

* * *

Song Birds and Gun Fire

AN astounding description of the presence and entire serenity of song birds on the battlefields of Flanders comes from Major Allan Brooks, who was so startled by the anomaly that he lapsed into a striking Hibernicism to express his wonder: "The effect of cannon fire on birds is amazing; almost without exception they absolutely disregard it." Oddly enough, the first birds he mentions are the symbols of peace; wood pigeons and turtle doves are abundant everywhere along the firing line, while thrushes, blackbirds, and larks are fairly common. These blackbirds are in reality thrushes, black velvet in plumage, with orange bills; in early Spring they began to sing in the trees that lined the Yser; on a sudden hundreds of guns of every calibre burst into a terrific and continuous cannonade; when, after three hours, there was a sudden and complete cessation of gunfire, the first thing that the reeling senses realized was that the blackbirds were still serenely fluting away; apparently, they had never ceased. On another occasion Major Brooks was listening to the rich gurglings and chucklings of a nightingale which he had located with his glasses, when the morning calm was shattered by a burst of rifle fire close by; the retiring and elusive bird paid no attention, nor did he seek a lower or less conspicuous perch. An unruffled cuckoo called continuously on some nearby willows and crested larks rose one after the other, sometimes from the close vicinity of a bursting shell, singing serenely in the azure, as if there were nothing to mar a perfect day. The only bird perturbed was a green sandpiper that was picking up a precarious living in the stagnant water of the shell craters. When shells burst too close to him he sprang into the air and circled about, but he always returned a minute or two later. From Saloniki comes a charming description of a stork that has made friends with the airplanes and invariably flies forth to greet and accompany them, when they return from a reconnoissance.

* * *

Financial Conditions in Germany

THE break in diplomatic relations between the United States and Germany, with the consequent withdrawal of most of the correspondents of American newspapers from Germany, and the likelihood that for some time information regarding conditions there will be meagre, adds interest to the view of one correspondent, who left Berlin at the same time as the American Ambassador. This correspondent reports that Germany is now living under such abnormal conditions that business in the ordinary sense can hardly be said to exist. Practically all industries are dominated by the war.

The great German iron industry, for example, has become almost a department of the Government. Prices underwent a final sharp advance last Autumn, and were then fixed through an understanding with the Government, which is now almost the sole buyer. Private customers obtain little iron, and exports have been suspended for months. The coal trade is also made subservient to war purposes, so far as is possible, and private consumers are compelled to meet their requirements with minimum quantities, in order that war industries and

railroads may have ample supplies. Schools, theatres, and other public institutions in Berlin are temporarily closed for lack of coal.

Other industries, such as textiles and chemicals, are also largely dominated by the war. Entire branches have been shut down or sharply restricted, because they do not minister to the requirements of the war, but those which supply military needs are working to their utmost capacity. There is great activity in the shipyards, many of which are turning out submarines. The sixth war loan, due in March, has not yet been announced.

* * *

Greece, Italy, and Saloniki

IT is now clear that one of the main purposes of Entente pressure upon Greece was the wish to secure a land road for a part of the distance between Italian ports like Brindisi and Otranto and the allied lines at Saloniki to escape from the dangers of submarines known to be lurking off the capes of the Morea —the mulberry leaf-shaped peninsula of Southern Greece. And this route became the more important because of the co-operation of Italy, resulting from the recent conference at Rome. The acceptance of this plan has not been pleasant for Greece, since she and Italy are jealous rivals for the possession of Epirus —old Greek territory, but also old Roman territory—which Italy seeks in her plan to make the Adriatic an Italian lake.

On the Saloniki front there has been sharp fighting between the English on the Struma River—the most easterly division of that front—and a mixed force of Bulgarians and Turks, the Bulgarian forces having been badly cut up by the British. There is a certain anomaly in this, since England is the traditional friend of Bulgaria. Gladstone's whirlwind speeches on the Bulgarian atrocities inflicted by the Turks led to the fall of Beaconsfield and his pro-Turkish policy, to which England owes her possession of the Island of Cyprus, offered not long ago to Greece if she would enter the war on the Entente side.

England held Turkey back in 1885, when Eastern Rumelia revolted and was incorporated in Bulgaria, and there have been many English admirers of Stambuloff, the strongest personality Bulgaria has yet produced; Englishmen who warmly sympathized with Stambuloff's violent anti-Russian policy. Among the Entente Powers, Russia has also been traditionally friendly to Bulgaria, though Stambuloff and King Ferdinand, whom Stambuloff put on the Bulgarian throne, did all in their power to alienate Russia. Yet the old bond between the two countries is clearly shown by the fact that the famous Bulgarian General, Radko Dmitrieff, commands the Russian armies on the Riga sector.

* * *

Rumors of the Grand Duke's Return

FROM Russia and Rumania there have been renewed reports that the Grand Duke Nicolai Nicolaievitch has come back from Armenia and the Caucasus, where he added Erzerum and Trebizond to his laurels, and is now in supreme command of the combined Russian and Armenian armies operating in Southern Galicia, the wooded Carpathians, Bukowina, and Moldavia; approximately from opposite Lemberg to the River Sereth. It is said that one reason for his return is the declared unwillingness of King Ferdinand of Rumania to take orders from General Brusiloff, who has held supreme command along this line, on the ground that Ferdinand, being of royal blood, a Hohenzollern of the senior line, cannot take orders from a commander not of royal blood. But since the Grand Duke is a grandson of the Emperor Nicholas I., no such barrier exists with him in command.

A practical compromise would seem to have been reached in this way, which will retain in Brusiloff's hands the actual strategy of the campaign while conserving Rumanian etiquette. A point of great interest in this arrangement is that a very similar situation existed between the father of the Grand Duke and the cousin of King Ferdinand in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877. At first Russia sent an army into Turkey under the command of the elder Nicolai Nicolaievitch, son of the Emperor Nicholas and father of the present Grand Duke; too

small to do the work required of it, this army was held up for months at Plevna. Russia then begged Rumania to enter the war with her compact, effective army, and King Carol of Rumania, cousin of the present King, accepting this proposal, was put in joint command of the combined Russian and Rumanian armies before Plevna, which was soon after captured.

This opened the way across the snow-bound Balkan Mountains to Adrianople and up to the walls of Constantinople, where Russia was checked by Beaconsfield's antagonism, a British fleet practically defending Constantinople. The present situation offers striking contrasts.

* * *

Lord Beresford on Submarines

ADMIRAL BARON BERESFORD, a younger son of the Marquis of Waterford, who was recently raised to the peerage, was long known in the House of Commons, if not as a pessimist, at least as a very sharp critic of the British Admiralty—a keen and well-informed critic, who had made his own mark in naval warfare. Perhaps his elevation has mellowed him, for, speaking in the House of Lords in the middle of February, he was much more optimistic. "We have lost, since the beginning of the war," he said, "4,000,000 tons of shipping. That is a fact which the public should know, but it is not nearly as serious as it appears. We have made up the loss very considerably. Three million tons which have been lost have been more or less adequately filled. There is not the slightest necessity for panic. We have done remarkably well, and shall do a great deal better in future, but we have had time to face it and it is to that time I desire to call attention."

The Earl of Lytton, replying for the Admiralty, said the Government would be glad if it were possible to take the public entirely into its confidence, but that that would involve imparting information to the enemy, and the Admiralty was determined that the Germans should have that information by experience and not through questions in Parliament. Lord Curzon announced that Admiral Jellicoe and those who have been with him were "not dissatisfied" with what had been done, even in the preceding fortnight. They were "not dissatisfied" with the number of German submarines that would never return to their home bases.

A tragic incident which befell the crew of the torpedoed Storskog, who had been taken on the deck of the submarine which sank their ship, is reported in this connection. Another vessel was sighted. The U-boat promptly submerged and left the crew of the Storskog floundering in the water. Only the chief officer and carpenter were able to make their way back to their own boat and were later picked up.

* * *

The National Guard

IN view of the danger of war the existing status of the State Militia of the United States under present laws is interesting. The total strength of the organized militia of all the States, including both enlisted men and officers, was, as reported by officers making Federal inspections in 1916, January to March, 132,194. The strength of the National Guard in Federal service on Sept. 30, 1916, was 143,704. The official designation of the organized militia in all the States but Massachusetts, Delaware, and Virginia has been the National Guard. Nevada has had no organized militia. The new army law provides that:

> The militia of the United States shall consist of all able-bodied male citizens of the United States, and all other able-bodied males who have or shall have declared their intention to become citizens of the United States, who shall be more than 18 years of age, and, except as hereinafter provided, not more than 45 years of age, and said militia shall be divided into three classes, the National Guard, the Naval Militia, and the unorganized militia. The National Guard shall consist of the regularly enlisted militia between the ages of 18 and 45, and of commissioned officers between the ages of 21 and 64 years.

The law further provides that the number of enlisted men of the National Guard shall be increased each year in the proportion of not less than 50 per cent., until a total peace strength of not less than 800 enlisted men for each Senator

and Representative in Congress shall have been reached.

Various propositions have been submitted to Congress looking to universal military training for six months to one year of youths between 19 and 24 years of age, but it is not likely that any measure will be enacted until the new Congress convenes after March 4.

* * *

Casualties in January

DURING January, 1917, the British casualties were as follows:

	Officers.	Men.
Killed	181	5,014
Died of wounds	101	3,635
Wounded	665	24,125
Prisoners	5	408

The casualty figures for the five months ending with January, 1917, were as follows respectively:

	Officers.	Men.
September	5,408	113,780
October	4,366	102,240
November	2,312	72,479
December	953	39,711
January, 1917	963	33,204
Total, five months	14,002	361,614

The January proportion of deaths to total casualties was slightly over one-fifth; if the same proportion is maintained, the actual deaths in the five months were 86,391.

German official reports show that in January, 1917, exclusive of colonial troops, the casualties totaled 77,534 officers and men—15,906 killed, 11,874 missing, 1,645 prisoners, 48,109 wounded, which brings the grand total as reported by Germany since the war began to 4,087,692 casualties, 988,329 killed or died of wounds and sickness.

* * *

Renewed Fighting in Mesopotamia

AFTER many months, Kut-el-Amara, the bend of the Tigris, in which General Townshend's mixed British and Indian force was surrounded and compelled to surrender by the Turks, has once again become the scene of vigorous fighting. The cold season, almost prohibitive on the French, Italian, and Russian fronts, is in hot Mesopotamia the great opportunity. On Feb. 13 it was announced that the British forces on the Tigris front had completely surrounded the Turkish troops west of Kut-el-Amara; after sweeping the Turks back to their last line of trenches in the Dahra bend, west of Kut and between the licorice factory, formerly occupied by General Townshend, and the Shumren bend, the British troops pressed forward for more than a mile across the Dahra bend. By Sunday evening, Feb. 11, the British line had been established across the bend from bank to bank on a frontage of 5,500 yards—three miles—and the Turks were completely hemmed in. The distance covered in the advance varied from 800 yards on the British right to 2,000 yards on the left. It is precisely in a position of this kind that the Turks fight best, as the Russians learned at Plevna in the Autumn of 1877; but unless they are relieved by a strong force within a very short time, it would seem probable that the Turkish Tigris army will soon be compelled to surrender, thus in a sense canceling General Townshend's defeat. The main importance of this movement seems to be to draw Turkish forces away from other points—Armenia, Suez, Dobrudja—and to prevent a Teuton-Turkish movement into Persia.

* * *

New British Election Laws

THE Electoral Reform Conference of England has presented its recommendations to Parliament and it is believed that these will be enacted into law. Briefly the provisions are as follows: Voters must register every six months, except in Ireland. Every "person of full age" who occupies premises worth as much as $50 a year rent shall be eligible to vote for Parliament; a person shall not vote in more than one constituency, except that one additional vote is granted in a second constituency as a university voter. The present number of House of Commons members is unchanged, the standard unit being 70,000 population per member.

The conference decided by a majority that some measure of woman suffrage should be conferred. A majority of the conference was also of opinion that if Parliament should decide to accept the principle, the most practical form would

be to confer the vote in the terms of the following resolution:

33. Any woman on the Local Government Register who has attained a specified age, and the wife of any man who is on that Register if she has attained that age, shall be entitled to be registered and to vote as a Parliamentary elector.

Various ages were discussed, of which 30 and 35 received most favor.

The conference further resolved that if Parliament decides to enfranchise women, a woman of the specified age, who is a graduate of any university having Parliamentary representation, shall be entitled to vote as a university elector.

* * *

A Card From the Venizelos Delegate to the United States

New York, Feb. 12, 1917.

Editor Current History Magazine:

I take the liberty to point out a few inaccuracies which I noted in The Editorial Survey of the February number of your excellent and most comprehensive Current History Magauine.

On Page 776 ("The Isles of Greece") it is stated that "Crete has recently declared itself independent of Greece." Heroic Crete has not declared itself independent of Greece, but has adhered among the first to the movement of Venizelos, thus forming a part of the three-quarters of Greece governed by the truly Greek National Government, the Provisional Government of Saloniki.

It is also stated that the Islands of Imbroa and Tenedos, captured by the Greek fleet in the Balkan war of 1912, were returned to Turkey. I beg to state that this is not correct. These islands were not returned to Turkey, although that country demanded them, without, however, being willing to comply with other obligations imposed upon her by the treaties of London and Athens of 1913. Both these islands form now a part of Greece governed by the Provisional Government of Saloniki.

The Islands Mitylene, Chios, and Samos are by no means under Turkish sovereignity. They were liberated by the Greek fleet in the Balkan war, and have ever since formed a part of Greece. These islands, with many others, including Cerigo, having adhered to the National Government from the beginning of this movement, are also governed by the Provisional Government of Saloniki.

The Island of Rhodes, the population of which is entirely Greek, at all times wishing union with the mother country, is not under Turkish sovereignity. This island was occupied by Italy during the Turko-Italian war.

Trusting that, for the sake of history, you will have the goodness to make an adequate correction of the above in your next number.

P. ARAVANTINOS,
Representing the Greek Provisional Government.

* * *

Arnold Bennett Corrected

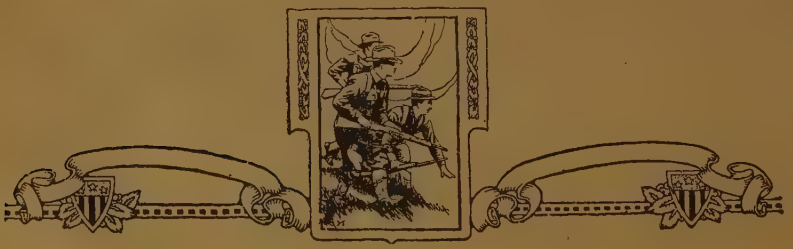
Editor Current History Magazine:

My attention has been called to an article in the July number of Current History entitled "The Inside of the Irish Revolt," by Arnold Bennett, in the course of which Mr. Bennett makes the following statement: "Thus the late Sheehy Skeffington, whose pacifism strangely has been accepted as axiomatic by all the British newspapers, speaking at the centenary banquet of the John Mitchell Club, appealed at great length for money to buy arms with which to fight the British Government when the time came."

I had the honor to preside as toastmaster at the centenary banquet of the John Mitchell Club of Chicago, given at the Hotel Sherman, Chicago, on Thursday evening, Dec. 2, 1915, at which Mr. Skeffington was the guest of honor. It was the only appearance Mr. Skeffington made that year before a club of that name. At that dinner Mr. Skeffington made no appeal in any manner or form "for money to buy arms to fight the British Government when the time came."

I respectfully request that you give this communication publicity in the March number of Current History as a matter of justice to the memory of a man whose nature revolted at the thought of bloodshed in any form or for any cause.

Chicago, Ill. JOHN A. McGARRY.



NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS NOW FIGHTING FOR CANADA ON THE FRENCH FRONT

Canada's Work in the World War

By Francis J. Dickie
of London, Ontario

IN its leading editorial on Oct. 10, protesting against the activity of a German submarine and the sinking of the Red Cross liner Stephano in American waters, a New York newspaper said in part: "This is American territory—this North American Continent—and, thank God! the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine lives in American hearts. Can any one doubt that the United States would rise in its might to repel a Prussian invasion of Canada?"

That one vainglorious, though doubtless well-intentioned line, "Can any one doubt that the United States would rise in its might to repel a Prussian invasion of Canada?" were it not pathetic, would be humorous; for at the very moment it was written, Canada, through an energy and action almost unbelievable in a country of only 8,075,000 population, had raised an army of 368,000 men; an army three times that of the United States, a country with thirteen times the population, a country which, though constantly faced for twenty-five months with the danger of having to enter a world war, has remained criminally inactive in the way of even adequately preparing for the always looming possibility of conflict. As it now stands, it is the Dominion of Canada which is on a war basis to come to the defense of the United States, instead of vice versa, as the newspaper editor suggested.

Let us look at Canada's army statistics. To Jan. 15, 1917, 387,508 men had enlisted in her army.

The following table, based on the last Dominion census of 1911, will give an idea of what this number means in proportion to the population:

Province.	No. Men Canadian Born.	No. Men British Born.	No. Men Foreign Born.	No. Men Eligible for Service.	Govt. Apportionment of Men from the Various Provinces.	No. Men Enlisted to Jan. 15, 1917.
Prince Edward Island	16,592	157	119	16,868		
Nova Scotia	85,909	8,437	4,147	98,494	63,000	35,158
New Brunswick	64,188	2,371	2,151	68,710		
Quebec	341,783	23,066	26,028	390,897	139,000	42,152
Ontario	410,896	106,997	64,353	582,246	185,000	159,667
Manitoba	149,868	39,806	33,088	122,762	60,000	77,775
Saskatchewan	61,193	38,871	58,843	158,907		
Alberta	37,446	31,958	53,515	122,915	26,000	34,659
British Columbia	41,508	54,718	62,046	115,272	27,000	38,097
Total	1,209,383	306,381	304,290	1,677,071	500,000	387,508

CANADIAN FIELD KITCHEN, FROM WHICH HOT MEALS ARE SERVED TO SOLDIERS ON THE MARCH

It will be noticed that the Government apportionment of men draws most heavily upon the older provinces, which have the greatest number of towns and cities. While there is no official reason given for this, it is doubtless because Canada is pre-eminently an agricultural country, with the fishing, lumbering, and mining industries close seconds. In the older settlements, with their great cities, existed a male population, most of which could be better spared than the farmers, miners, fishermen, and lumber workers, who existed in the most westerly provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. Yet, sparse as was the population of these latter provinces, it will be noted that they supplied more than their share of men as allotted by the Government — an all-around better per capita enlistemnt than the older eastern provinces.

In addition to her regular army of the above number, Canada has given 9,782 doctors, nurses, and chemists; has supplied 200 aviators; gave well drillers to aid in the ill-fated Gallipoli expedition; advanced to Russia and operated two giant ice-breaker boats, by which Russia was able to keep open her most important port of Archangel. Canada to April 1, 1916, had supplied 48,000 horses—8,000 to France, 15,000 to Britain, and 25,000 for her own army use.

Field Kitchens a Success

Canadian manufacturers brought to completion, after years of experience, one of the most important of war weapons—a field kitchen. This traveling cookhouse can feed 500 men an hour. By means of specially fitted compartments—on the thermos bottle system—liquids and solid food can be kept hot or cold for a period of twelve to twenty-four hours. What a boon this is to men upon the battlefield can be easily imagined. The kitchen is also fitted with a small sniping gun for defense, which can be used to good effect. When the first detachment of the Canadian expeditionary force embarked near Halifax on Sept. 26, 1914, it was 33,000 strong. In six short weeks this unprepared and unmilitant country armed, equipped, and mobilized at the seaboard an army of this size. With these regiments went perfect hospital units and half a hundred of the above-mentioned field kitchens, a record in efficient mobilization perhaps never

equaled in the history of the world. Certainly the sailing of these 33,000 men all at one time was a record event, for this was then the greatest armed force that had ever embarked simultaneously in the history of the world.

When the National Guard regiments of the United States were rushed to the Mexican border they carried three Canadian "McClary field kitchens," and so indispensable did they prove that fifteen more are now being built in Canada for American military use. Two hundred are in use by the Canadian Army.

Sources of Canada's Armies

Of the 387,508 men enlisted in the Canadian Army to Jan. 15, 1917, 67,890 were numbered as casualties to Jan. 11. Of these 48,454 were wounded, 10,854 killed in action, 4,010 died of wounds, 1,108 are listed as dead, 2,970 as missing, and 494 as dead of illness. There are still 310,000 effectives. Of this number 258,000 have gone overseas, 100,000 of which are now on the firing line, another 100,000 have received from one to ten months' training in Canada, and will be moved to England and the front during the Winter and Spring.

From the foregoing table it will be seen that out of a total available fighting force of 1,677,071 men, 387,508 have enlisted, or practically a third of the whole.

It will be particularly noticed that from out of the second largest number of available men—a population of 390,000 men in Quebec—only a meagre 42,152 enlisted. This makes the response of the other provinces of a much greater ratio. It must also be taken into consideration that Canada is pre-eminently an agricultural country, with the mining, lumbering, fishing, and fur trading industries next in order. The four occupations first mentioned are particularly necessary in the present crisis, and for their maintenance a very large number of physically fit males are required. While no accurate figures regarding the men engaged in these four occupations have been compiled since 1911, the figures of that year are here given, with an estimate for the present year based upon the increase in population during the last five years, and the increased transportation and other facilities which have tended to enlarge them during that time:

	Number of Workers in 1911.	in *1916.
Agriculture	933,735	1,942,000
Mining	62,767	240,000
Fishing	34,812	100,000
Lumbering	42,914	100,000
Total	1,074,228	2,382,000

*Approximate.

The estimate for 1916 is very conservative, yet we find that there are some 2,382,000 who ought to be left at home to carry on these most important industries. The total male population between 18 and 45, according to the census of 1911, was 1,723,046. But since that time there has been immigration to the extent of 1,625,952. While nothing exact can be given in the way of figures, owing to the fact that no census has been taken since 1911, a pretty close approximate can be gathered. Allowing 1,000,000 of that immigration to be males, which is about correct, we have 2,700,000 men available for war. Added to this would be easily another million boys who were not taken in 1911, but who have in the past five years reached maturity.

Total of Military Age

Thus on a fair basis of reckoning we had 3,700,000 men of military age in Canada when the war broke out. Of these there were 300,000 of German, Austrian, Turkish, and other enemy nationalities residing in the Dominion, leaving a balance of 3,400,000. The Province of Quebec is 97,000 men short of her allotment to date, leaving 3,303,000 on call. Of this number 2,382,000 were required to carry on the work of agriculture, mining, fishing, and lumbering, as previously shown in the table. From this we have left on call a balance of 921,000, without making any allowance for a certain percentage unfitted through medical reasons. One-tenth is a very low estimate on this score; say the rejections were 100,000 men. (The percentage has been very high, particularly in the latter stages of recruiting.) There are still left 920,000.

However, still to be taken into consid-

eration are railroad operatives and men absolutely necessary to the continuance of business and commercial life in general. Some 250,000 such men are engaged in all lines of railroading, while another 100,000 men is a small number to carry on other forms of industry. In addition, Canada is now operating 422 munition factories requiring a further 40,000 men. So a further total of 390,000 men is absolutely necessary to the welfare of the country. Subtracting this from 920,000, there are still 600,000 men available.

Of this number 387,000 had enlisted up to Jan. 15, 1917. Canada has promised 500,000 men, and there seems no reason to fear that she will not keep her agreement. The total number of recruits for the first half of January, 1917, was 3,536, an improvement of 1,026 over the corresponding period in December. This slight speeding up is attributed to the National Service campaign and the unemployment following the Christmas rush. However, as compared with the January, 1916, total of 29,212, the later one is strikingly small, showing how much the war has affected Canada's willing man power in twelve months' time.

Caring for Soldiers' Families

Canada's army, so far as the rank and file are concerned, is the best paid in the world, while pay for commissioned officers is superior to most of the nations. In addition, the dependents left at home by the fighting men are taken care of in a manner unparalleled in the history of war. To the wife of every private is paid $20 per month, and $5 for every child. This money, known as "separation allowance," comes entirely out of the Government's coffers, and runs into several million dollars a month.

In addition, a special fund collected by public subscription takes care of the wives and children of the most needy privates. This, known as the Patriotic Fund, pays a maximum of $20 and a minimum of $5 to soldiers' wives, according to their circumstances. Each child gets $5 from this fund. To this fund some $16,000,000 had been subscribed through private sources in the Dominion. The following table gives the whole at a glance, including the pension fund, one of the most equitable in the world. Eight thousand Canadians are now drawing pensions, and before the year is over this will be increased to well over the 10,000 mark. The table is as follows. The principal officers only are taken account of here:

Rank.	Pay Per Day.	Pension.	Wife Allow.	Child Allow.
Private	$1.10	$480	$20	$5
Sergeant	1.50	680	25	5
Lieutenant	2.60	720	30	5
Captain	3.00	1,000	35	5
Major	5.00	1,260	40	5
Lieut. Colonel	7.00	1,890	60	5

And now, after two years of war, is the Canadian Army becoming truly Canadian. During the early part of the struggle the preponderance of enlistment in the Dominion was of men from Great Britain, immigrants in the last decade. Since that time, however, a complete change has taken place; and, though no full later compilation has been issued by the military authorities, the nationality statements in various quarters show an enlistment of Canadian-born of from 75 to 90 per cent. of the whole.

Though these men are born of many breeds and their Canadian origin is only of three to five generations, you still see in them—in their features, carriage, customs, and talk—that indefinable but unmistakable something that spells a new race. Seeing a group of these men, you

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The following figures of nationalities, churches, lodges, and trade unions are given, though compiled to March, 1916:

NATIONALITY		RELIGIONS		LODGES AND UNIONS	
English	103,483	English Church	124,688	Masons	18,000
Scotch	36,685	Presbyterian	63,146	Orangemen (Ontario only)	6,742
Irish	14,419	Catholic	32,836	Trade unions	12,411
Welsh	2,050	Methodist	18,418		
Canadian	78,635	Baptist	10,525		
Other nations	27,839	Jewish	343		
		Other denominations	13,155		

would instantly say, "Canadian," just as you would remark of other groups, "German, French, English," &c. You would not even mistake them for Americans, the nearest resembling race to them on the face of the earth. To the anthropologist this birth of a new race offers an interesting study; for this new, sturdy race of Canadians, which on so short notice has proved itself a race of wonderful warriors, is born of many sources, and its Canadian birthright is very new.

Canada's Unique Battalions

There seems to be some strange spell about this new land which makes even alien races, whose fatherlands are today opposed to Canada, take up arms in its behalf. This was most fully evinced in the case of the German residents of Eastern Canada. From the County of Waterloo and other districts adjacent to Berlin, Canada, came men of Teutonic origin over a thousand in number to fight under the flag of the Maple Leaf. German is spoken in the ranks of no less than two battalions of the Canadian Army; and hundreds of these men with such names as Schwartz, Ziegler, Reinhardt, Holt, Winkleman, &c., have figured in the Canadian casualty lists to date.

On another side, and as evidence of the ability of the Canadians as colonizers, was the remarkable response of the North American red men to the call to arms. When the war broke out many of the principal chieftians offered men, but the offers were at first refused. Doubtless the Government did not wish to break the then ruling ethics by bringing a colored race into a white man's war. But with the Canadian Government's giving its promise on Jan. 16, 1916, to raise 500,000 men, it became necessary that every available man in the Dominion should be taken into consideration. Scattered on the various reservations from the Atlantic to the Pacific were in the the neighborhood of 10,000 Indians of fighting age. To date 2,000 of these have responded, and some have already fallen on the field of battle. Among the most interesting of the many tribal enlistments were fifty Cree Indians from Hudson Bay territory. They had never seen a train, or even a town larger than of a hundred people, till they were brought out to Sudbury on their way to Camp Borden.

It is only fifty years ago that Canada was looked to by the enslaved colored race as a safety haven. Thousands escaped to the Dominion by underground channels. Some of these became citizens; and today there is a considerable sprinkling of colored people of Canadian origin. The raising of a colored battalion was begun late in August. To date about 700 have joined.

Cutting Down Epping Forest

One of the wholly unique battalions is that composed of Canadian lumbermen, now in England cutting down the famous forests of Epping and Windsor, which had been saved for centuries, until they were almost holy ground. Recently the allied soldiers along the French and Belgian fronts were in pressing need of timber with which to build trenches, bridges, and other things of a military nature. The Allies had been depending upon the Norwegian supply, but this proved insufficient, and deliveries were delayed and lost through the dangers of navigation. The need became acute. Attempts were made to secure a supply from the New World, but here again a checkmate intervened in the fact that every available oceangoing bottom was already engaged months ahead. The Allies had no ships of their own to spare.

Then England offered to make the supreme sacrifice. In the heart of the land were the wonderful forests of Epping and Windsor, which had been guarded and saved for centuries. Through them only the huntsmen's horns had ever sounded. Yet in this exigency of war England offered them up. The forests were excellent for the cause of the Allies, being not more than two hundred miles from the firing lines.

But Englishmen are not a race of axmen. The art of the sawyer and the lumber maker were strange to the land. Then it was that Canada, home for two full centuries of the finest bushmen in the world, was appealed to.

Throughout the wide Dominion were thousands of hardy men who had spent all their lives in the fastnesses of the great woods. Lords of lumber, ladrones of logs, looters of limits were they. Since earliest boyhood some of these men had swung an axe, or drawn one end of a crosscut saw; others were proficient in the consummate art of the canthook and the peavy, and still others were masters of the business of sawmilling.

The response was rapid. Two battalions are now in England and Scotland, and a third is about to close a whirlwind recruiting campaign for men. And these soldiers in khaki and overalls are perhaps better serving their country in the capacity of woodsmen than had they shouldered a rifle and gone into the trenches.

The Quebec Situation

As has been stated, every province in Canada has done its share with the exception of one—Quebec. The surprising part of the recruiting campaign is the fact that the most sparsely settled, newest regions, comprising the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia, have been the ones to more than fulfill requirements. On the face of it, even in spite of their inferiority of population, it would seem as if the Province of Ontario in particular had been discriminated against in giving her a total of 185,000 men to raise. While no official explanation of this has been forthcoming, the reason is probably that the Government, when making out the apportionments, took into consideration the fact that the Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia were largely agricultural in nature, with the lumbering and mining industries coming a close second. For the successful carrying on of these a certain percentage of physically fit males must necessarily remain. Ontario, while still to a large extent an agricultural district, was the possessor of many large cities, with a greater proportion of males that could be spared. This seems the most plausible solution of the figures. However, even though Ontario has not as yet raised her total of 185,000, her contribution has still been very equitable, and becomes the more so when Quebec is seen to have a shortage of 97,000 men, as measured by the quota required of her.

So far as helping on the war is concerned, it might almost be said of Quebec that it is not in the Confederation. Only one French-Canadian battalion has been recruited up to strength. The 206th of Montreal was disbanded the other day for lack of recruits. Hearing this and looking upon the above figures, a stranger to the Dominion might be led to believe that Quebec is disloyal. That would hardly be correct. Quebec is loyal—*to Canada*, but to Canada alone. The population of the land is so strikingly distinct and different from that of the rest of the Dominion that a peculiar situation arises. The whole Quebec problem is a difficult one. There can hardly be any doubt that the French-Canadian inhabitants believe themselves in the right in not joining in the present war while at the same time the rest of the provinces are heaping recrimination and hurling vituperation upon them for not doing so. In view of this, the following explanation seems due at this time:

The major portion of the province is made up of Franch Canadians, speaking the French language, or rather a patois of it peculiar to the country itself. They are practically all simple farmers, illiterate for the most part. They know almost nothing of the outside world, and care less, being too busy wringing a living from their small farms to support enormous families, ranging from twelve to twenty in number—a specialty of the country. They hold that their duty is fully performed if they fight upon Canadian soil—that Canada should not go to war except to repel foreign invasion. In a word, they are loyal to Canada, but not to England, or Greater Britain.

This is one reason why the population of Quebec has not responded to the call to arms. Neither has the danger to France, the original mother country of the people of Quebec, roused them to action, for, intensely Catholic as they are, they see in France's present suffering the wrath of God. It is that country's punishment for her persecution of the

Church and the adoption of the Law of Associations, which a decade ago suppressed the convents and monasteries. Also these quiet, intensely religious, simply living people have an overweening horror of seeing any of their unsophisticated youth go overseas, where they might mix with the ungodly children of Old France.

With all these things taken into consideration, it will be seen that Quebec should not be reviled without giving careful consideration to the peculiar nature of its people. Of course, the other provinces cannot be expected to see these facts, suffering as they are from the great war. Only one who has lived long among these people, who knows their hearts and habits and has conceived their viewpoint, can fully understand them and their present attitude to the war. Such a man is the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux. And no better summing up of the French-Canadian habitant has perhaps ever been given than one which he delivered in a speech before the Canadian Club recently at Toronto. Mr. Lemieux said:

> The habitant has belonged for many generations—for centuries—to Canada. He has no connection except, so to speak, intellectually, and that only in a qualified degree, with his mother country, France. His estrangement from France is manifold. First he was ceded, in 1763, by the Treaty of Paris. Even before that cession there was a marked difference between the habitant, the true *Canadien*, (of whom Montcalm speaks in his letters,) and the military class—the soldiers, officers, the bureaucracy—lording it over him. The correspondence between Montcalm and Vaudreuil is conclusive evidence of my statement.
>
> Then the French Revolution—which destroyed monarchy, reorganized the Church, codified the laws and customs, centralized the Government—created an abyss, a gulf, between the habitant and modern France. The habitant has worked out alone his destinies in a new world. He has won his civil and religious liberty under the régime which followed the cession. All his traditions are therefore Canadian only. On the contrary, British settlement in Canada is of more recent period. Especially during the last half century an unceasing tide of immigration has flowed into Canada from the United Kingdom. Thus a great portion of the English-speaking Canadians have many relations upon the other side of the water. Thus, blood being thicker than water, they will naturally be stirred by all matters, be they political, social, or intellectual, which affect Great, or Greater, Britain, where the French Canadian will not be interested.

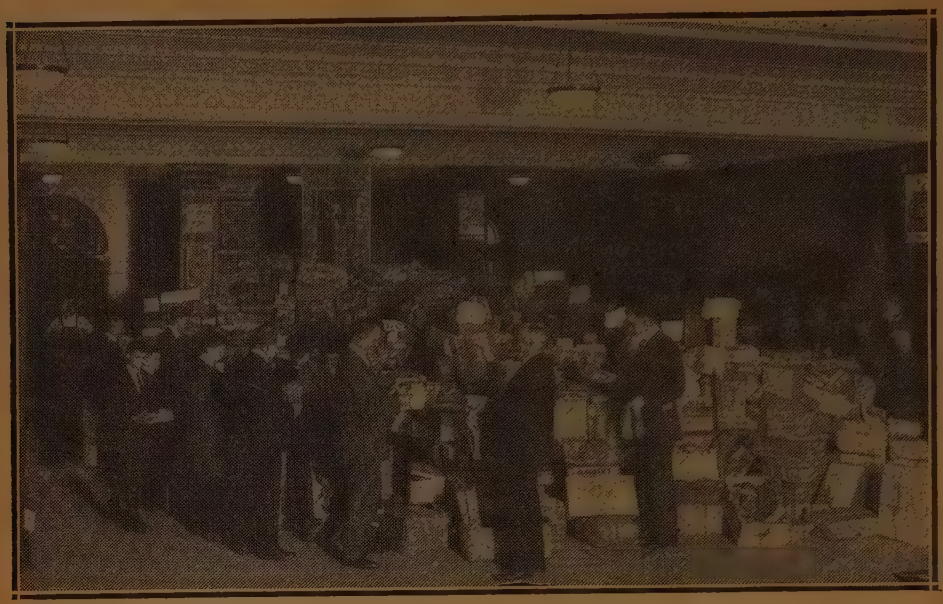
All this is true, and from present indications it is very doubtful if the French-Canadian population of Quebec will do much to aid Canada in the present war. Only one thing probably would move them, and that is to convince them that the Dominion is in real danger from invasion by Germany.

Canadian Women and War

One of the most interesting of war-time phases in Canada is the remarkable part that women have played in it. From farmer's wife to bank president's wife, and all through the various ranks of society, women have come forth and performed nobly. There are probably two hundred societies, great and small, now engaged in relief and other kinds of work. The chief of these are the Red Cross and Belgian Relief Committees; the Independent Order of Daughters of the Empire; Women's Institutes, a very powerful rural organization; Secour National; the Woman's Canadian Club, and various church denominational organizations.

A detailed account of their efforts would fill a large book. The chief of these, however, seem worthy of mention. The report of Mrs. Stearns-Hicks, Convener of the Ontario Branch of the Red Cross, shows that from Sept. 1, 1914, to July 1, 1916, 3,555,803 articles consisting of surgical supplies, night shirts, slippers, socks, towels, &c., were sent overseas. Mrs. Ernest Stuart of the Red Cross Society of Quebec has furnished the following figures which cover the period from Sept. 1, 1914, to June 1, 1916: 4,453,060 articles sent, of which 997,126 were bandages; 1,493,343 surgical dressings, 1,962,591 garments and comforts, 5,756 filled shirts, 162,139 towels, 302,305 flannel shirts, 66,794 pairs of socks, 71,714 pillow cases, 27,753 sheets, and 17,812 pajamas. Mrs. Stearns-Hicks's report is equally detailed along similar lines, and both reports are instantly recognizable as women's work by their careful detail and exactitude.

These are the only two provincial reports available, but there are ten other



ONE LOT OF 379,000 PARCELS AT TORONTO RED CROSS DEPOT. CANADIANS HAVE SENT NEARLY 100,000,000 SUCH PARCELS TO THEIR SOLDIERS AT THE FRONT

great cities to which come enormous contributions of supplies, both from city and from rural sources, so it is safe to estimate that since the war 140,000,000 varied articles of the classes above mentioned have gone from Canada to the battlefields of Europe.

In addition there were "preserving campaigns," at which enormous quantities of fruit were done up for the soldiers. The amount for the present year has been set at 50,000 quarts. Women, too, were partly instrumental in bringing about prohibition, which is today in effect in Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and which becomes law in Ontario in September. Due to this large boarding of the water wagon, the consumption of liquors dropped from .872 gallon per capita to .745, according to a report of the Inland Revenue Department issued on July 21. The consumption for 1916 was about three-quarters of a gallon per capita for spirits, 5 gallons of beer, and .0625 for wine. Women have won for themselves in the last year the right to vote in the four Provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia; and a woman journalist, Nellie McClung, will stand for Parliamentary election on the Liberal ticket in East Calgary at the next election.

The report of the Belgian Relief Committee, in the operation of which women have played a large part, showed that $2,275,000 has been collected and expended for Belgian relief to July 1, 1916.

Fifteen hundred women are now engaged in shell and other munition works throughout Canada. They have been found careful and dependable workers, capable of handling high-power machinery and working on steel cuttings where a thousandth of an inch mistake makes the work useless. Chairman Flavelle of the Imperial Munition Board recently sent out a call for more workers.

Another body of women is the Woman's Emergency Corps. Its work is to enroll all women willing to take employment formerly filled by men. As soon as a man enlists, the employer can turn to the Woman's Emergency Corps to fill the gap. Today women are doing almost entirely the clerical work of big loan and banking companies.

The women of Canada have shown themselves to be perfectly able to stand side by side with men in guiding the destiny of the Dominion.

Military Operations of the War

By Major Edwin W. Dayton

Inspector General, National Guard, State of New York; Secretary, New York Army and Navy Club

Major Dayton has been officially recognized by the United States War Department as an authority on strategy and tactics. He personally studied in their own lands the armies of England, France, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Turkey, and was chosen as an expert by The Army and Navy Journal to write its digest of military operations during the first periods of the present war. The subjoined article is the first of a series which Major Dayton is writing for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, embodying an authoritative history of the chief military operations of all the European armies since the beginning of the great conflict.

I.—Phases Before the Battle of the Marne

FOR some years the principal military powers of Europe had been gathered into two fairly well balanced opposing groups. France, whose declining population was cause for anxiety, had established a strong alliance with Russia, whose millions seemed unlimited. The relation had much that was natural to commend it, for the development of Russian economy provided a wide field for the investment of huge sums of French money. Thrift in France earned interest in Russia. The great man power of the Slav empire offered a needed reinforcement to the military strength of the French Republic.

MAJOR EDWIN W. DAYTON

England, ancient enemy of both, sought a friendly understanding when it became evident a dozen years ago that Germany was destined to be England's great rival in the markets of the world and in the councils of the nations. Colonial disputes in Africa between Germany and France gave England the opportunity to lend her full weight to the French side in critical moments, and presently the world perceived that the Entente was composed of England, France, and Russia.

The Triple Alliance, the opposing group, comprised Germany, Austria, and Italy; the first two closely united by many ties, but Italy not well enlisted in those ranks. Much that had prospered for Italy in the last seventy-five years was due to German help, but a bitter hatred of Austria rankled in the hearts of most Italians. Gratitude to Germany was swallowed up in jealousy of Austria.

This alliance controlled the best army the world has ever known. The Entente possessed in the British Navy the dominant naval power. German sea power had grown enormously since 1902, and ranked second among the sea forces of the world, but a second far removed from the leader.

Many shrewd observers believed that the great war, whenever it should come, would find Germany and Austria fighting France and Russia, with both Italy and England holding aloof. This rather general impression proved wrong, for while Italy did desert the Alliance, England threw herself body and soul into the conflict on the side of the Entente. There can be no doubt today that, had England held off, France and Russia would have been disastrously beaten. An isolated England would later have had little power to oppose the commercial, co-

lonial and imperial ambitions of Germany.

The Strategic Elements

When the conflict began, geography played an important part in strategy. Germany and Austria formed a compact and wonderfully organized entity. Strategic railways were ready to serve every military need and promote the policy of carrying the war immediately on to the soil of the enemy. The military purposes of the Great General Staff were ably seconded by the mental convictions of the populace schooled in the theories of Treitschke and Nietzsche. "Blessed are the valiant" was mentally married to "If the end is big enough, all things are justified." The children born of this union were the invasion of Belgium and the U-boats' terrorism of the sea.

While the strategic situation distinctly favored the Central Powers in a short war, it was evidently a menace in a long-continued conflict. British naval supremacy could be expected to blockade all the sea routes of commerce and eventually to shut off many essential commodities not produced sufficiently within German frontiers. The great cities were storehouses well packed, but a serious shortage was a chief danger in a long war. The German plans for a hard fight—quickly won—linked good military principle with sound economic sense.

Allied failures in the Balkans ultimately entailed serious results. British sea power shut off the sea road for supplies, and then German diplomacy opened a wide road through Bulgaria and Turkey into Asia. The road was later widened by force of arms through Serbia and Rumania. It is quite evident that allied successes in this field would have caused a real bottling up of the Teutons. Elimination by starvation would have had good prospect of fairly prompt success.

Causes of the War

By 1917 the world at large has nearly outgrown all it believed in 1914 as to what caused the war. Ten years before the war began I was gathering first-hand evidence in the Orient that war would some day be England's only recourse against German commercial invasion of fields essential to England's manufacturing prosperities. I shall not recount my facts, for I am sure that the causes were widespread and deep-rooted beyond the scope of any man's vision. The best guide as to what caused the war is a consideration of the present avowed purposes of the combatants. Worldwide ambitions bred jealousies and led to competitions which made a great war some day inevitable.

Here we are content to pass on to a consideration of the events which dropped the spark into the waiting magazines and set in motion throughout the world the machinery which for a generation had been preparing on all sides for the uses to which it was immediately put. Armies and navies were in existence which would never have been created without a general belief that some day soon just such a war was to come.

The claim that the war was a surprise which caught the great military nations unprepared was part of the partisan literary campaign incident to the outbreak. It was true only of Belgium. England's navy, always able to cope at a moment's notice with the full naval war strength of any two other powers, was always intended to hold enemies at bay until the small army could be increased as needed. Belgium really was unprepared, except for the system of fortifications, which had been somewhat overrated. The unpreparedness of all was in the failure to coax agriculture within their own frontiers into producing more nearly the national requirements.

Early Summer of 1914

As the complex causes of the war grew in remote places, and out of fundamental rivalries of great nations, so, too, the immediate causes were the result of ruthless greed in other years and in a remote corner of Europe.

Not many years ago two small Balkan principalities woke up one morning to find that an octopus from the north called Austria had throttled their little nationalities over night. Austria wanted

Bosnia and Herzegovina, and, as they were weak and small, took them in a day. It was easily done, and the story of the little provinces seemed a closed book; but there was another chapter waiting to be written in blood in the Summer of 1914.

Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, was notified that the Archduke Francis Ferdinand would visit the little city on Sunday, June 28, to inspect the troops of the garrison. The Duchess and a small official retinue accompanied him. The narrow streets of the little Bosnian city were crowded, and scattered through the motley groups were many who still longed to revenge the coup which had swallowed up the independence of the State. As the motor cars moved slowly, a package dropped on the hood of the leading machine. The Archduke picked it up and threw it to the rear. As it struck the pavement it exploded, and an aid in the car behind was wounded. The would-be assassin, who was arrested, was Cabrinovitch, from Trebinje in Herzegovina.

Later in the morning, after the ceremonial welcome at the Town Hall, the Archduke, disregarding the entreaties of all the officials, insisted upon driving to the hospital to visit the wounded aid. As the car moved slowly along the narrow way a second bomb was thrown, and this, too, failed to explode, but the thrower ran forward, firing three shots from a pistol. The Archduke was mortally wounded, and so, too, was his wife, the Duchess, who tried to shield her husband. Their assassin was a Bosnian student named Prinzip.

Both assassins were orthodox Serbs and members of the Greater Serbian Party, whose ambition since the Balkan war had been to rescue the Slavs subjugated by Austria.

The murdered Archduke was the heir to the throne of Austria, and the Government at Vienna determined to punish Serbia, known to be the rendezvous of Austria's enemies. The Mayor of Serajevo laid the blame for the assassination at Serbia's door.

On July 23 the Austro-Hungarian Empire presented its ultimatum to Serbia, partly demanding reparation for the crimes at Serajevo, and also partly insisting upon safeguards for the future. Forty-eight hours were allowed for an answer, and Serbia, the ambitious little Slav State of the Balkans, appealed for advice to Russia, the mighty head of the Slav race. Within the forty-eight hours the answer went to Vienna, and nearly all the long list of requirements was accepted. Two of the demands provided for the direct intervention of Austrian representatives in the suppression of movements antagonistic to the Dual Monarchy and for participation in the judicial proceedings connected with the Serajevo conspiracy. These demands Serbia asked to refer to The Hague Tribunal. The Austro-Hungarian Minister announced that his Government would accept nothing short of a complete submission to all the demands, and, asking for his passports, left Belgrade on Saturday evening, July 25.

The succeeding week was one of great diplomatic activity, and diplomacy scored a complete failure. It was apparent that Russia proposed to back up Serbia and prevent Austria's absorption of this Slav State. England's Foreign Office, through Sir Edward Grey, made every effort to gather in London the Ambassadors of Germany, France, and Italy, and secure a suspension of all operations while they consulted as to means for avoiding the imminent catastrophe. Germany refused the British invitation and assumed a decidedly belligerent attitude toward Russia. The sentiment in Germany was expressed in the declaration, "We are tired of hearing the Russian rattle the sword in the scabbard." Austria, as late as July 30, seemed inclining toward a conference with Russia, but on Friday, the 31st, Germany presented an ultimatum to both Russia and France, and the Emperor decreed a state of war throughout Germany.

The demand upon Russia was for the immediate demobilization of the army, which was known to be under way. France was asked to define her attitude. On that day, too, England asked both Germany and France if they would respect the neutrality of Belgium, which

had been jealously guarded by British interests for a hundred years. France promptly agreed, and stated that the French troops had been moved back ten kilometers from the Belgian frontier. Germany did not answer, and England instructed the British Ambassador on Aug. 4 to ask for an immediate reply. The German Secretary of Foreign Affairs replied that German troops had already entered Belgium, and added in explanation that it was a matter of life or death for the German Army to strike quickly and by the undefended route.

Germany's Choice Deliberate

Briefly, the facts are that Germany preferred to violate the neutrality of Belgium by taking a route through that country into France instead of attempting to break through the powerfully fortified eastern frontier of France. The German Government seems not to have believed that England would enter the war because of this violation of Belgian treaty rights. As a matter of fact, English history confesses to many a violation of the sovereign rights of smaller nations. What Germany proposed to do was to attack France through Belgium, but that course would put German troops along the jealously guarded waters of the English Channel. Belgium refused to grant a free right of way in return for a guaranteed return to the status quo after the war. England decided that her place was among those lined up to fight Germany and Austria.

In passing I wish to say that it was no unheard-of idea that Germany might seek a road to France through Belgium. Ten years ago I put on my shelves a book written by a British officer telling for the benefit of military students the story of a campaign in Belgium by a British Army sent to oppose just such a movement as that which actually occurred in 1914. The sixteen maps are all military maps in detail, and all display an intimate professional knowledge of the Belgian terrain. The story tells of a campaign under Kitchener and French, following upon an inquiry which the German Emperor was supposed to address to England: "What will you do if I invade France through Belgium?" England's answer was the sending of an expeditionary force to oppose the invasion.*

Turning from the professional prophecy disguised as fiction to the reality which occurred, we find that in the first week of August, 1914, the war had opened with England, France, Russia, and Serbia definitely at war with Germany and Austria. Moratoriums suspended payments and Stock Exchanges were closed. All armies were mobilizing and actual fighting soon began.

The Opposing Forces

The land forces of Germany were the strongest in the world. In numbers they were second to Russia, but in efficiency, organization, training, and equipment they were immensely superior. The splendid system originated in Prussia had been extended to every State in the German Empire. The liability to serve included every man of sound physique when he became 17 years of age. If wanted, his actual service began at 20, when he served for two years with the colors in the infantry, or three years if in the cavalry or horse artillery. Next came five or four years in the regular reserve. The seven years being completed, the soldier passed to five years in the first levy of the Landwehr, where he continued until the beginning of his fortieth year. Until 45 he remained in the Landsturm, where he joined men between the ages of 39 and 45, who had escaped the regular training. The best brains of all Germany were devoted to the task of making these soldiers the most efficient fighting force possible.

At war strength the first line of regular troops numbered about 1,500,000, with a second line of nearly another million. The complete resources in man power are estimated at between 8,000,000 and 9,000,000 men, of whom, perhaps, half had served with the colors. The developments of the war have led me to

*Nearly every detail of the opening campaign was foretold by a French Army expert and published in France a dozen years ago. No professional soldier was surprised when the war began where it did.

believe that these estimates were rather under the actual German resources. It is to be remembered that the commercial prosperity of the empire, which followed the victory of 1870, helped to induce large families, and, in consequence, there is a very large number of boys each year maturing for service in the ranks.

In Austria-Hungary the army organization followed generally the German system without approaching its perfection. The great conglomeration of races in the Dual Empire has not been well assimilated, and there are strong external ties affecting many of the people. Troops raised in Galicia would not fight well against Russia, and those from Tyrol would be ineffective against Italy. The best element in the Austrian Army was the cavalry, and the war turned out the poorest field for the mounted men since modern armies came into existence.

The war strength of the Austrian Army was in the neighborhood of 2,000,000 soldiers, with resources capable of doubling that figure, but including many untrained men.

French and Russian Strength

The French Army, since the defeat of 1870, had strained every resource to keep as nearly as possible abreast of the dangerous neighbor across the Rhine. A Frenchman called to the colors at 20 served three years in the regular army, and passed the years until he reached 48 in the regular reserve, territorial army, and territorial reserve. The war strength of the first line was between 1,250,000 and 1,500,000 men. To this was added a second line of 500,000 and a reserve of about 2,000,000. The morale of the French troops was the best in the world, and their infantry and their artillery ranked very high in technical training.

Russia, badly beaten in Manchuria by Japan, had taken that hard lesson well to heart, and her army had been reorganized and greatly improved in the past ten years. Universal military service in a population of upward of 170,000,000 cannot fail to produce man power. To train and equip it properly was Russia's task. The term of service with the colors was five years, and therefore exceeded that of her western rivals. The peace strength of the regular army exceeded 1,000,000 men, and the war strength was doubtless in excess of 4,000,000. The reserves certainly could easily exceed 7,000,000.

The natural capacity of the Russian for soldier duty has been shown in many wars, even when his officers were largely incompetent. Since the experience in Manchuria the professional status of the officers has been vastly improved, and it is probable that the Russian Army went to war with less sawdust masquerading as powder and more real food in the commissariat than it had ever known. The corrupt bureaucracy at Petrograd seemed to have passed to a great extent. Emergencies later found reserves waiting to pick up the weapons of the wounded and dead, but the shortage was probably due more to hard necessity than to cynical dishonesty in high places.

British and Other Armies

The British Army at the outbreak of the war numbered about 250,000 regulars with the colors. The army reserve had 145,000 and the special reserve 81,000. The territorials numbered about 265,000, and in the national reserve were 200,000 more.

The small regular army of Britain was doubtless, rank and file, the best-trained professional unit that entered the war. The enlistment called for a longer term with the colors than in any of the Continental services, and the diversity of experience gained in worldwide service produced splendid soldiers. Later England and her colonies proved capable of raising 5,000,000 fighting men, but the loss in the early days of the war of most of the fine professional officers delayed greatly the training of the armies raised in 1915 and 1916. Serbia probably took into the war nearly 500,000 men, and Belgium contributed perhaps 150,000. The Serbs were hardy fighting veterans, badly equipped, but ready to accomplish much with little armament and less food. The Belgians were caught in the midst of a proposed reformation of the army, and

went to the firing line in parade uniforms, but they fought with high courage a series of losing rear-guard battles, which is the hardest possible test of morale.

As the war began it is fair to compute the man power of the Allies at about twenty-five men for every fifteen on the Teuton side. The strength available on mobilization was in nearly the same proportion, but in Western Europe Germany was ready to put into the field at the beginning much the stronger forces—probably five to three, or even better.

The First Six Weeks—Western Theatre of War

Every military consideration dictated speed for the German plan of campaign. The best plan is that which uses fully all favoring factors. Germany had a large army exceptionally well organized, and a series of strategic railways planned and built so as to be available for military use. As the ultimate strength of the Entente would greatly exceed in men and resources that of the Central Powers, it would be necessary, in order to win the war, to conquer some vital element at once. As Germany did not produce quite enough foodstuffs for normal consumption, it would never do to let the foe occupy any of the land. Every square mile of productive soil that could be taken from an enemy would be a needed help in Teuton economy.

France was the dangerous military element in the ranks of the Entente, and must, if possible, be crushed before the great, slower masses of Russia could be brought into effective action.

For the sake of victory the first blow, and that a crushing one, must be aimed at France. The frontier between Switzerland and the little neutral State of Luxemburg was powerfully fortified and could not be quickly forced. The effort in 1916 to take one of the fortified elements at Verdun proved that the dread of that strong line was sound. All military experts for years had agreed that the natural line of attack would be against Northern instead of Eastern France, and would seek a route through Belgium. No one questioned the soundness of that plan as a military proposition. Its weakness lay in the fact that it violated a treaty guaranteeing protection of Belgium from invasion, a treaty to which Germany as well as France and England was committed.

Germany broke the treaty and forfeited the sympathy of many neutral nations. Breaking that treaty insured England's participation in the war. Personally I believe that England would have joined in the war in any event as affording the best opportunity to curb German ambition. Certainly any German sacrifice that would have kept England out would have been wise and profitable.

So far as the morals of great nations are concerned, they offer a sad field of investigation or discussion for historians. There is no great power in Europe which has not, at one time or other, in dealing with weaker nations, abused the power to do wrong. Literary patriots later spare no efforts to prove how much good the little fellow eventually got out of being wronged. In 1914 Germany felt it would pay to do wrong, and on Aug. 1 German troops illegally entered Luxemburg, where they met no opposition. The following day they invaded Belgium, where within a few days they met a resistance which caused unexpected losses and delays.

The various declarations of war were made between July 28 and Aug. 12, but for all practical purposes it will suffice to consider Aug. 1, 1914, as the date on which the war began.

Belgium's Resistance

Germany invaded Belgium in the direction of Liége with a force of from 30,000 to 35,000 men, using regiments which took the field at peace strength in order to gain time. The Belgian eastern frontier was defended by a series of quite elaborate fortifications on the Brialmont system. This distinguished Belgian military engineer, a great modern Vauban, had provided circles of mutually supporting forts built chiefly underground, and resembling in mechanical features the

turrets of armored warships. His system of defenses was smashed by the German artillery, when the heavy howitzers hurled broken concrete and steel girders down on the gun crews below. An efficient infantry support intrenched in field works would have greatly lengthened the resistance of the Belgians.

The Belgian engineers did everything possible to delay the oncoming Germans by destroying bridges, railways, and roads. General von Emmich was in command of the first German force which crossed the frontier, and the Belgians under Leman resisted heroically, hoping daily for French help. The German artillery rained high-explosive shells on the forts of Boncelles, Embourg, Chaudfontaine, and Fléron, and on Aug. 5 an infantry engagement west of the Ourthe resulted favorably for the Belgians. However, the fort at Fléron was smashed, and when the Germans brought up their huge howitzers, more forts were destroyed, and Leman did well to resolve upon a hurried retreat rather than face the certain loss of all his men by allowing them to be surrounded at Liége. The German infantry marched into Liége on Aug. 7.

General von Emmich's force, which took Liége, was the advance guard of the First Army, commanded by General von Kluck. The Second Army, under General von Bülow, was to join the First in the invasion of Belgium, and the two numbered nearly half a million men. A Third Army, under the Duke of Württemberg, crossed the Moselle between Coblenz and Treves. The Fourth Army, commanded by the German Crown Prince, advanced south of Treves. The Fifth Army, under the Crown Prince of Bavaria, advanced from Metz toward Verdun. The Sixth Army, under General von Heeringen, was for defensive use in Alsace.

On Aug. 12 a part of the German force advancing to attack the Belgian Army, then on the Dyle, met a severe but only local defeat at Haelen. The Belgians, meeting several small successes, imagined that no great force of German infantry was advancing into Belgium. As a matter of fact, they were being engaged by a screen of cavalry covering the great armies of von Kluck and von Bülow. Soon the heavy siege howitzers were brought up behind the cavalry screen, and one after the other the remaining fortifications were torn to pieces. General Leman, unconscious, was captured in the ruins of Fort Loncin, but the resistance at this point had delayed the German advance along the railway through Liége.

By Aug. 15 the First and Second German Armies began to deploy, and the French were not yet ready to help the Belgians. A stand was attempted at Louvain, but by the 19th the Belgian field army had sought refuge within the circle of Brialmont forts at Antwerp and Brussels was abandoned to the Germans.

While Belgium retarded von Kluck, France attempted a diversion by an attack in Alsace. Altkirch and Mulhouse were easily captured, but, as a strong German force advanced from Neu Breisach, Mulhouse was abandoned.

Between Aug. 10 and 15 the French developed a vigorous attack upon the German outposts in the passes of the Vosges along the southeastern frontier. Dannemarie and Thann were captured, and columns belonging to the army of the Crown Prince were repulsed further north. On Aug. 21 the Germans struck back in great force and inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the French left. General Castelnau's army retreated behind the Meurthe, and the Germans occupied Lunéville.

Britain's Expeditionary Force

Between the 7th and the 20th of August England transported about 90,000 soldiers across the Channel and landed them without loss in France. The efficiency and the value of the great British Navy were thus demonstrated in the very first days of the war. That was the time for the German submarine to have struck, but neither then nor since was the U-boat able to interfere with British cross-Channel operations.

The staff plan arranged that the British expeditionary force should cover the left flank of the main French army, the two gaining touch at Amiens. Field Marshal Sir John French was in command, with Sir Douglas Haig at the head

of the First Corps and General Sir Horace Smith-Dorrien leading the Second Corps.

The French army commanded by General Joffre joined hands with General French on Aug. 21 in Southern Belgium. The British centre was a little to the left of Mons, a town on the railway from Brussels to Maubeuge, and the front of about twenty miles was held by 76,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 312 guns.

On the left rear of the British Army was a French army, under General D'Amade, between Arras and Douay; to the rear, General Sordet's army below Maubeuge; on the right, the bulk of the French forces under Lanrezac, along the Sambre beyond Charleroi, with the right flank covered by the armies of Langle and Ruffey, both the latter deployed facing east. The angle in the French line followed that of the Rivers Sambre and Meuse, inside which it was formed with the sharp point of the angle at the fortified City of Namur, where 350 pieces of artillery were scientifically placed in a splendidly planned circle of Brialmont forts. The Belgian garrison at Namur somewhat exceeded 26,000 men.

Namur and Antwerp

The main German armies were now advancing rapidly through Belgium, and their artillery included the great siege trains which were allowed to get into position within three miles of Namur. The storm of heavy shells smashed one after the other of the forts, and the German infantry pushed across the Meuse below the junction with the Sambre. The Belgian infantry fought for a day, hoping for French succor, but on the 22d the Belgians and 5,000 French troops who had come up were thoroughly defeated. They retreated, hard pressed, toward Philippeville, and on Aug. 22 General von Bülow was in Namur, which was to have been the impregnable pivot on which the Allies were to hinge their operations.

While the main German army turned south to invade France, a considerable force had been dispatched to the north to deal with Antwerp. The Belgians at Antwerp numbered nearly 125,000, and on Aug. 23 they marched south and expelled the Germans from Malines. For the next three weeks a series of hard battles was fought south of Antwerp, where the strong Belgian offensive threatened the communications of the great German armies invading France.

Between Sept. 13 and 17 a heavy battle was fought along the Malines-Louvain railway, which the Germans won. From there the Belgians slowly retreated to Antwerp, while the Germans burned three of the noblest towns of Europe—Louvain, Malines, and Termonde. Scores of villages and towns were wantonly destroyed. By Sept. 27 the great siege howitzers of the Germans began to bombard the southern forts at Antwerp. The German guns had an effective range of seven and one-half miles, while none of the Belgian artillery had a range of over six miles. During the first week of October two British naval brigades, numbering 6,000 men, arrived as a reinforcement for the garrison of Antwerp, and they brought an armored train and a few naval guns.

On Oct. 7 the Belgian Government officials went aboard ship and sailed for France. A large part of the population fled, and the British and Belgian garrison retreated. Thousands were captured and other thousands fled into Holland, where they were interned. On Oct. 9 the Germans entered Antwerp. England was chagrined at the pitiful failure of her attempts to help Belgium.

The Battle of Mons

After the fall of Namur the Germans inflicted a disastrous defeat upon the French inside the angle of the Sambre and the Meuse. In the confusion of the retreat no word was sent to General French, who remained at Mons, believing his right flank to be still covered by the French. Von Kluck attacked the British Army on Sunday, Aug. 23, at noon, and a few hours later a message from General Joffre told Sir John French of the retreat of Lanrezac's army, which he had supposed still sheltered the British right.

Sunday night and Monday morning, the 24th, the British made a very skillful retreat, and, thanks to brave soldiers and skillful commanders, escaped a great disaster. Between Aug. 23 and 28 General French's army retreated steadily under

constant pressure and suffering severe losses. On the 27th they came to a halt north of St. Quentin. On that day the French armies, which had attempted to hold the line of the Meuse, gave way, and the Germans crossed the river at Donchery. Mezières, Montmedy, and Longwy fell. On the west Lille fell, and only Maubeuge among the fortresses of Northern France still flew the tricolor. At Tournai a French brigade and a British battery were captured.

The Retreat from Mons

The French and British continued to retreat, and the Germans pushed on for Amiens and got astride the Paris-Boulogne line of communications. On Aug. 27 the Munster Fusiliers were cut off and all either killed or captured. On the 28th the British force was on the Oise between La Fère and Noyon after six days of constant fighting and marching. A welcome reinforcement came up to their support on the left, where General d'Amade's Sixth French Army arrived from the direction of Arras and threatened the right flank of von Kluck's pursuing army. About the same time strong French corps came up and relieved the pressure on the British right toward Guise.

The line La Fère-Laon-Rheims seemed like the proper place for the re-formed French and British armies to make a stand, but the huge German armies on the French right flank crossed the Meuse, and after a hard two-day battle captured Rethel and crossed the Aisne. The German centre thrust forward toward Rheims, and the thoroughly beaten French were unable to make any effectual defense.

The result was to compel a further retreat of the British and the Fifth French Army on the west flank. Von Kluck's army took La Fère and Laon without a fight.

General Joffre, the supreme commander, after the successive French defeats on the Semois, the Meuse, the Aisne at Charleroi, Dinant, and Donchery, was withdrawing the whole group of allied armies behind the Marne. As they fell back the Germans pursued closely, and there were hard-fought rear-guard battles daily. On Sept. 3 the British succeeded in crossing the Marne and destroyed the bridges. On Sept. 5 they were some miles further south along the Grand Morin, a tributary of the Marne. To the south lay the forest of Fontainebleau and the Valley of the Seine. The French Government moved from Paris to Bordeaux.

[*Next Installment: Battle of the Marne.*]

The Reeds of the Somme

By CLINTON SCOLLARD

In the gusts of the Wintry weather
I heard the reeds of the Somme whispering together;
"Brother, brother,"
Each said to the other,
"Lo, how we have bled
For our beloved Mother—
For France, our Mother!
And shall it be in vain,
Our agony and pain,
All of the precious blood that we have shed?"
And the sky that leaned over,
Like a lover,
Answered, "Nay!"
And each wind upon its vagrant way
(Each wind that wandered wide)
Made answer, "Nay!"
And the Somme water,
Red with slaughter,
Answered, "Nay!"
So every brother reed was satisfied.

The British Navy's Titanic Task

By Admiral Sir John Jellicoe

First Sea Lord, Former Commander of the Grand Fleet

[An address delivered in London on Jan. 11, 1917, when Admiral Jellicoe was presented with the honorary freedom of the Fishmongers' Company]

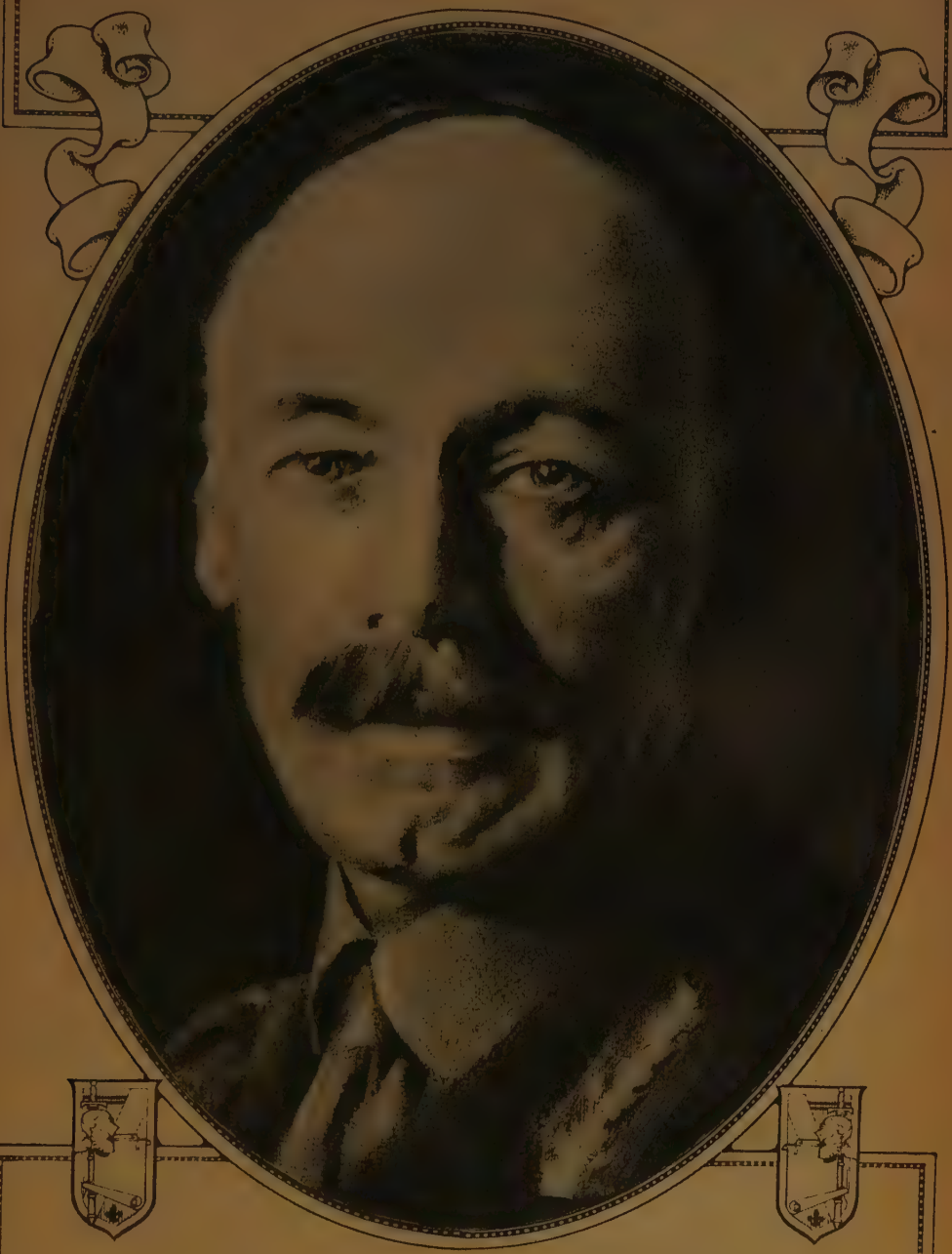
THERE are great differences between the conditions of today and a hundred years ago. These lie in the greater speed of ships, in the longer range of guns, in the menace of the torpedo as fired from ships, destroyers, and submarines, and the menace of mines, the use of aircraft as scouts, and of wireless telegraphy. In the Napoleonic era the ships opened fire with guns at ranges of about 800 yards. The ships of today open fire at 22,000 yards' (or eleven nautical miles) range, and gunfire begins to be very effective at 18,000 yards. The torpedo as fired from surface vessels is effective certainly up to 10,000 yards' range, and this requires that a ship shall keep beyond this distance to fight her guns. As the conditions of visibility—in the North Sea particularly—are frequently such as to make fighting difficult beyond a range of 10,000 yards, and as modern fleets are invariably accompanied by very large numbers of destroyers, whose main duty it is to attack with the torpedo the heavy ships of the enemy, it will be recognized how great becomes the responsibility of the Admiral in command of a fleet, particularly under the conditions of low visibility to which I have referred. As soon as destroyers tumble upon a fleet within torpedo range the situation becomes critical for the heavy ships.

ADMIRAL SIR JOHN JELLICOE

The submarine is another factor which has changed the situation, as this class of vessel, combined with the use of mines, entirely prevents the close blockade resorted to in former days. In addition, these two weapons add greatly to the anxieties of those in command. It is one thing to fight an enemy that you can see. It is a different matter to deal with a hidden foe. Thus modern conditions add immensely in this respect to the responsibility of those commanding fleets. They cannot get warning of the enemy being at sea until the enemy is well at sea. Nelson watching Villeneuve off Cadiz had his inshore squadron close into the enemy's port, and could see what was actually going on inside that port. The British fleet of today, watching the German High Seas Fleet, is not in the same happy position. The further the watching ships are from the enemy's port the greater is the facility with which the enemy can escape and the greater is the difficulty of intercepting him.

There was never any likelihood in the olden days of the enemy's fleet escaping unseen unless the blockading squadron was forced from its watching position by bad weather, which, of course, occasionally occurred. In our day submarines and mines compel the watching force to take up their station further and further away. In spite of this, and in spite of the German boast as to the occasions on which the German fleet has searched the North Sea for the British fleet, our enemies have only on one occasion ven-

GENERAL SIR HENRY S. RAWLINSON



General Rawlinson Is Sir Douglas Haig's Right-Hand Man on the Somme and Had Charge of the Main Offensive Operations in the Great Battle.

CARDINAL MERCIER, PAINTED BY BESNARD

This Portrait of the Famous Primate of Belgium, Whose Protests to Germany Have Aroused the World, Was Painted by the Noted French Artist, Albert Besnard.

tured sufficiently far with their main fleet to give us an opportunity to engage them. No vessels, neutral or British, have sighted the High Seas Fleet far from its ports on any occasion.

It is true that on Aug. 19 of last year the enemy's fleet came within measurable distance of the English coast, being sighted by some of our patrols, but turned back, presumably because the presence of our fleet was reported by their aircraft. Raids on the British coast with fast cruisers or battle cruisers have been carried out, but on each occasion the passage from German waters has been made, apparently, under cover of the night, the enemy appearing off our coast at dawn and retiring before comparatively small forces. Such feats were, of course, impossible in the days of slow speed, and are now undertaken probably only in the hope of enticing us into the adoption of a false strategy by breaking up our forces to guard all vulnerable points. I do not criticise the Germans for their strategy or for not running any risks with their fleet. On the other hand, their boasts of searching the North Sea for the enemy must be pronounced as without justifiable basis.

The next point to which I would like to draw your attention has reference to the worldwide nature of the war in relation to the British Navy. It is not, perhaps, always realized how far-reaching are our naval activities, and how great, therefore, is the call on our naval resources. It may be interesting to state that the approximate number of vessels of all classes which comprise the British Navy of today is nearly 4,000. This includes battleships, battle cruisers, light cruisers, destroyers, submarine boats, mine sweepers, patrols, and many other miscellaneous craft, all of which are necessary for the effective conduct of a war of today. Our activities range from the White Sea, where we are doing our best to assist our gallant Russian allies, past the North and South Atlantic, where cruiser squadrons are at work, on to the far Pacific, where we are working in cooperation with our Japanese allies. On the west coast of Africa the navy took no inconsiderable share in the fighting in the Cameroons. In the Mediterranean the navy took a hand in the Dardanelles campaign, assisted by our gallant French allies, and is now working with both the French and Italian Navies in the Balkan campaign and in the Adriatic.

On the east coast of Africa the naval forces, including our river gunboats, monitors, and aircraft, have rendered great service to our kinsmen from the Union of South Africa. In the Persian Gulf and up the Tigris River numerous river gunboats and other vessels are assisting our army in the Mesopotamian campaign. Our East Indian squadron, which is working from Port Said through the canal and Red Sea, is helping the army of Egypt, and safeguarding communications with India, and thence to Far Eastern waters. In the early days of the war the navy was pleased and honored to work along with our gallant Japanese allies in the capture of Kiao-Chau. In fact, it may be said that there is no part of the world in which the navy has not duties and responsibilities in connection with this war, and I might draw attention to the arduous and continuous work of the cruiser squadron in home waters, which is mainly engaged in preventing supplies from reaching our enemies. Ships are intercepted and boarded in great numbers under every condition of weather, and some idea of the work may be gathered from the fact that an average of some eighty ships of all kinds are intercepted and examined weekly on the high seas by the vessels of this squadron.

The task of keeping the large number of ships working in all parts of the world, of supplying them with fuel, munitions, &c., can only be recognized by those in possession of all the facts. The work, too, involves a great effort on the part of the marcantile marine; without our mercantile marine the navy—and, indeed, the nation—could not exist. Upon it we have been dependent for the movement of our troops overseas—over 7,000,000 men having been transported—together with all the guns, munitions, and stores required by the army. The safeguarding of these transports both from the attack of such surface vessels as have been at

large and from submarine attack has been carried out by the navy. We have had to draw also upon the personnel of the mercantile marine not only for the manning of the transport ships but also very largely for the manning of the whole of our patrol and mine-sweeping craft, nearly 2,500 skippers being employed as skippers, R. N. R. The number of R. N. R. executive officers has increased almost fourfold since the outbreak of war. Indeed, it is impossible to measure fully the debt which the country owes to our mercantile marine. In the old days it used to be said that there was jealousy between the mercantile marine and the royal navy, but whatever may have been the case then there is no room now in the navy for anything but the most sincere admiration and respect for the officers and men of the mercantile marine.

I think I know sufficient of the officers and men to believe that the feeling is reciprocated. Those of us who have been closely associated with the officers and men who man our armed merchant vessels and patrol craft have realized from the first day of the war how magnificent were their services, how courageous their conduct, and how unflinching their devotion to duty under the most dangerous conditions. The value of the services of the officers and men of the mercantile marine goes also far beyond their work in armed vessels. When one thinks of the innumerable cases of unarmed ships being sunk by torpedo or gunfire far from land, in a heavy sea, with the ship's company dependent alone upon boats for their safety, one is lost in admiration of the spirit of heroism of those who not only endure dangers and hardships without complaint but are ever ready to take the risks again and again in repeated voyages in other ships.

The submarine menace to the merchant service is far greater now than at any period of the war, and it requires all our energy to combat it. It must and will be dealt with, of that I am confident. But we have to make good our inevitable losses, and in order to do this we are dependent upon the shipbuilding industry of this country. The munitions organization has done a great work for the output of munitions; it now remains for the shipbuilders and marine engineers to rival that work. The first essential is the whole-hearted co-operation of the men in the shipbuilding yards and in the engineering workshops. In the same way as Sir Douglas Haig has appealed to the munition workers to give up holidays and to devote themselves to the supply of those munitions which are essential for the safety and success of their comrades in the trenches, I now appeal to the men in the shipyards and engineering shops to put forth their best efforts, continuously and ungrudgingly, to keep up the strength of our mercantile marine, and to provide those gallant fellows who have gone through innumerable dangers and hardships when their ships have been sunk with new vessels to carry on the transport of the necessary supplies of food and material for the manhood and the industries of the country. No one recognizes more than I do how great has been the output of the shipyards up to the present time.

I would only say now, let there be no question of strikes, no bad time keeping, no slacking, and let masters and men remember how great is their responsibility not only toward the navy and the nation but also toward our allies. * * *

If we all do our part all will be well with us. Of one prominent fact I can speak with full confidence born of experience—the nation can depend on the navy being ready, resourceful, and reliable.

Comparative Strength of Navies Today

By Thomas G. Frothingham

Member of Military Historical Society of Massachusetts and of the United States Naval Institute

I.—The British and German Navies

WHETHER it is to be peace or war for our country now or in the future, the balance of naval power will be one great factor in our relationship with the rest of the world. That the United States should have a strong navy is now a doctrine accepted by all classes of our citizens. Even those most desirous for peace have seen that an enlarged navy is our best means of insuring peace—and seldom has there been so universal a public opinion reflected in Congress as that shown by the unprecedented vote of money for the increase of our naval defense.

It is intended in this article to give a reliable estimate of the comparative strength of the different navies without bothering the reader with quantities of figures and statistics. And first of all it must be understood that the United States Navy is the product of generations of highly trained men, and the result is a personnel that will make good use of all the increased resources that have been given to the navy. From the dawn of its history the United States Navy has made the gun the one important thing, and this policy has again been confirmed by the lessons of the war. Our navy has taken the right course, and there are no great mistakes to remedy.

It has become the custom in estimating naval power to count "dreadnoughts" as the essential elements of strength. This designation of the "all-big-gun" warships, named after H. M. S. Dreadnought, the first of the type in commission, included battle cruisers until the present war. Before the war it was assumed that the battle cruiser would take its place in the line of battle, but it is not now considered equal to this task. Consequently in the following comment the word "dreadnought" will designate the type of all-big-gun battleship of the first line, and battle cruisers will be considered as a separate class.

Before reviewing the navies one by one, it would be a good thing to keep in mind a comparison of the types of dreadnoughts designed by different navies in the development of the class. On the following page are deck plans showing the different arrangements of the turrets.

Figure 1 is the original Dreadnought design of 1906. As will be observed, her maximum use of guns against an enemy would be eight, and from many angles the turrets interfere with use of the guns. Yet four of the British first-line battleships have this arrangement of turrets.

Figure 2 is the turret plan of the Helgoland class, and is the first arrangement of turrets on the German dreadnoughts. Although the guns are twelve, instead of ten, eight is the maximum broadside, and there is even more hampering of the turrets at different angles, with fewer guns that can be brought to bear. Eight German dreadnoughts have this arrangement of turrets.

Figure 3 shows the next step in placing the turrets—on the British dreadnought Neptune. By the echelon arrangement of the two central turrets there is a possible use of all the guns in a broadside, but looking at the deck plan from different angles it will be plain that there is still a similar drawback in getting the guns into use. Three British and four German dreadnoughts and British and German battle cruisers have this echelon placing of the turrets.

Figure 4 is the U. S. S. Michigan. The United States Navy has always adhered to big guns in turrets aligned over

VARIATIONS IN TURRET PLANS—BATTLESHIPS OF DREADNOUGHT TYPE

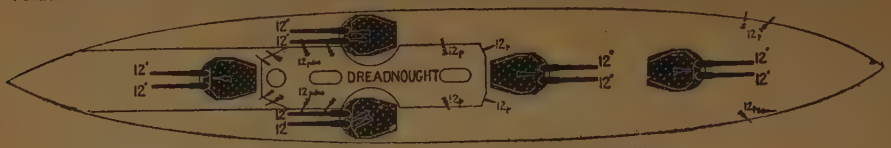


FIG. 1—DREADNOUGHT (BRITISH, 1906)
Ahead: 6—12 in. Broadside: 8—12 in. Astern: 6—12 in.

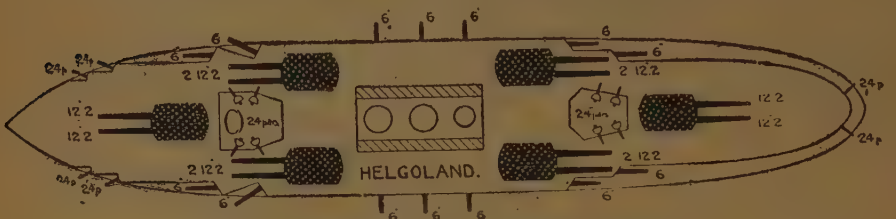


FIG. 2—HELGOLAND (GERMAN, 1908)
Ahead: 6—12.2, 4—6 in. Broadside: 8—12.2 in., 7—6 in. Astern: 6—12.2, 4—6 in.

FIG. 3—NEPTUNE (BRITISH, 1908)
Ahead: 6—12 in. Broadside—10—12 in. Astern: 8—12 in.

FIG. 4—U. S. S. MICHIGAN (1906)
Ahead: 4—12 in. Broadside—8—12 in. Astern: 4—12 in.

the keel in its development of the modern battleship from the monitor. The advantage of this is easily seen from the point of view of the best use of all the guns. All the United States battleships have their big-gun turrets aligned over the keel, and all the foreign navies have now followed this plan in their latest dreadnoughts, a fact which stamps the Michigan as one of the epoch-making designs in naval history.

The Michigan was designed in advance of the name ship, the Dreadnought,* although the latter was hurried and put into commission long before completed, and gave to the British Navy the name and prestige of the class. The real prestige remains with the Michigan, as, although her design was the first, it has proved the final accepted design, whereas the design of the name ship, Dreadnought, was modified—and then abandoned.

These four deck plans show practically all the variations in the construction of dreadnoughts, and also of battle cruisers. Keeping them in mind will help in the following estimate of the navies of Great Britain, Germany, United States, France, Japan, Russia, Italy, and Austria-Hungary. These will be given in their order of tonnage.

One other thing should be made clear before studying the foreign navies. As was natural from making the gun the main factor, the United States Navy has taken a leading part in the development

*Rear Admiral C. L. Goodrich, U. S. N.

of the modern naval gun. This has resulted in a gun with an increased length in proportion to its calibre, and a high muzzle velocity without undue erosion. Our 12-inch naval gun, increased from 45 calibre to 50 calibre, with a projectile of 870 pounds and an initial velocity of 2,950 foot-seconds, is the most powerful naval gun of its class. Our next step, the 45-calibre 14-inch naval gun, has a projectile of 1,400 pounds and initial velocity of 2,600 foot-seconds. This gun has been increased to 50 calibre for the three dreadnoughts of the Mississippi class. For the later classes of dreadnoughts authorized by Congress a 16-inch gun has been designed. These guns will be the standard of comparison for armaments when considering the foreign navies.

The British Navy

The British Navy is much the strongest in the world, because, to retain control of the seas, Great Britain has made it her policy to maintain a navy powerful enough to fight any two naval powers that might combine against her. This is the origin of the term "a two-power navy," now so frequently used in our country.

The British strength, in the recognized first essentials of sea power, known to be built and building is as follows:

BRITISH NAVY — SHIPS BUILT AND BUILDING

Dreadnoughts	**38
Predreadnought battleships	31
Battle cruisers	

As a matter of course no naval information whatever has been given out by the Admiralty since the war, but there has been much talk of a great increase of the British fleet. It has been said that there was a secret building program, and that powerful dreadnoughts and surpassing battle cruisers had been turned out with a rapidity that dazed those who read. Although this sort of talk is still current, the battle of Jutland contradicts it.

The British Navy was using the best force it possessed—and none of these marvels appeared.

Of the 38 dreadnoughts built and building the following is the list of recent construction in the program, with the dates of completion originally planned for each ship:

BRITISH NAVY—NEW CONSTRUCTION—DREADNOUGHT TYPE

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1914	Queen Elizabeth	27,500	8 15-inch	25.0
1914	Warspite	27,500		25.0
1915	Barham	27,500		25.0
1915	Valiant	27,500		25.0
1915	Malaya	27,500		25.0
1915	Royal Sovereign	25,750	8 15-inch	22.0
1915	Royal Oak	25,750		22.0
1916	Ramillies	25,750		22.0
1916	Resolution	25,750		22.0
1916	Revenge	25,750		22.0
1917	One Ship	27,500	8 15-inch	25.0
1917	Renown	25,750	8 15-inch	22.0
1917	Repulse	25,750		
1917	Resistance	25,750		

The dreadnought strength of the British fleet in the battle of Jutland (May 31-June 1, 1916) is authoritatively† given as 29. In view of this it not only seems improbable that at the date of the battle Great Britain had made any great additions to the dreadnoughts in her known program, but it is unlikely that she had pushed to completion the ships in that program. The fact that Great Britain is known to have increased her dreadnoughts by the one Chilean and two Turkish warships taken over early in the war, considered in reference to the total at Jutland, makes any great increase still more unlikely.

All this does not mean that every British dreadnought was in the battle—but the Grand Fleet was out, and there were few absentees.

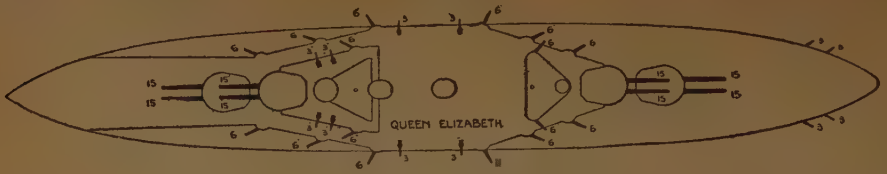
It is even more plainly the same story as to the imaginary new battle cruisers. The following is the list of British battle cruisers at the time of the battle, with dates of completion:

BRITISH NAVY—BATTLE CRUISERS BEFORE THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1908	Indomitable	17,250	8 12-inch	26
1908	Inflexible	17,250		26
1908	Invincible	17,250		26
1911	Indefatigable	18,750	8 12-inch	25
1911	Lion	26,350	8 13.5-inch	28.5
1912	Princess Royal	26,350		28.5

**35 ships regular program, 2 Turkish and 1 Chilean (building in England) taken over early in the war.

†Lieutenant Charles C. Gill, U. S. N. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.



H. M. S. QUEEN ELIZABETH

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1912	New Zealand	18,800	8 12-inch	25.0
1913	Australia	19,200	8 12-inch	26.0
1913	Queen Mary	27,000	8 13.5-inch	28.0
1914	Tiger	28,500	8 13.5-inch	28.0

There were nine battle cruisers with the British fleet in the battle of Jutland, and it is known that every one of these is in the list above given. If there had been any new battle cruisers they would have been in evidence.

In the months that have followed the battle it is probable that there has been an increase of the fleet of dreadnoughts, but, realizing the other demands on the British yards, it is doubtful if the increase has been abnormal.

Evidently Great Britain has been obliged to increase greatly her fleet of light cruisers, destroyers, patrols, &c., to meet the increasing submarine danger. It is known that a great deal of her building capacity has been used in construction of the monitor type. Answering a question in Parliament as to delays in construction, the Ministry stated that there had been such haste in building monitors that some had to be rebuilt.

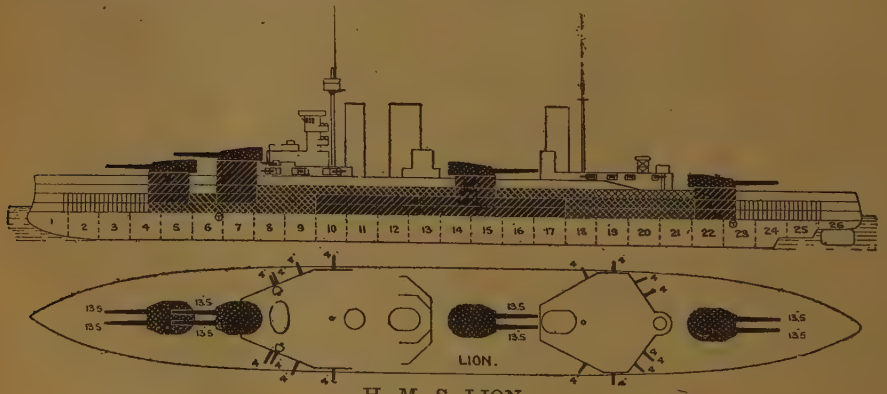
It has recently been given out that the British Government is building a large number of cargo ships, and the demands on the yards for repairs of the fleet, for supply and transport service, &c., must also be considered. Add to this the great drain on British labor to remedy the neglect to provide munitions, and the indicated lack of great increase to the fleet would be explained. Consequently, it would be reasonable to conclude that at the beginning of 1917 the British fleet of dreadnoughts does not greatly exceed the total given in the regular building program. Undoubtedly there has been a continuance of the future building program, and many ships have been laid down.

The Battle Fleet

From the above deck plan of the Queen Elizabeth it will be seen that the placing of the turrets follows the design of the Michigan.* All of the fourteen ships given in the list of new construction have this arrangement of turrets. Sixteen of the remaining dreadnoughts also have their turrets aligned over the keel. The other seven have the less efficient designs of the Dreadnought and Neptune.

The predreadnought battleships are all good ships of their class and have proved of great value, because their service in other fields has enabled Britain to keep her dreadnoughts in the Grand Fleet to oppose the German High Seas Fleet.

*Figure 4.



H. M. S. LION.

Ahead: 4—13.5 in. Broadside: 8—13.5 in. Astern: 2—13.5 in.

H. M. S. INVINCIBLE

The Battle Cruisers

Great Britain originated the battle cruiser, which has had a great vogue among naval experts. The above plans show the design of the Lion class and the earlier Invincible class. Of the nine in the battle of Jutland three were lost—Queen Mary, (Lion type,) Invincible and Indefatigable, (Invincible type.) The details of the seven remaining ships can be found in the list of battle cruisers just given.

It will be seen in the list of recent construction that Great Britain did not add to her program any battle cruisers for completion after 1914. The five 25-knot dreadnoughts (Queen Elizabeths) were for 1914 and 1915. After that for 1916 and 1917 there is only one 25-knot ship—all the rest are 22-knot. This plainly shows a reaction against speed in fighting ships.

For armament eleven dreadnoughts carry 12-inch guns, twelve 13.5-inch, and fourteen 15-inch. The Chilean warship, now called the Canada, carries 14-inch guns. The most interesting thing for Americans is to compare our 14-inch naval gun with the English 15-inch—their attempt to surpass it. The English projectile is very heavy, weighing some 500 pounds more than ours, but the initial velocity is much less than in our gun, which greatly decreases the power of the English gun.

These 15-inch guns were first in use when the Queen Elizabeth attempted to reduce the Dardanelles forts. The result was a failure, although, it is stated, the ship was listed as a last resort, and the guns fired at increased elevation—naturally with a bad effect on ship and guns.

The Queen Elizabeth was not in the battle of Jutland, but the other four ships of her class are known to have been in the action, as were other dreadnoughts with 15-inch guns—and the British 15-inch guns did not dominate the lighter but powerful German 12-inch and 11-inch guns, as was expected. Knowing this, we should feel that our more powerful naval guns would be able to cope with these English guns.

It is rumored, and it is very probable, that still larger English naval guns have been designed—even as large as 18-inch. But, in view of the British program of construction, it seems most likely that such guns are for the monitors.

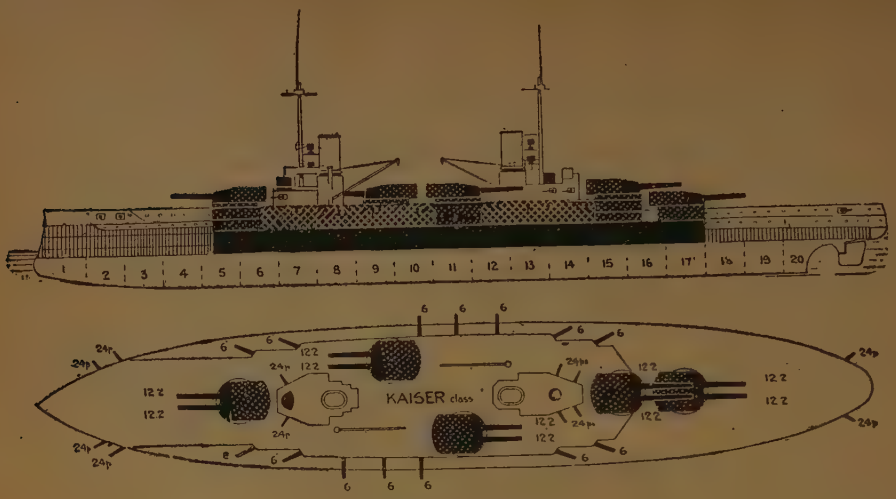
Monitors and Auxiliaries

Undoubtedly Great Britain has built floating batteries of the monitor type. These are for use against shore guns and in places where ships are exposed to torpedoes and mines. There is much mystery maintained about them, but it is known that there are a great many monitors, that some have very heavy guns, and that they have a specially devised cushioned protection against mines and torpedoes.

In all the auxiliaries of a great fleet the British Navy is well equipped—and when one realizes that this means cruisers, scouts, supply ships of all kinds, destroyers, submarines, aircraft, &c., with the additional burden of patrols, mine sweepers, and transport service, all of which are necessary to maintain British control of the seas, the total is astonishing. In every sea area there is need of some service of the British Navy, while facing the German fleet its dreadnoughts command the North Sea.

The German Navy

Germany became the second naval power of the world in the years that succeeded the laying down of the Dreadnought, (1906.) This was a time of great activity in the foreign navies. In 1907 Germany had laid down four dreadnoughts, in 1908 four, in 1909-10 five, in 1911 four. In the same years the United States Navy had been restricted



KAISER CLASS (5)

ERSATZ WORTH CLASS (3)

to the two-battleships-a-year policy—and had yielded second place to Germany.

The known strength of the German Navy is:

GERMAN NAVY—BUILT AND BUILDING

Dreadnoughts	20
Predreadnought battleships	19
Battle cruisers	*7

As in the case of the British Navy, absolutely no German naval information has been given out since the start of the war. Concerning the German Navy also sensational stories of increased strength have been circulated. It was related that the ships were being rearmed with new guns of great power, that there had been secret construction, and that an unexpected strength had been developed, but at the battle of Jutland it was the same story. Germany brought out her whole fleet—and there was no new element of strength.

The twenty German dreadnoughts in the known program consist of thirteen ships, and the following new construction, which is given with proposed dates of completion:

GERMAN NAVY—NEW CONSTRUCTION—DREADNOUGHT TYPE

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1914	Grosser Kurfürst	25,388	10 12-inch.	22.0
1914	Markgraf	25,388		22.0
1914	König	25,388		22.0
1915	Kronprinz	25,388		22.0
1916	"T"	28,500	8 15-inch..	23.0
1916	Ersatz Wörth	28,500		23.0
1917	Ersatz Fr'd'h III.	28,500		23.0

The German battle cruisers in the known building program were as follows at the date of the battle of Jutland:

GERMAN NAVY—BATTLE CRUISERS

Compl'd in—	Name.	Displacement.	Main arm't.	Sp'd
1910	Von der Tann	19,100	8 11-inch..	27.6
1911	Moltke	22,632	10 11-inch.	28.4
1913	Seydlitz	24,385		29.2
1914	Derfflinger	28,000	8 12-inch..	27.0
1915	Lützow	28,000		27.0
1916	Ersatz Hertha	28,000		27.0
1917	E'tz Vic'a Louise	28,000		27.0

To the above must be added the battle cruiser Salamis, building for Greece, which the Germans took over early in the war.

In the battle of Jutland the German

*Six, regular program; one battle cruiser building taken over from Greece.

High Seas Fleet is given as sixteen dreadnoughts, five battle cruisers, and six predreadnoughts.*

This can only mean, as in the case of the British Navy, that instead of great additions to the German fleet, it does not seem possible that their building program had been hurried to completion. The battle cruiser Lützow was lost in the battle. The details of the remaining ships are shown in the above list.

In the months that have followed Jutland it is improbable that any great addition has been made to the building program of the German fleet. There must have been a strong tax on their yards for repairs; the original ships of the program were to be completed, and there must have been a great effort to turn out submarines for their latest offensive. As in the case of the English fleet, it is probably safe to conclude that there has been no abnormal increase of their fighting fleet.

German Battle Fleet

The German dreadnoughts are known to be well built and able ships, but in many of them the arrangement of the turrets hampers the guns. This will be plain to the reader from the plans with this article. Eight dreadnoughts have the design of the Helgoland, five (Kaiser class) have the echelon arrangement shown in the diagrams, and seven have the turrets aligned over the keel. Of these last, from the evidence of Jutland, it seems improbable that the three ships of the Ersatz Wörth class have been completed.

The German predreadnought battleships, although they are valuable assets to the German Navy, are not as good as the corresponding British ships, and are far inferior to our battleships of the same date.

As in the case of the British fleet, it must not be inferred that every German battleship was in the battle of Jutland, but the Germans must have taken out the strongest fleet available, and if there had been any abnormal increase it would have been in evidence. If there had been more dreadnoughts and battle cruisers available they would not have eked out their fleet with predreadnoughts.

Auxiliaries of Battle Fleet

Germany has suffered in cruisers of all classes, as was natural from keeping many of these ships at sea to do all the harm possible to her enemies; but the battle of Jutland showed that she has built some new light cruisers. It was also apparent that she had plenty of destroyers, and her aircraft would always have to be reckoned with. But her greatest naval development has been the submarine. It is known that she has built large numbers for the effort to cut off England's supply of food. Her naval officers have acquired great skill in the use of their U-boats, doing increasing harm to shipping—and to check their inroads is the problem of the Entente Allies.

Of the German dreadnoughts four carry 11-inch guns, thirteen carry 12-inch guns, and three 15-inch guns. These last are the ships of the Ersatz Wörth class in the list given, and, from the evidence of Jutland, it is doubtful if all are completed. Consequently the real comparison should be made with the 11-inch and 12-inch guns. Unquestionably these German guns did well against the English 13.5-inch and 15-inch guns in the battle of Jutland. Against our naval guns, more powerful because of the greater initial velocity, it might be a different problem.

These twenty German dreadnoughts built and building carry forty-eight 11-inch, one hundred and thirty 12-inch, and, when the three Ersatz Wörths are completed, twenty-four 15-inch guns. This is a formidable total, but, from the faulty placing of the turrets, as explained, a large part of these guns could not be used against an enemy fleet in a broadside. Out of ninety-six guns on the eight ships of the Westfalen and Helgoland classes, (see Figure 2,) the maximum use of guns would be sixty-four. It will be seen from the design of the Kaiser class that the echelon arrangement of the two central turrets greatly hampers the use of all the guns in the five ships of this class.

*Lieutenant Charles C. Gill. CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

The armament of the completed dreadnoughts in the United States Navy is sixty-four 12-inch, sixty-four 14-inch, with the addition of thirty-six 14-inch guns when the three ships are completed of the class of the Mississippi, recently launched. This does not include the sixteen 12-inch guns of the two ships of the Michigan class, although they would undoubtedly be in the battle fleet and superior to many of the German dreadnoughts, because these two are not carried in our list as first-line battleships. Every one of these guns would be available as a broadside, as all our ships have the turrets aligned over the keel.

From this comparison the reader will see at once that the battle fleet of the United States Navy would be able to face the German dreadnoughts. Other comparisons will be made when considering the United States Navy.

Curious Phenomena of Battle Acoustics

Editor CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

In your January issue there is an interesting article from La Revue des Deux Mondes, Paris, on the phenomena of detonation of artillery and an explanation of the conical wave of condensation attendant upon high-velocity projectiles.

The eccentric action of acoustics, causing explosives to produce irregular transmission of sound, was recorded on two notable occasions during the civil war.

In the action of the Merrimac and Congress at the mouth of the James River, March 8, 1862, the transference of sound waves was prevented at a distance of three and one-half miles over water, yet persons living 150 miles away plainly heard the cannonade.

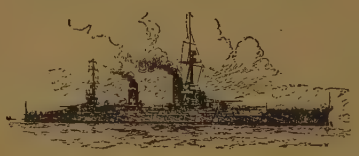
On June 27, 1862, was fought the "silent battle" of Gaines Mill. General Law of Lee's army, writing of it in The Southern Bivouac for May, 1887, has this to say: "To the troops stationed near the river, on the Richmond side, the action at Gaines Mill was plainly visible, that part of it, at least, which took place on open ground. I have been told by an eyewitness that from Price's house on the opposite side he could distinctly see the Confederate lines advancing to the attack through the open ground beyond the Chickahominy Swamp and could distinguish the direction of the battle by the volume of smoke arising from the woods further to the Confederate centre and left. But it was all like a pantomime; not a sound was heard, neither the tremendous roar of musketry, nor even the reports of artillery. For nealy two hours, from 5 to 7 o'clock, on a clear midsummer afternoon, 50,000 men with at least 100 pieces of field artillery fought under these conditions.

Mr. Tyndall experimented in acoustics in the English Channel off Dover, in 1873-4, and came to the conclusion that on clear days the air may be composed of differently heated masses, saturated in varying degrees with aqueous vapors, which produce a deadening effect in the atmosphere.

While the phenomena of these battles are not identical with those mentioned in La Revue, still they parallel them closely enough to be of interest in connection with them.

CHARLES FARNER CORK.

Waukesha, Wis.



Naval Power in the Present War

By Lieutenant Charles C. Gill
United States Navy

This article is the third of a series contributed to CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE—with the sanction of the United States Naval Department—by Lieutenant Gill of the United States superdreadnought Oklahoma, with special regard to the naval lessons furnished by the sea engagements of the present war.

III.—The Battle of Jutland

THE United States has decided that the price of security is a first-class navy. Notwithstanding the optimism, more or less prevalent, that armies and navies may possibly be done away with at some future time, the people of this country feel that an army and a navy are now necessary as a policy of national insurance, and will continue to be necessary for some time to come.

VICE ADMIRAL BEATTY

Nations taking part in the war will profit more from its naval lessons than can neutral nations, who, as mere spectators, are denied much of the information attending actual experience. This should act as an additional incentive for the United States to look closely into current events in Europe and, by reasoning from them, get as much help as possible in planning America's defense program. What constitutes an adequate navy? What should be the composition of a modern fleet? How many battleships? How many battle cruisers, light cruiser scouts, air scouts, destroyers, submarines, mine layers, and auxiliaries? What should be the size, radius of action, speed, armor, and armament of these different types of ships? How is the personnel to be supplied and trained? How should the ships be grouped together under the various modifying conditions governing naval strategy? How should they be used in fighting an enemy in the variety of circumstances affecting naval tactics?

To search for answers to these questions in the light of the experience of the present war is the function of the Navy General Board, headed by the Chief of Operations, and assisted by the War College Staff, by the Office of Naval Intelligence, and by recommendations from the commanders of the various fleets and shore stations. It requires expert knowledge to make the necessary technical analysis and work out the details of the naval program. The average citizen has neither time nor inclination to go exhaustively into details, and this task devolves properly upon those who have devoted their lives to a study of naval science.

On the other hand, the naval experts cannot do it all. The success of their endeavors depends primarily upon the intelligent interest and co-operation of the nation they serve. In order to get a first-class navy it is essential that those who vote should understand the general principles governing the size, composition, and training of battle fleets. It is the objective of these pages to help the non-technical man to a comprehension of these principles, which are not difficult to understand, although they are of first importance as the starting point from

which the highly scientific deductions proceed.

Battle Off Dogger Bank

Before turning to the battle of Jutland it might be well to give brief attention to the Dogger Bank action, fought seventeen months earlier, on Jan. 24, 1915. This was a running fight in the North Sea between two battle cruiser squadrons, during which the German armored cruiser Blücher was sunk, having been abandoned by her retreating consorts. No English ship was lost.

The battle cruiser engagement off the Dogger Bank was the first between modern big-gun ships. Particular interest is also attached to it because each squadron was accompanied by scouting and screening light cruisers and destroyers. It was fear of submarines and mines, moreover, that influenced the British to break off the engagement, and it is also reported that a Zeppelin airship and a seaplane took part, and perhaps assisted in the fire control of the Germans.

At daybreak on Jan. 24, 1915, Vice Admiral Sir David Beatty's battle cruiser squadron, consisting of the Lion, Princess Royal, Tiger, New Zealand, and Indomitable, were patrolling in company with four light cruisers, while three light cruiser flotilla leaders, with their destroyers, were in station ahead. At 7:25 A. M. the Aurora, one of these flotilla-leading light cruisers, engaged an enemy ship. This scouting and screening force got in touch with and guided the British battle cruisers toward the enemy battle cruiser squadron, under Rear Admiral Hipper, consisting of the battle cruisers Seydlitz, Derfflinger, and Moltke, with the armored cruiser Blücher. The German capital ships were also accompanied by light cruisers and destroyers. It was a stern-chase fight, in which ranging shots were tried at about 20,000 yards and hits reported made at about 18,000 yards. It appears that practically all the fighting between the battle cruisers was done at long ranges. The slower armored cruiser Blücher dropped astern, and early in the fight developed engine trouble. Her 8.2-inch guns were of little use, and at 10:48 she drew out of line in a defeated condition. At 12:37 she sank, having received, very likely, her deathblow from a torpedo.

Disregarding the Blücher, the stern fire of the German battle cruisers consisted of four twelve-inch and sixteen eleven-inch, as opposed to the British bow fire of twelve 13.5-inch guns from the leading three ships and the bow twelve-inch from the New Zealand and Indomitable. These latter two ships, however, being two or three knots slower than the other three, appear to have fired for the most part only at the Blücher. At 11:03 the Lion was put out of action, and she was later towed into port with a considerable list. Considering the long range, the gunnery on both sides appears to have been excellent, and it is hard to say which side did the better shooting or whose battle cruisers suffered the more damage.

The light cruisers and destroyers took little part in the actual fighting. The British flotillas were kept most of the time on the unengaged quarter of Admiral Beatty's squadron. At about 9:30 the German destroyers threatened an attack, and one division of the British destroyers manoeuvred so as to pass ahead of the battle cruisers and screen them; but the threatened attack was not made. Later on the German destroyers again appeared to be preparing for an attack, and the Lion and Tiger opened fire on them, causing them to retire and resume their original course. Shortly before noon, about seventy miles from Heligoland, the engagement was broken off by the British because of the alleged presence of enemy submarines.

The conditions surrounding this battle were ideal for illustrating the functions of battle cruisers. The German warship raid on the British coast of the previous month was still fresh in mind; and when this situation off the Dogger Bank arose, the timely interposing of Admiral Beatty's superior force, the fast chase, the long-range fighting, the loss of the Blücher, and the hasty retreat of the enemy, were all particularly pleasing to the British people. As a result the battle cruiser type of ship attained great popularity.

The question of speed, armor, and arma-

ment, however, is a perplexing problem. If the British cruisers had been faster, with less armor, they might have destroyed the inferior German squadron. On the other hand, had the German ships been slower, with heavier guns and better armor protection, they might have protected the retreat of the Blücher and beaten off the faster British ships with greater damage to them and less danger to themselves. Before going deeper into this question it is advisable to consider further data on the war-time usefulness of battle cruisers. This type of ship will therefore be adverted to later on.

VICE ADMIRAL SCHEER

Turning now to the battle of Jutland, it is appreciated, in attempting a narrative of the principal events of the engagement, together with a discussion of some of the points in strategy and tactics illustrated, that many of the details are lacking. Some of these details will be uncovered in the course of time, but many —having been lost in the sea along with the ships that went down—can only be subject matter for speculation.

The battle of Jutland was fought between the British Grand Fleet and the German High Seas Fleet during the late afternoon and evening of May 31, 1916, with torpedo attacks continuing throughout the night. A decisive engagement was probably prevented by thick weather and approaching darkness, but hard blows were given and sustained on both sides.

It is a well-recognized experience of history that the public gauges the magnitude of a battle by the consequent changes in the political and military situation. At times a comparatively minor engagement between relatively small forces wherein little actual fighting occurs will, if followed by a decided change in an international situation, assume in the public eye the proportions of a big battle. On the other hand, it sometimes occurs that a great battle, measured by the size and power of the forces involved and the actual fighting done, will, if indecisive and unproductive of changes in the status quo, appear small in the public eye and often arouse a certain amount of popular dissatisfaction on both sides. It may be that history will place the battle of Jutland in this latter class. But, even so, when one considers the actual fighting done, and judges by the size, number, and various types of the ships engaged, their ability to manoeuvre, their power to give and their power to sustain hard blows, this battle is far and away the biggest the world has ever seen. Never before has there been brought together such an array of fighting machines — dreadnoughts, scout cruisers, destroyers, submarines, and aircraft. Also, it took intelligence, nerve, and endurance of the personnel to operate this powerful machinery under varying conditions of wind, sea, and weather. Assuredly it would seem that in this action and all that it exemplifies both in the ships engaged and in the requirements demanded of the personnel there must have been illustrated the best there is of naval art and naval science.

The Forces Engaged

The British Grand Fleet comprised:

(a) An advance force under Vice Admiral Beatty, consisting of six battle cruisers, (four Lions of 28.5 knots speed, each carrying eight 13.5-inch guns, and two Indefatigables of 25 knots speed, each carrying eight 12-inch guns,) supported by the Fifth Battle Squadron, under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas, (four 25-knot battleships of the Queen Elizabeth class, each carrying eight 15-inch guns.)

(b) The main body, under Admiral Jellicoe—flying his flag in the Iron Duke—consisting

of a fast wing under Rear Admiral Hood, (three 26-knot battle cruisers of Invincible class, each carrying eight 12-inch guns,) a division of four armored cruisers under Rear Admiral Arbuthnot, and twenty-five dreadnoughts in three squadrons commanded by Vice Admirals Burney, Jerram, and Sturdee.

(c) About twenty light cruisers and 160 destroyers, divided between the advance force and the main body.

The German High Sea Fleet comprised:

(a) An advance force under Vice Admiral Hipper, consisting of five battle cruisers, (three Derfflingers of probably 27 knots speed, each carrying eight 12-inch guns, and two Moltkes of probably 28 knots speed, each carrying ten 11-inch guns.

b) The main body under Admiral Scheer, consisting of sixteen dreadnoughts and six predreadnought battleships.

(c) About twenty light cruisers and eighty or ninety destroyers, divided between the advance force and the main body.

At 2:30 P. M., May 31, 1916, the naval situation in the North Sea was approximately as follows: The German advance force of five battle cruisers under Vice Admiral Hipper was some eighty or a hundred miles to the northwestward of Horn Reef, while fifteen miles to the south and west of him was Vice Admiral Beatty with the British advance force of six battle cruisers, supported by four fast dreadnought battleships under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas. Admiral Jellicoe, in command of the British Grand Fleet, was about fifty miles distant with the main body to the northeastward, while Admiral Scheer, in command of the German High Seas Fleet, was about the same distance away with his main body to the southeastward. German submarines were sighted soon after the beginning of the engagement. British and German aircraft were present, but do not appear to have figured very prominently in the conflict.

It is convenient to divide the battle into the following four phases:

First Phase: British advance force encounters German advance force. Six British battle cruisers, supported by four dreadnought battleships, engaged with five German battle cruisers, (3:49 P. M. to 4:45 P. M.)

Second Phase: Action between British advance force and van of High Seas Fleet. Four British battle cruisers and four dreadnought battleships engaged with five German battle cruisers and van of German battle fleet, (4:45 P. M. to 6:15 P. M.)

Third Phase: British Grand Fleet engaged with German High Seas Fleet, (6:15 P. M. to dark.)

Fourth Phase: Torpedo attacks and screening operations during the night, (May 31 to June 1.)

Each one of these phases will be taken up separately in the order named.

The First Phase

Encounter Between the Battle Cruiser Squadrons Commanded by Vice Admiral Beatty (British) and Vice Admiral Hipper, (German.)

The British Grand Fleet had left its bases on the 30th, and was sweeping through the North Sea to the southward with Vice Admiral Beatty's force cruising well in advance of the main body. Besides the six battle cruisers led by Vice Admiral Beatty in the Lion and the four 25-knot battleships of the Elizabeth class, led by Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas in the Barnham, this advance force was accompanied by three light cruiser squadrons and four flotillas of destroyers. At 2:20 P. M. the light cruiser Galatea reported the presence of German ships in considerable force and at 2:25 a British seaplane was sent from its mother ship Engadine to scout to the northeastward. Visibilty at this time was good. The wind was southeast.

At 3:31 the German battle cruiser squadron (five ships) under Vice Admiral Hipper was sighted to the northeastward at a range of 23,000 yards. The two squadrons formed for battle, and approached each other on slightly converging southeasterly courses. Light cruisers and destroyers of both sides assumed screening formations, and the opposing light cruisers in the more advanced stations were engaged during the battle approach. At 3:48 fire was opened simultaneously by both sides at about 18,500 yards range. The squadrons fought on parallel courses curving to the southeast. At 4:08 the battleships under Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas opened fire at 20,000 yards' range, but it is doubtful if these ships got close enough to do any effective work during this phase of the battle. About this time submarines were reported both on the engaged and unen-

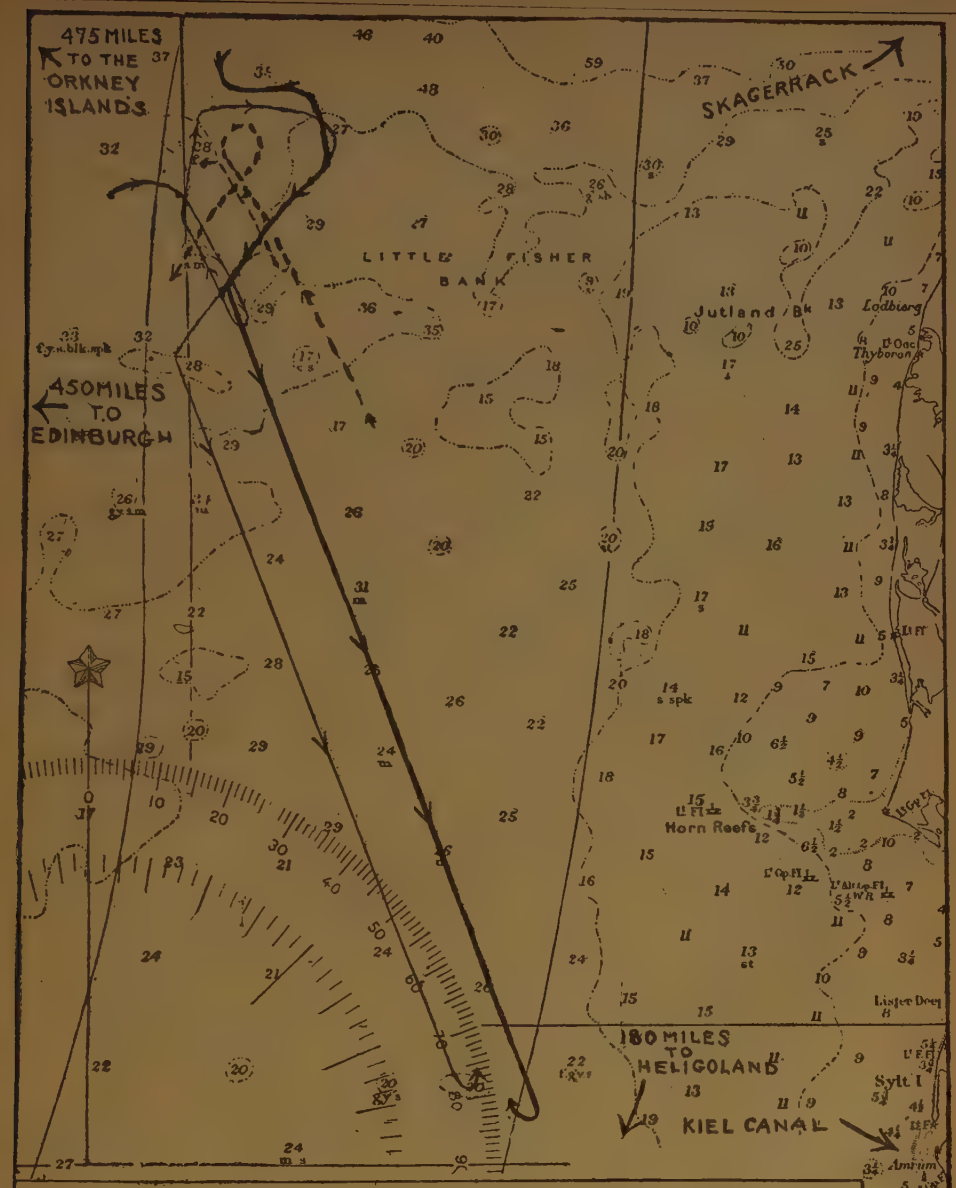


DIAGRAM OF THE BATTLE OF JUTLAND

gaged beams of the British battle cruisers. Destroyers were active in attempts to screen the big ships from underwater attack.

Ten minutes after the engagement become general an explosion occurred in the Indefatigable, and she sank almost immediately. At 4:15 twelve British destroyers moved forward to attack the German battle cruisers; German light cruisers and destroyers made a similar advance at the same time. A fierce engagement ensued between these light craft at close quarters. The Germans did not press their torpedo attack, but six of the British destroyers continued the advance under a heavy shell fire, and fired torpedoes at the German lines. At 4:30 a mighty explosion occurred in the Queen Mary, and she went down so quickly that the following ships in the formation are reported as having steamed right over her. At 4:42 the German battle fleet was sighted to the southeast, and the British ships turned right about (180 degrees) in succession. The German battle cruisers also altered course 16 points, and the action continued on a northwesterly course, beginning what we will call the second phase.

According to German Admiralty reports, during the first phase, lasting about an hour, from 3:49 to the time the British changed course 16 points at 4:45, the British battle cruiser Indefatigable, (tonnage 18,750, main battery eight 12-inch, carrying 899 men,) was sunk at 4:05, and the Queen Mary, (tonnage 27,000, main battery eight 13.5-inch guns, carrying 1,000 men,) was destroyed at about 4:35. It is also reported that the British lost four destroyers and the Germans two. Before taking up the second phase of the battle, a few points bearing on the first phase will be briefly discussed.

Cause of British Losses

Several theories have been advanced as to the probable causes of the loss of the two British battle cruisers. It is also reported that both ships suffered heavy explosions which appeared to come up through turret tops. This has led to the opinion that enemy shells exploded in the respective turrets, and, igniting chains of powder to the magazines, caused the blowing up of the magazines. This is not at all unlikely, and directs attention to the need of safety precautions in the supply of ammunition to turret guns. Still another theory is that these two ships were sunk either by mines or torpedoes; while a few credit the surmise that the explosions were of internal origin, either in turret or magazine, and having nothing to do with enemy fire.

There has been some comment in the press to the effect that Admiral Jellicoe may have violated the principle of concentration of forces by sending in advance a squadron of four battleships to support Admiral Beatty's battle cruisers. The consensus of professional opinion, however, does not appear to support any such criticism. This advance force was composed entirely of fast ships, (the battleships had the unusually high speed of 25 knots,) operating on interior lines between the supporting British fleet and the enemy main fleet, with little or no chance of being cut off by a superior enemy force.

There is also more or less criticism to the effect that Admiral Beatty rashly exposed his command; that the Germans counted on his impetuosity; and that he did just what Admiral Hipper expected him to do and wanted him to do. On the other hand, it may be argued that at the start of the action the situation was not unfavorable to the British because Admiral Hipper was almost cut off by a superior force and in danger of being compelled to turn toward the British Grand Fleet. The plan of co-ordination between the main body under Admiral Jellicoe and the British advance force is not altogether clear, but it is evident that Admiral Beatty tried to get to the southward of Admiral Hipper, and upon the approach of the High Seas Fleet was compelled to make a right about turn, a manoeuvre likely to prove diastrous if attempted under gun fire. Reports are somewhat obscure as to just what happened at this time, but it seems that the British ships accomplished the turn without suffering much damage, and that the German battle cruisers turned around at about the same time. Perhaps the

CAUGHT IN HOSTILE GUNFIRE ON THE SOMME FRONT

All That Was Left of a Train of French Freight Cars Caught in an Artillery Duel Between the British and Germans During the Fighting Along the Ancre River.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

FRENCH OBSERVATION BALLOON PREPARING TO ASCEND

A Typical Example of the Many Great Balloons of the "Sausage" Type That Are in Constant Use on Both Sides for the Purpose of Watching the Enemy and Directing the Fire of Heavy Artillery.

(Photo Central News Service.)

battleships under Admiral Evan-Thomas were used to provide a covering fire while Admiral Beatty countermarched. Some incline to the opinion that Admiral Hipper failed to take advantage of his speed to draw ahead to a semi T-ing or capping position where he might have hammered Admiral Beatty's ships on the knuckle of their pivoting point without subjecting his own ships to anything worse than a long range fire from the 15-inch guns of the enemy battleships. It may be that the German battle cruisers did not have enough speed to do this, or it may be that Admiral Hipper was intent only on drawing the enemy into the fire of the approaching German battle fleet. At any rate, whatever the actual circumstances, neither side lost any ships at this time and the battle continued on northerly courses, beginning the second phase.

The Second Phase

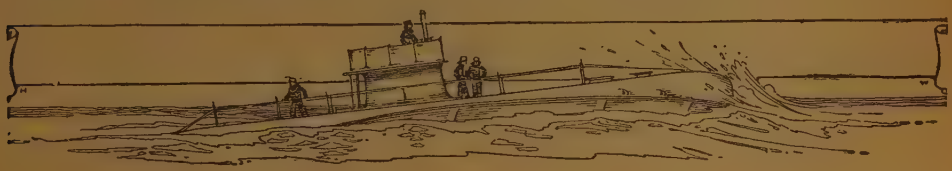
Action Between British Advance Force of Battle Cruisers, Supported by Four Battleships, and German Battle Cruisers Supported by German High Seas Battle Fleet.

The Fifth Battle Squadron is reported to have closed the German battle cruisers on an opposite course, engaging them with all guns, when Admiral Beatty signaled Admiral Evan-Thomas the position of the German battle fleet and ordered him to alter course 16 points. At 4:57 the Fifth Battle Squadron fell into line behind the battle cruisers and came under the fire of the leading ships of the German battle fleet, which, in the meanwhile, had joined the line of battle in rear of Admiral Hipper's battle cruisers. The action continued at about 14,000 yards range on northwesterly courses curving north and then northeasterly. At 5:56 Admiral Beatty sighted the leading ships of the British Baltic battle fleet bearing north, distant five miles, and altered course to east, increasing speed to the utmost, thereby reducing the range to 12,000 yards, and opening a gap between his battle cruisers and Rear Admiral Evan-Thomas's supporting battleships. The German van also turned eastward.

This completed the second phase of the battle, during which four British battle cruisers and four battleships were engaged for about one hour and a half with the van of the German fleet led by five battle cruisers followed by battleships of the Koenig class. Light cruisers and destroyers were also intermittently engaged during this phase and a few isolated but determined torpedo attacks were pushed home. These apparently met with little success, the attackers suffering severe punishment.

In this second phase, while at first glance it appears that four British battle cruisers supported by four battleships were engaging the entire German High Seas Fleet, such was not strictly speaking the case. The superior speed of the British squadrons enabled them to keep in the van, out of range of the enemy centre and rear. At this time the advantage of light was with the Germans, because the British ships had a sky brightened by the setting sun for background, while the German ships were more obscured in the mist by reason of their dark background. But the British Vice Admiral reports administering severe punishment to enemy ships during this phase. It is not clear whether the Germans turned to the eastward to avoid being capped or T-ed by the faster enemy ships, or whether they originated the easterly change of course because of the approaching British battle fleet, but this manoeuvre put the British fleet in a tactically favorable position for gun fire as well as ultimately placing them between the German fleet and its bases.

[*The third and fourth phases of the battle of Jutland, with conclusions, will appear in April.*]



British and German Naval Losses in the Present War

LESS than 50,000 tons is the difference between the British and German naval losses in the present war, probably not more than 27,000 tons, according to the 1917 issue of Jane's "Fighting Ships," a publication approved by the British Government. According to this publication, the British have lost nine battleships of a total tonnage of 127,500, three battle cruisers, 65,000; twelve armored cruisers, 143,600; seven light cruisers, 28,285, and torpedo boats and destroyers, 16,270, a total of 381,105 tons. This does not include submarines or mine sweepers, which probably would add from 10,000 to 20,000 to the total.

The German battleship losses are put at five ships, with the added statement that a sixth, a vessel of the Helgoland type, probably was lost also in the battle of Jutland. The total German losses are given as five battleships of a total of 104,300 tons, three battle cruisers, 72,400; six armored crusers, 65,750; twenty light cruisers, 76,950; one unprotected cruiser, 1,600; four gunboats, 2,136; twelve destroyers, 6,000, and one 2,200-ton mine layer. The total German losses, exclusive of submarines and "a great many destroyers," figure up 331,336 tons, or 49,769 tons less than the British losses. If a second vessel of the Helgoland type was lost, as intimated, it would reduce the difference between the British and German losses to 26,969 tons.

Here are tables which give the losses of the British and German Navies, exclusive of auxiliary ships, as listed:

BRITISH LOSSES

BATTLESHIPS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Bulwark	15,000	Explosion	Nov., 1914
Formidable	15,000	Torpedoed	Jan., 1915
Goliath	12,500	Torpedoed	May, 1915
Irresistible	15,000	Mined	Mar., 1915
K. Edw'd VII.	16,350	Mined	Jan., 1916
Majestic	14,900	Torpedoed	May, 1915
Ocean	12,950	Mined	Mar., 1915
Russell	14,000	Torpedoed	Apr., 1916
Triumph	11,800	Torpedoed	May, 1915

BATTLE CRUISERS

Indefatigable	18,750	In battle	May, 1916
Invincible	17,250	In battle	May, 1916
Queen Mary	27,000	In battle	May, 1916

ARMORED CRUISERS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Aboukir	12,000	Torpedoed	Sept., 1914
Argyll	10,850	Wrecked	Oct., 1915
Black Prince	13,550	In battle	May, 1916
Cressy	12,000	Torpedoed	Sept., 1914
Defence	14,600	In battle	May, 1916
Good Hope	14,100	In battle	May, 1916
Hawke	7,350	Torpedoed	Oct., 1914
Hogue	12,000	Torpedoed	Sept., 1914
Hampshire	10,850	Mined	Jun., 1916
Monmouth	9,800	In battle	Nov. 1914
Natal	13,550	Explosion	Dec., 1915
Warrior	13,550	In battle	Jun., 1916

LIGHT CRUISERS

Amphion	3,440	Mined	Aug., 1914
Arethusa	3,520	Mined	Feb., 1916
Falmouth	5,250	Torpedoed	Aug., 1916
Hermes	5,600	Torpedoed	Oct., 1914
Nottingham	5,400	Torpedoed	Aug., 1916
Pathfinder	2,940	Torpedoed	Sept., 1914
Pegasus	2,135	In battle	Sept., 1914

TORPEDO GUNBOATS

Niger	810	Torpedoed.	Nov., 1914
Speedy	810	Mined	Sept., 1914

DESTROYERS

Ardent	935	In battle	May, 1916
Coquette	355	Mined	Mar., 1916
Eden	550	Collision	Jun., 1916
Erne	550	Wrecked	Mar., 1915
Fortune	935	In battle	Jun., 1916
Lassoo	550	Torpedoed	Aug., 1916
Louis	965	Wrecked	Nov., 1915
Lynx	935	Mined	Aug., 1915
Maori	1,035	Mined	May, 1915
Nebusa	950	Collision	Mar., 1916
Nestor	950	In battle	Jun., 1916
Nomad	950	In battle	Jun., 1916
Recruit	385	Torpedoed	Jun., 1915
Shark	935	In battle	Jun., 1916
Sparrowhawk	935	In battle	Jun., 1916
Tipperary	1,430	In battle	Jun., 1916
Turbulent	950	In battle	Jun., 1916

TORPEDO BOATS

No. 10	225	Torpedoed	Jun., 1915
No. 11	225	Mined	Mar., 1916
No. 12	225	Torpedoed	Jun., 1915
No. 96	130	Collision	Nov., 1915

SUBMARINES

AE-1	——	Foundered	Sept., 1914
AE-2	——	Lost	Apr., 1915
D-2	——	Missing	———
D-5	——	Mined	Nov., 1914
E-3	——	In battle	Oct., 1914
E-7	——	Lost	Sept., 1915
E-10	——	Missing	———
E-15	——	Torpedoed	Apr., 1915
E-22	——	Wrecked	Jan., 1916
E-17	——	Lost	Nov., 1915
E-20	——	Lost	Apr., 1916
——	——	Wrecked	Jan., 1916

MINE SWEEPERS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Arabis	——	Gunfire	Feb., 1916
Nasturtium	——	Mined	Apr., 1916
Primula	——	Torpedoed	Mar., 1916

GERMAN LOSSES

BATTLESHIPS (Dreadnoughts)

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
1 Kaiser type	24,700	In battle	Jun., 1916
1 Kaiser type	24,700	In battle	Jun., 1916
1 Helgoland tp.	22,800	In battle	Jun., 1916
Westfalen	18,900	In battle	Jun., 1916

BATTLE CRUISERS

Lutzow	28,000	In battle	Jun., 1916
Seydlitz	25,000	In battle	Jun., 1916
Von der Tann	19,400	Uncertain	Dec., 1914

PREDREADNOUGHT

Pommern	13,200	In battle	Jun., 1916

LIGHT CRUISERS

Augsburg	4,300	In battle	Jan., 1915
Ariadne	2,650	In battle	Aug., 1914
Bremen	3,200	Torpedoed	Dec., 1915
Dresden	3,600	In battle	Mar., 1915
Elbing	4,500	Rammed	Jun., 1916
Emden	3,600	In battle	Nov., 1914
Frauenlob	2,700	Torpedoed	Nov., 1915
Hela	2,000	Torpedoed	Sept., 1914
Karlsruhe	4,900	Sunk	Nov., 1914
Köln, (new)	4,900	In battle	Jun., 1916
Köln, (old)	4,300	In battle	Aug., 1914
Königsberg	3,500	In battle	July, 1915
Leipzig	3,200	In battle	Dec., 1914
Mainz, (new)	4,900	In battle	Jun., 1916
Mainz, (old)	4,300	In battle	Aug., 1914
Magdeburg	4,500	In battle	Aug., 1914
Nürnberg	3,400	In battle	Dec., 1914
Rostock	4,900	In battle	Jun., 1916
Undine	2,700	Torpedoed	Nov., 1915
Wiesbaden	4,900	In battle	Jun., 1916

ARMORED CRUISERS

Blücher	15,500	In battle	Jan., 1915
Friedrich Karl	9,000	Mined	Dec., 1914
Gneisenau	11,000	In battle	Dec., 1914
Prinz Adalbert	9,000	Torpedoed	Oct., 1915
Scharnhorst	11,600	In battle	Dec., 1914
Yorck	9,050	Mined	Nov., 1914

UNPROTECTED CRUISER

Kormoran	1,600	Scuttled	Nov., 1914

GUNBOATS

Name	Tonnage	How Lost	Date
Iltis	900	Scuttled	Nov., 1914
Jaguar	900	Scuttled	Nov., 1914
Tsing-tao	168	Interned	——, 1914
Vaterland	168	Interned	——, 1914

DESTROYERS

G-194	650	Rammed	Mar., 1916
S-90	400	Wrecked	Oct., 1914
S-115	420	In battle	Oct., 1914
S-117	420	In battle	Oct., 1914
S-118	420	In battle	Oct., 1914
S-119	420	In battle	Oct., 1914
S-124	420	Collision	Nov., 1914
S-126	420	Torpedoed	Oct., 1914
V-48	850	In battle	Jun., 1916
V-187	650	In battle	Aug., 1914
V-188	650	Torpedoed	July, 1915
Taku	280	Scuttled	Nov., 1914

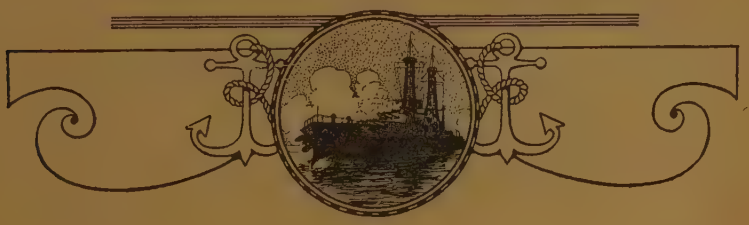
Note.—Jane's says that a "great many destroyers" of the same class as the V-48 were sunk in the battle of Jutland, and that their name numbers have not been established by the British Admiralty.

MINE LAYER

Albatross	2,200	By gunfire	July, 1915

"The number of German submarines lost," Jane's says, "is very large indeed; but precise information cannot be obtained at present, and any attempt at a detailed list, owing to duplication of numbers, &c., would be more or less misleading. U-29, U-27, U-18, U-15, U-14, U-12, U-8, (two of this number,) and UC-5 are among those about whose fate definite particulars have been published.

"We may be allowed to say," the publishers state in a preface, "that a new navy has been added to the British fleet of 1914, which in rate of construction, power of design, and novelty of type far surpasses anything that could have been deemed possible two years ago."



A Lincoln Day Message

By David Lloyd George

Prime Minister of Great Britain

[An address to the American people in commemoration of Lincoln's Birthday, given to THE NEW YORK TIMES for publication Feb. 12, 1917]

I AM very glad to respond to your request for a message for publication on Lincoln Day. I am glad, because to my mind Abraham Lincoln has always been one of the very first of the world's statesmen, because I believe that the battle which we have been fighting is at bottom the same battle which your countrymen fought under Lincoln's leadership more than fifty years ago, and, most of all, perhaps, because I desire to say how much I welcome the proof which the last few days have afforded that the American people are coming to realize this, too.

Lincoln's life was devoted to the cause of human freedom. From the day when he first recognized what slavery meant he bent all his energies to its eradication from American soil. Yet after years of patient effort he was driven to realize that it was not a mere question of abolishing slavery in the Southern States, but that bound up with it was a larger issue —that unless the Union abolished slavery, slavery would break up the Union.

Faced by this alternative, he did not shrink, after every other method had failed, from vindicating both Union and freedom by the terrible instrument of war. Nor after the die for war had been cast did he hesitate to call upon his countrymen to make sacrifice upon sacrifice, to submit to limitation upon limitation of their personal freedom, until, in his own words, there was a new birth of freedom in your land.

Is there not a strange similarity between this battle, which we are fighting here in Europe, and that which Lincoln fought? Has there not grown up in this Continent a new form of slavery, a militarist slavery, which has not only been crushing out the freedom of the people under its control, but which in recent years has also been moving toward crushing out freedom and fraternity in all Europe as well?

Is it not true that it is to the militarist system of government which centres in Berlin that every open-minded man who is familiar with past history would point as being the ultimate source of all the expansion of armaments, of all the international unrest, and of the failure of all movements toward co-operation and harmony among nations during the last twenty years?

We were reluctant, and many of us refused to believe that any sane rulers would deliberately drench Europe in its own blood, so we did not face the facts until it was almost too late. It was not until August, 1914, that it became clear to us, as it became clear to Lincoln in 1861, that the issue was not to be settled by pacific means, and that either the machine which controlled the destinies of Germany would destroy the liberty of Europe or the people of Europe must defeat its purpose and its prestige by the supreme sacrifice of war. It was the ultimatum to Serbia and the ruthless attack upon Belgium and France which followed because the nations of Europe would not tolerate the obliteration of the independence of a free people without conference and by the sword, which revealed to us all the implacable nature of the struggle which lay before us.

It has been difficult for a nation separated from Europe by 3,000 miles of sea and without political connections with its peoples to appreciate fully what was at stake in the war. In your civil war many of our ancestors were blind. Lord Russell hinted at an early peace. Even Gladstone declared "we have no faith in the propagation of free institutions at the point of the sword." It was left for John Bright, that man of all others who most loved peace and hated war, to testify that

when our statesmen "were hostile or coldly neutral the British people clung to freedom with an unfaltering trust." But I think that America now sees that it is human unity and freedom which are again being fought for in this war.

The American people under Lincoln fought not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation. We today are fighting not a war of conquest, but a war of liberation—a liberation not of ourselves alone, but of all the world, from that body of barbarous doctrine and inhuman practice which has estranged nations, has held back the unity and progress of the world, and which has stood revealed in all its deadly iniquity in the course of this war.

In such wars for liberty there can be no compromise. They are either won or lost. In your case it was freedom and unity or slavery and separation. In our case military power, tyrannously used, will have succeeded in tearing up treaties and trampling on the rights of others, or liberty and public right will have prevailed. Therefore, we believe that the war must be fought out to a finish, for on such an issue there can be no such thing as a drawn war.

In holding this conviction, we have been inspired and strengthened beyond measure by the example and the words of your great President. Once the conflict had been joined, he did not shrink from bloodshed. I have often been struck at the growth of both tenderness and stern determination in the face of Lincoln, as shown in his photographs, as the war went on.

Despite his abhorrence of all that war entailed, he persisted in it because he knew that he was sparing life by losing it, that if he agreed to compromise, the blood that had been shed on a hundred fields would have been shed in vain, that the task of creating a united nation of free men would only have to be undertaken at even greater cost at some later day. It would, indeed, be impossible to state our faith more clearly than Lincoln stated it himself at the end of 1864:

> On careful consideration [he said] of all the evidence it seems to me that no attempt at negotiation with the insurgent leader could result in any good. He would accept nothing short of severance of the Union, precisely what we will not and can not give. His declarations to this effect are explicit and oft repeated. He does not deceive us. He affords us no excuse to deceive ourselves; * * * between him and us the issue is distinct, simple, and inflexible. It is an issue which can only be tried by war and decided by victory.

That was the judgment of the greatest statesman of the nineteenth century during the last great war for human liberty. It is the judgment of this nation and of its fellow-nations overseas today.

"Our armies," said Lincoln, "are ministers of good, not evil." So we do believe. And through all the carnage and suffering and conflicting motives of the civil war Lincoln held steadfastly to the belief that it was the freedom of the people to govern themselves which was the fundamental issue at stake. So do we today. For when the people of Central Europe accept the peace which is offered them by the Allies, not only will the allied peoples be free, as they have never been free before, but the German people, too, will find that in losing their dream of an empire over others they have found self-government for themselves.

Famine: The Foe Dreaded by All

New Aspects of the Food Problem in Each of the Belligerent Countries

THE strategy of starvation has been resorted to in the present war on a scale altogether unprecedented. In former days it was common enough for a besieging army to starve a city into submission. Today we have the spectacle of great nations attempting to isolate extensive territories and large populations, to enlist hunger as an ally and force a famished enemy to sue for peace. The countries suffering most severely at present are Germany and Austria-Hungary, whose sea-borne supplies of food have been cut off by the British blockade. This, in turn, accounts for the desperate measures of retaliation by submarine warfare which Germany instituted on a larger scale on Feb. 1, 1917, aiming particularly at Great Britain, her most vulnerable enemy in regard to dependence on outside sources of supply. Neither of these two countries produces all the food it requires at the best of times, and so the problem of shortage and the measures taken to deal with it are best studied in Germany and England.

Briefly, it may be said that, while the Central Empires are already in a bad way, Great Britain can feel the pinch only in case the German submarine blockade is thoroughly successful. France is apparently in no danger. Russia has plenty of food, but railroad disorganization and a chaotic system of distribution are responsible for a shortage in the towns. Other belligerents are, for the most part, affected rather by general world conditions. The average of the last world crop was poor; shipping facilities are insufficient; and the cost of living has increased everywhere. On the other hand, some of the neutral countries close to the zones of war are suffering more than some of the belligerents. Denmark, for instance, has had to adopt an extremely rigorous system of food control.

The food position in Germany is an all-important factor in the prolongation of the war. Whether there is yet downright starvation is a disputed question. That a serious shortage exists is, however, undoubted, and this shortage is increasing at such rate that some observers believe Germany will be without food altogether before the next harvest can be gathered, predicting that famine will surely come in the Spring. Before the war Germany was able to produce at the most only four-fifths of the food required for the nation's wants. Since the war that proportion has decreased. The army has diminished the effective labor force of agriculture, and the blockade, in addition to preventing the importation of foodstuffs, has cut off important supplies required for the production of home-grown food, such as fodder for cattle and the fertilizers by which German farming had attained its high standard of intensive cultivation.

Germany's Food Shortage

In an economic situation like this one trouble leads to another. For instance, the grain shortage has led to restricted brewing, but stock raising is aided by valuable by-products of the breweries, the deficiency in which reacts on the supply of meat, milk, butter, and cheese. In the early part of the war serious mistakes were made in permitting too many animals, especially pigs, to be killed for meat, and it is now admitted in Germany that it will be a considerable time after the war before restocking can be complete. Allowing for all the different factors, we are probably very near the mark in calculating that Germany is now unable to produce or obtain more than half the food her people require.

Government control and regulation have played a great part in Germany's efforts to cope with the food problem; and though organization and efficency

have been remarkable features of Germany's general conduct of the war, there have been some blunders in food policy which have caused much dissatisfaction among the people. When the outbreak of war cut off Russian and overseas supplies it seems obvious—at least it does now—that the right thing to have done was to increase the amount of home-grown food and prevent waste. But the problem was not tackled from the standpoint of production, but from that of the consumer, who was aware of only one fact, that prices were rising. Thus, the first step to deal with the shortage of food was not to increase production, but to try to enforce regulations to keep down prices. And on these lines the authorities initiated a system of food control.

The original decentralized method of regulation through the municipalities was a failure, and in January, 1915, a vast central organization to control grain supplies was set up; but it, too, was a failure, and was abandoned after six months' trial. Then the country was partitioned into a number of large self-governing areas, with the Government still fixing grain prices for the whole empire. The prices of practically all food commodities were now regulated. But the system was fundamentally unsound, because if prices were low supplies were held back, despite the threats of heavy penalties, while if prices were high supplies went anywhere but where they were most needed. In short, the Government did not, or could not, see that under existing economic conditions, even in time of war, the law of supply and demand must prevail.

Finally, in December, 1916, Adolph von Batocki, the food "dictator," publicly admitted that the fixing of maximum prices was a failure. "The attempts to make food stuffs accessible to the poorer classes by means of maximum prices have collapsed," he declared. "Maximum prices without the simultaneous public administration of supplies only keeps the produce away from the towns and industrial centres, leaving it entirely in the hands of the producers or of consumers in the vicinity." It was at last seen that high prices, however great the hardships they inflict, prevent waste and encourage production, while the attempt to keep prices down by law induces overconsumption and discourages production. There was only one way to cope with the problem in radical fashion, namely, the nationalization of the whole agricultural industry itself, but that a Government dominated by junkers was not likely to undertake.

Protests of Town Populations

Evidence from a number of sources shows that the food shortage has inflicted practically all its hardships on the poorer classes in the towns. Everything that is most objectionable in German rule is due to the power of the junkers, or agrarian interests. Herr von Batocki has been unable to resist their influence, and hence the failure of his plans. The people on the land have all the food they want, and so have the classes that are making profits out of the war, for they can pay prices which are prohibitive to the workingman.

On the same day (Dec. 12, 1916) that Dr. von Bethmann Hollweg announced that the Central Powers were ready to begin peace negotiations a trade union convention representing four million workers was held in Berlin. It declared that it would support the Government's policy, but at the same time it emphatically demanded that drastic measures be taken to release the supplies of food being held up by the agrarian interests and speculators and to provide that the workers obtain enough nourishment to enable them to perform their duties. "There must be," said Deputy Karl Legien, head of the German trade union federation, "a sharper grip on those circles which do not understand the times and which selfishly hold back the necessary food from the people, and so injure the nation." Six weeks later (in January, 1917) a committee representing the whole organized labor movement of Germany addressed a letter to the Imperial Chancellor indorsing his peace policy and promising support for all measures designed to achieve a victorious peace, but also repeating the demand for an overhauling of the system of food distribu-

tion. If the distribution were just, the letter said, then any want or privation would "be easily borne with the knowledge that all classes of the German people are sharing equally."

Herr von Batocki himself complained on Jan. 23, 1917, after a two days' session of the Advisory Committee of the War Food Bureau, that the situation was aggravated by the wealthier classes buying underhand at fancy prices what they wanted, and thus thwarting the work of the Food Regulation Board. He also admitted that there was a shortage in the potato crop, "enhanced by transportation troubles," and that, although the grain crop of 1916 had been better than that of 1915, the total nutritive value of the combined grain and potato supplies for the present year was less, and, further, that economical feeding was necessary to carry the population through to the next harvest. This was despite the grain said to have been obtained in Rumania. The milk shortage was due to inadequate supplies of fodder and increased consumption of milk in the country districts.

An Ominous Situation

The summary of Herr von Batocki's statement cabled from Berlin contains quite enough to show that a famine in Germany is far from being a remote possibility. Other sources of information make the situation look equally ominous. It is said that the workers do not get the additional ration ordered by Herr von Batocki, and that they lose hours which should be spent in rest while they wait, tired and hungry, outside the public kitchens for food they are not certain of receiving. There is no enthusiasm, no spirit, among the mass of the people today, but everywhere only gloom and silence, and even mutual distrust. The situation is indicated by such a leading German newspaper as the Berliner Tageblatt, which gives the following list of food allowances:

Potatoes—Original rations of one and one-half pounds a day reduced on Jan. 1 to three-quarters of a pound a day.

Meat—Ration reduced to less than half a pound on meat days.

Butter—A trifle over two ounces a week.

Milk—Extremely scarce and price rising.

The Government has been forced to make war allowances to persons with an income of $1,125. Originally aid was extended only to those whose incomes were $525.

The Tageblatt then goes on to say:

After the experience of six months it is hardly possible to imagine that the War Nutrition Office is capable of performing its task any better in the future than in the past.

Shall one point to the fact that the potato rations, which originally were intended to be one and one-half pounds a day, have already been reduced in Berlin to six pounds a week, and that a general reduction of the daily ration to three-fourths pound will take place on Jan. 1?

Is one to call attention to the disturbing fact that at present even the bread ration of 1,900 grams (about four pounds) a week can in many cases only be obtained with difficulty?

Is it possible to overlook the inadequate supply of meat for the people?

Again and again the hope that the meat ration could be increased has been disappointed, although game, and to some extent poultry, can now only be obtained by ticket. Why, in many places one can no longer obtain even 250 grams (about one-half pound) of meat, but only 200 grams or less.

If one is lucky, one gets sixty grams (a little more than two ounces) of butter a week. For months past cheese has become something almost unknown for the mass of the people. Milk is supplied at best only to little children and sick persons.

Every now and then the War Nutrition Office issues a consoling communication, but generally the words are not followed by deeds. On the other hand, it is one's almost daily experience that foodstuffs which hitherto could be obtained have vanished from the market. And all that can still be bought costs impossible prices.

Further evidence may be quoted from The London Times, which prints two letters from "the neutral whose observations have proved so accurate in the past." In the first letter, dated Jan. 12, 1917, this observer writes:

I always have, as you know, warned the Allies against overoptimism regarding the economic situation in Germany, but there really does not seem to be much need of a warning now. It is not only my impression, but that of my German friends who are in a position to know the facts as to the food supply, that Germany is faced by the prospect of being unable to continue the struggle unless she really raids Denmark or Holland, or both, for meat, corn, butter, and oil.

Let me say first that throughout my tour I have not heard of any actual starvation. Every baby, at any rate, every baby under 2

years of age, gets sufficient milk except in the principal munitions areas, where so much of the milk from the surrounding districts is converted into glycerine. Invalids are suffering, but those who have money can on medical certificates obtain permission to go to Switzerland, Holland, or Denmark, for fixed periods, but the rich do not really suffer at all.

The condition of the general population, especially in the towns, large and small, is deplorable. There is a great deal of complaining and of late disputes between various authorities and between the authorities of the various States have increased in intensity. There also is great bitterness as between the country and the towns.

In his second letter the neutral observer writes:

The problem that is worrying the German administration at the present time is, How can Germany exist until the next harvest?

Everybody is now counting on early vegetables. In my judgment, the whole question of the ability of Germany "to hold out," to use the expression which is still in every German mouth, is the question whether the Germans can live on these vegetables, together with such supplies of meat, game, fresh-water fish, and imported fish as will be available until the end of August.

The unfortunate Herr von Batocki and his hundreds of advisers and assistants in various parts of Germany know very well that there are no reserves of food in the country.

Even the Conservative leader, Dr. von Heydebrand, came out as a vigorous critic of the Imperial Government during a debate in the Prussian Diet on Jan. 18, 1917, incidentally confirming statements that have been made abroad regarding Germany's present plight. "Our economic situation," he said, "is rich in deprivations and sacrifices. We may calmly state this, because it is known abroad what we are now compelled to demand from our population. The rural population is not yet imbued with the consciousness of the needs of this great time. The town populations are suffering grievously. It is sad to see how long women have to wait for a couple of potatoes and how for the simplest of necessaries town dwellers must pay absolutely exorbitant prices."

Suffering in Austria-Hungary

The position in Austria and Hungary is also very serious. The crowning of the new Austrian Emperor as King of Hungary at Budapest was an occasion throwing into sharp relief the misery of the people. While the ancient ceremony, with its pomp and splendor, was proceeding women were fighting for food in the market place of the city. Baron Kutry, the Hungarian Food Controller, recently made the following statement, according to the Budapest Hirlap:

The first requisition for corn has not met with the hoped-for success, and a second requisition therefore is necessary, far more severe than the first. The known stock and that which is at our disposal together represent only one-seventh of the needs of the whole country and army until Aug. 15, 1917. What is lacking must be found and we have only two means of making good the deficit—requisition and importation from Rumania. We hope that part of the Rumanian grain will be allotted to us, but it is still too early to speak of that.

The truth is, Germany is not so much in need of food and cereals as we are, and even Austria is in a better position. With us the distribution of food has been unsystematic from the beginning and no improvement has taken place. Appearances resulting from this lack of organization give the impression of an excellent position, not necessitating food tickets, as in Germany and Austria. We are not, however, in a better position. We are merely not organized. Henceforth Austria cannot receive even a grain of corn from us.

As regards the discrepancy between the available stock and our needs, we hope this will be passably reduced as the result of severe requisition. As a matter of fact, the right of searching private houses has been conferred on the authorities and will not be without success.

The potato crop, Baron Kutry added, had unfortunately been very bad and would not last very long. The people would therefore have to go without potatoes until the next crop. The supplies of sugar were nearly exhausted, and from Jan. 8, 1917, bread would have to contain 10 per cent. of cornmeal. The Baron's concluding statement caused a sensation in Hungary. "These measures," he said, "must continue even after the war, for it will be absolutely necessary—and that for many months—that every citizen impose upon himself the strictest economies, so as to prevent the country being invaded by famine. Our people must understand this grave situation and submit to the most rigorous restrictions in everything that concerns the supply of food."

Austria also claims to be the worst sufferer from the shortage of food. A dispatch from Vienna, dated Jan. 4, 1917,

reports the Burgomaster of that city as threatening to resign if Hungary refused to send food to Vienna. "The prisons are filled," he said, "with women and children convicted of having stolen food, while housewives are afraid to go shopping for food, even in the principal streets, owing to robberies and assaults." A few days later the Vienna Arbiter Zeitung published a pathetic letter to the Burgomaster from the wives of the city street car employes who are serving with the army. "We are in a deplorable condition," the women said; "our distress is frightful and our children are pining away." The letter then declared that, despite the increased salaries which the employes who were not at the front were receiving, they were starving. "How, then, with us poor creatures with our half pay? Our wretchedness is great. On our knees we entreat your Excellency to have compassion and grant us full pay. Do not abandon us. Take pity on our children."

Bulgaria is also in want of food, but the shortage is not as bad as in Germany or Austria-Hungary. Bread and sugar tickets, days without meat, and the absence of various articles of diet are to be noted, and with this condition a desire for peace, now that Macedonia has been won back.

Situation in Great Britain

Among the Allies, Great Britain is most concerned about food supplies. Never producing more than a small proportion of its own food, it has been only the command of the seas that has saved England from starving. The Asquith administration had already decided upon a food dictatorship, and when Lloyd George became Prime Minster he included in his Ministry Lord Devonport as Food Controller, while the new Minister of Agriculture, Rowland E. Prothero, was chosen for the purpose of increasing the production of home-grown food.

Although many ships with supplies of food have been sunk, Great Britain still has plenty to eat. Nor is the new German submarine campaign likely to bring the country within measurable distance of starvation. Nevertheless, the British Government is taking no chances. Land that has gone out of cultivation is to be reconquered by the plow. Farmers are to be encouraged to increase their output of foodstuffs, although they are protesting that the prices fixed by the Government are no inducement and will involve them in losses. In an address to the Herefordshire farmers, Mr. Prothero admitted that high prices were a stimulus to production, for they meant good profits, but they fell with undue severity on the poor. If prices went too high, he warned them, the Food Controller would commandeer the produce at prices he thought fit.

The Food Controller has already taken steps to put his words into effect. His plans go a long way beyond mere price fixing. He has secured new powers for the Board of Argriculture, whereby it may take possession of any land it wants and cultivate it, and also all the necessary buildings, machinery, implements, and stock, if farmers do not fall in with the Government's ideas. Great Britain has been able to proceed in this radical fashion mainly because British farmers are not as powerful as the German agrarian interests. The British Food Controller's powers are practically unlimited, for he can regulate production, consumption, transport, and prices as he thinks fit "for the purpose of encouraging or maintaining" the food supply of the country.

One of the new measures is the order, which came into force on Dec. 18, 1916, restricting the number of courses to be served at hotels and restaurants. Luncheon is to be limited to two and dinner or supper to three courses. But hors d'oeuvres, soup and dessert count only as half a course each. That the order is being enforced is shown in the following typical newspaper report:

> At Exeter Police Court on Jan. 12 Michael Healey, landlord of the New London Hotel, was summoned under the Defense of the Realm Regulations for having served meals of more than three courses, the meals having been begun between 6 and 9:30 P. M. There were two separate summonses. The Bench dismissed the first on payment of the costs, and in the second imposed a fine of 10s. and costs.

These regulations apply only to public

eating places. Another important change is the reduction of the beer supply to half of what it was in the year preceding the war. "The barley, sugar, and other ingredients used in brewing are required for food," was the Food Controller's explanation. "In fact, it is really a question of bread versus beer." Restrictions are to be placed upon other alcoholic liquors. These measures, it is said, will do away with the necessity of either State purchase or nation-wide prohibition, at any rate in the near future. The fixing of food prices is already in operation, and now the placing of the people on rations is contemplated.

British shipping is also under the control of a Government dictator, and from Jan. 1, 1917, all ships from America have to reserve 37 per cent. of their cargo space for wheat. This does not indicate the full extent of Great Britain's dependence on outside sources of supply, for the whole of the Australian wheat surplus is being sent to England, which, as the Agriculture Minister has recently said, cannot grow half enough wheat for its wants. It can be seen, then, what Germany hopes to achieve by waging a relentless submarine campaign against ships bound for British ports.

No Food Shortage in France

France, although her economic life has been seriously affected, is the belligerent country where the necessaries of life have remained cheapest and the feeding of the people been best assured. The portion of the rich and fertile land occupied by the Germans is valuable mainly on account of its mineral wealth. Good administration has aided the fecund soil and skillful husbandry to solve the food problem, and so the price of bread has hardly increased. Before the end of August, 1914, the Government had entered into co-operation with Chambers of Commerce throughout France to enable them to buy wheat, flour, and other necessaries which were to be supplied to the local dealers and municipal authorities. In April, 1915, when the price of wheat had increased nearly 50 per cent. and there was an undoubted shortage in the home-grown supply, the Government decided to become the sole importer of wheat. Arrangements with Great Britain and the organization of transportation facilities produced supplies of wheat and flour wherever required, and the price of bread remained at a reasonable price—almost at the pre-war level.

Sugar presented greater difficulties. In fact, this has been practically the only food commodity the shortage of which has been severely felt in France. Home-grown sugar came principally from the departments invaded by the Germans, and the supply at once fell from 800,000 to 300,000 metric tons. Of this amount about 650,000 metric tons was consumed in France, so that a deficiency of 350,000 metric tons had to be made good. It was met partly by augmenting the cultivation of sugar in France, and early in 1916 by an arrangement with England for the purchase of foreign supplies. Nevertheless, prices are high, and the people have to economize in the consumption of what sugar they can get. In January, 1917, the Government decided to introduce sugar cards and after Feb. 1 compel "patissiers" and others who make or sell cakes and candies to close their establishments two days a week. But, on the whole, France remains well fed, and for her the new strategy of starvation will have few terrors.

Before the war Russia exported annually more than a million and a half tons of wheat to Germany. Since the war an enormous surplus has accumulated because of the insufficient means of both internal and external transportation and because of the closing of the gateway at the Dardanelles. The workers in the Russian towns are suffering most from food troubles, for not only is the railroad system inadequate and disorganized but there is no efficient Governmental machinery for distribution. The war has been beneficial to the peasants, who are receiving double the ordinary price for their produce, and of course they have all the food they want for their own needs.

To sum up, the war may now be regarded as a contest between Germany and Great Britain to starve one another by their respective blockades into accepting peace.

German Intrigues in Russia

Paul Milyukov's Historic Speech in the Duma, Which Caused a Change of Ministry

Professor Milyukov, leader of the Constitutional Democrats in the Russian Duma, delivered an address before that body last November, in which he exposed the schemes of Premier Stürmer for a separate peace with Germany, after the Premier had taken over Sazonoff's portfolio as Foreign Minister. The exposure caused the downfall of Stürmer and a temporary setback to the "dark forces" of pro-Germanism in Russian politics; but it also led to an elaborate plot to assassinate Milyukov and to hostility in high places which compelled the latter to take refuge one night in the British Legation at Petrograd and escape from Russia the next day. His speech was suppressed at first, but after the resignation of M. Stürmer it was permitted to appear in the newspapers with some omissions. The essential portions of his indictment, which produced a profound impression in the Russian political world, are here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE.

Beginning with the case of General Sukhomlinoff and a vigorous criticism of the negligence and inertness of the former War Ministry, which had such painful results in the defeats of the Russian Army in 1915, the speaker turned his attention to the German intrigues in Russia:

GENTLEMEN, in the French Yellow Book there have been published German documents containing rules and advice as to the best method of disorganizing enemy countries, of creating disorder among their people, and throwing men's minds into a ferment. Well, gentlemen, if the Germans wished to spend all their money and exert all their influence in Russia for that purpose, they could not succeed better than the Russian Government has succeeded. * * *

As long ago as July 13, 1916, I warned you from this tribune that rumors of treason were running through the Russian world, and that these rumors, mounting very high, spared no one. Alas! that warning, like the others, was not regarded. Now see the result: Glancing through the declaration of the twenty-eight Zemstvo Presidents who met at Moscow on Oct. 29, 1916, we find the following passage: "The painful and terrifying suspicions, the sinister rumors of treason, of dark forces that are working for Germany by trying to create a favorable sentiment for a shameful peace at the price of the destruction of our national unity—all these rumors and suspicions are transformed into this certainty: an enemy hand is secretly directing the affairs of the nation!" Naturally, these rumors attribute to the Government the opinion that the continuation of the war is useless, and that a separate peace is necessary. But how shall the birth of such suspicions be prevented when a group of occult personages directs the affairs of State, and when its members at the same time are busying themselves with affairs of basest self-interest?

A Suspected Agent

I hold in my hands a copy of the Berliner Tageblatt for Sept. 16, which contains an article entitled "Manouiloff * * * (Censured.) Stürmer * * * (Censured.) * * *" This information is false in part. The author of the article has the air of believing that it was Stürmer who put his private secretary, Manasevitch Manouiloff, under arrest. But, gentlemen, you are well aware that this is not true; you know that all those who caused the arrest of Manasevitch without informing Stürmer were expelled from office. No; it was not Stürmer who had Manasevitch arrested; quite to the contrary, he had him liberated. [Wild applause from the Left, with voices, "That's correct!"]

You are wondering, no doubt, who this Manasevitch Manouiloff is? Of what interest is he to us? Manasevitch Manouiloff is a former functionary of the secret Russian police in Paris, who, in his day, furnished the Novoye Vremya with

piquant details concerning the lives of Russian revolutionists. But what is more interesting to us is that he was at the same time intrusted with secret missions. One of these will interest you particularly. A few years ago this Manasevitch entered into a series of secret conferences with the Count of Pourtalès, the German Ambassador, and the latter offered him a large sum, said to be 800,000 rubles, to buy up the editors of the Novoye Vremya. I am happy to add that a staff writer on that journal, to whom Manasevitch was first sent, drove him from his apartment. The Count of Pourtalès had a deal of difficulty in hushing up that disagreeable affair.

Such are the missions, gentlemen, with which the private secretary of M. Stürmer, Minister of Foreign Affairs, is intrusted. [Commotion, with cries of "Shame!"] Why was that individual arrested? The reason has long been known, and I shall tell you nothing new. He was arrested because he was guilty of accepting bribes. Why was he released? That also is no secret. He declared to the examining Magistrate that he divided the proceeds of that bribery. * * * [All deleted by the censor except the names of Manouiloff and Stürmer.] The article in the Berliner Tageblatt mentions two other names: those of Prince Andronikoff and the Metropolitan, Pitirim. To the influence of the latter and of * * * is attributed the nomination of Stürmer.

Sturmer and the German Press

Permit me a few details regarding that nomination. I was abroad when I first heard of it; it is mingled, therefore, with my impressions of travel. I will tell you quite simply what I learned along the way, and you may draw your own conclusions. Scarcely had I left this country—it was a few days after the resignation of Sazonoff — when the Swedish newspapers, and later those of Germany and Austria, informed me of the choice of Stürmer as Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs. Here is what the newspapers said—I am going to read a few extracts without comment. From the Berliner Tageblatt:

> The personality of Sazonoff gave the Allies a guarantee of stability in matters of foreign policy. In that domain Stürmer is only a "sheet of blank paper." He belongs doubtless to the circles which regard the war against Germany without any enthusiasm.

From the Cologne Gazette:

> We Germans have no reason to complain of the change that has taken place in the heart of the Russian Government. Stürmer will offer no obstacle to the desire for peace which from now onward will be born in Russia.

From the Neues Tageblatt of Vienna:

> Although it is not now the turn of the diplomats to speak, it is comforting to note that the statesman upon whom lies the burden of having begun the hostilities is retiring.

An editorial in the Neue Freie Presse for July 25 is especially interesting in this connection. This is what it says:

> However Russified old Stürmer may be, [Laughter,] it is nevertheless very strange to see a German directing Russia's foreign policy during a war that had its birth "in the domain of Pan-Slavic ideas." [Sic.] The present President of the Council of Ministers, M. Stürmer, has not shared the errors which brought about the war. He has not promised—do not forget that, gentlemen—he has not promised not to make peace without Constantinople and the Dardanelles. In the personality of this Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs we shall find an arm which we can use at our own will; for Stürmer has become a man who satisfies the secret aspirations of the Right, which, before all, desires no alliance with England. He will not declare, as did Sazonoff, that it is necessary to annihilate the Prussian military caste.

Whence arises this certainty of the German and Austrian journals that Stürmer, in executing the will of the conservatives, will act against the continuation of the war? It comes from the information furnished them by the Russian press, for the newspapers of Moscow have published the memorandum of the Extreme Right.

This memorandum sent to the Imperial Great Headquarters in July, just before Stürmer went there the second time, does indeed say that it is necessary to fight until final victory, but it also declares that it is necessary to end the war betimes, otherwise the fruits of victory "will be destroyed by revolution!" There you have the old, well-known thesis of our pro-Germans. * * *

The Allies have given proof in this

struggle that they have admirable perseverance; they have proved also that they were ready for any sacrifice. In this regard they have disappointed the expectations of the enemy and surpassed our own. It appeared to us then that Russia was approaching the realization of its hopes, that it was on the point of reaping the fruits of its labors and of the two preceding Ministries of Foreign Affairs. But at that moment, gentlemen, in place of an experienced pilot enjoying the confidence of all—for this is vital—in that place we find a "sheet of blank paper," an unknown who does not even know the A B C of diplomacy.

[Here M. Milyukov pronounced a eulogium upon M. Sazonoff, and continued:]

Relations that have existed for ten years doubtless cannot be destroyed by the caprice of a single person, and the allied press, like ours, had reason to affirm that the change of Ministry could not in any way transform the policy of Russia. But in a thing so delicate as diplomacy there are nuances; there is such a thing as embroidery, lace, delicate drapery, and there is also common sewing; the making of lace is possible only in certain circumstances, under favorable conditions. Well, gentlemen, I have seen the destruction of the most delicate fibres in the embroidery woven by the Allies. I have seen that destruction at London, at Paris. That is what Stürmer was, and perhaps he had a reason of his own for promising us Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

Intrigues in Switzerland

I then asked myself, By what arrangement is all this coming to pass? I went to Switzerland to rest a little, but the same obsessions pursued me. Even on the shores of Lake Geneva and at Berne I could feel the activities of the old "department" of Stürmer, that of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Police. No doubt Switzerland is a place where every possible propaganda springs up; for that reason it is a good observation post, where one can follow the trail of our enemies' diplomacy. The system of "special missions" also is particularly well developed there. But under cover of these latter appear missions of a peculiar sort. Men said to me: Please ask yonder in Petrograd what the celebrated Rataieff, a former functionary of the Russian secret police at Paris, is doing here in Switzerland. Ask, too, why Ladebeff, an agent of the Russian secret police, has just arrived here; and why that functionary frequents the drawing rooms of certain Russian women who are known for their German sympathies.

One sees that Mme. Wasiltchikoff has her partisans and imitators. I limit myself to indicating that she had extensive relations abroad with an Austrian Prince, then with a German Baron; her salon in the Via Cavour at Florence, and later at Montreux in Switzerland, was well known, moreover, for the pro-German sentiments manifested there. Now that lady has transferred her household to Petrograd. Apropos of great ceremonies, her name has appeared in the newspapers. I also found fresh traces of her passage through Paris; the Parisians were scandalized by the Germanophile sentiments of this woman, and, may I add, by her conduct toward the Russian Ambassador, though the latter had had no responsibility in the affair.

It is necessary to recall that this woman is the one who directs the career of Stürmer; a few years ago she openly solicited for him a p st as Ambassador. I ought to add that this solicitation was considered perfectly ridiculous at the time, and that it had no results.

In short, gentlemen, I do not pretend to have exposed the whole situation as it really exists; but I do assert that a sort of tunic of Nessus envelops certain of our circles and openly favors that propaganda of which Sir George Buchanan has spoken so frankly in recent days. It behooves us, then, gentlemen, to start a judicial inquiry like that which has been begun in the Sukhomlinoff case. In accusing that officer we had no absolute proofs; it was the examining Magistrate who discovered them. But we already heard what we hear now: the instinctive appeal of the whole country.

Strategy of the Rumanian Retreat

Colonel Konstantin Shumsky, Russia's leading military expert, tells of fighting from Bucharest to Galatz.

[Translated from the Russian for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE]

THE Teutonic forces moved against Bucharest in three groups—the northern, under General von Falkenhayn, the former Chief of Staff; the western, under General von Delmensingen; the southern, under Field Marshal von Mackensen. Falkenhayn's northern group moved later than the other two, at a time when Delmensingen's western group was at a point twenty-six miles to the west of Bucharest and Mackensen's southern group was eight miles to the south of the city.

The movement of Falkenhayn's group to support the other two groups marked the decisive moment in Germany's Rumanian campaign. After a series of conflicts Falkenhayn reached the railroad station Titu, twenty-six miles to the north of Bucharest. The situation was then as follows:

The three enemy groups formed a half circle around and before Bucharest, which was held by the Rumanian armies. The Rumanians slowly withdrew, in part to Bucharest, in part toward the east, in the direction of the Moldavia-Bessarabia frontier; Bucharest was gradually evacuated.

At the same time, from Falkenhayn's group, which was moving from north to south in the direction of Bucharest, a part was detached and sent hurriedly eastward, in an endeavor to seize Ploesci, which is an important railroad junction, the Ploesci-Buzeu-Focsani line being the most important. The next important railroad junction is Buzeu; by occupying Buzeu the enemy might cut the Rumanian line of retreat from the Bucharest region to the Moldavian line; this might result in the withdrawal of the Rumanians to Galatz; that is, to the Moldavian-Bessarabian frontier, and the cutting of the Rumanian front in two parts—the Moldavian part of the front and the southern part of the front, somewhere to the east of Bucharest.

In view of this menacing possibility, the enemy move against Ploesci was of vital moment, perhaps more important than his move on Bucharest, threatening the withdrawal of the Rumanian armies into Moldavia, and shutting them in between the Danube and the Germans approaching from the north. The Rumanians, therefore, vigorously guarded the road to Ploesci-Buzeu, and held Falkenhayn's army back from Ploesci until Bucharest had been completely evacuated. On Nov. 23 (Dec. 6) at noon the Rumanian rear guard, covering the departure of the main forces, evacuated the last of the eastern forts of the Bucharest circle, and at the same time Ploesci was evacuated by the other rear guard. In this way the Ploesci-Buzeu line was occupied by the enemy, and the Rumanians began to fall back from it to the east, in the direction of Buzeu-Focsani and in the direction of Galatz. The Germans followed up the retreating Rumanian Army with the utmost energy and determination, rightly deciding that, from a military point of view, the capture of Bucharest had fallen far short of complete success, since the main objective of the movement, the Rumanian Army, had successfully withdrawn to the east.

With this aim, Falkenhayn once more dispatched a considerable force along the Ploesci-Buzeu highway, in the attempt to deliver a blow against the centre of the Rumanian battle line. But the Rumanians vigorously resisted his attempt to break their centre between Ploesci and Buzeu, and the Rumanian rear guard continued to maintain their position by vigorous counterattacks.

As a result of this the Rumanians, during the first half of December, succeeded

in taking a new line to the east of Bucharest and stretching from the Danube (approximately opposite Silistria) to the middle of the Yalomitsa River, (at the village of Urziceni,) across the Ploesci-Buzeu highway thirteen miles to the east of Ploesci, and thence north along the frontiers of Moldavia and Transylvania up to the Bukowina, (to the north of Dorna Watra.) Consequently, the direct line of the Rumanian front ran from Bukowina to Silistria, nearly north and south.

So far as can be judged from the German bulletins, Falkenhayn did not succeed in seizing many trophies; he not only did not succeed in trapping the Rumanian Army, but did not even capture any considerable number of Rumanian soldiers. According to the German bulletin of Nov. 21, (Dec. 4,) the number of captives did not exceed 10,000, with twenty-six guns, which must be considered a quite inconsiderable booty, in view of the half million men engaged on both sides in the Rumanian theatre of war. It is true that Bucharest was evacuated two days later, but the Rumanian armies left Bucharest in perfect order, and the enemy was only able to capture the guns which, owing to their position, could not be taken away, chiefly the guns in the armored turrets. As a result the Germans occupied Bucharest and Ploesci, but did not succeed in delivering a serious blow at the Rumanian Army or in weakening its military effectiveness, which was shown in the sequel by the vigorous resistance of the Rumanians on the new battle line to the east of Bucharest.

This completed Falkenhayn's main Rumanian operation, carried out by an army of more than a half million men. It would be foolish to refuse to recognize its success, for, by shortening a front 725 miles long to 270 miles, a great strategic success was obtained, concurrently with the capture of Bucharest; but the effort to keep the Rumanian Army out of Moldavia had failed.

When we come to consider the reasons for the evacuation of Bucharest, practically without fighting, we must recognize as the chief reason the general strategical position in the Rumanian war theatre. We shall not enter into a detailed analysis of this situation. We need only point out that the enemy movement on Bucharest from three sides—north, west, and south—practically compelled the withdrawal of the Rumanian Army to the east of Bucharest. Further, the technical condition of the Bucharest circle of forts was such that they were no longer defensible. These forts, created by Brialmont, were of the type known as "concrete ironclads." Without doubt, in their time, they were models of military engineering, but they were now out of date; they were built to stop artillery of a bygone age—the 80s and 90s of last century.

The forts were also undersupplied with heavy guns, only two to each two-thirds of a mile of the fortified line; while in the Posen forts, for example, there are no less than fifteen heavy guns for each two-thirds of a mile of the fortified belt. And the forts had yet other defects.

Hence neither the strategical position as a whole nor the character of Bucharest as a fortified place permitted a stiff defense, as it would have been a repetition of the now famous histories of Liége, Namur, and Antwerp, hammered to pieces by German heavy artillery. It would have been still more unwise to shut the Rumanian Army up in the fortress; therefore the Rumanians came to the wise decision to save their army and to effect a junction with our (Russian) battle line, forming its left flank, on the section between Bukowina and Silistria.

In spite of the cold and the mud, warlike operations did not relax. Falkenhayn continued to develop his wide movement, to the east of Bucharest, from Ploesci to Buzeu; and, from this movement, it is possible to understand Falkenhayn's real intention. After taking Bucharest, he transferred the centre of gravity of his advance immediately to the north, seeking by this means to carry out a capital manoeuvre.

This manoeuvre will become intelligible, if we take into consideration that the enemy transferred the mass of his sol-

diers from Bucharest to Ploesci, and thence moved in the direction of Buzeu, seeking to capture Buzeu before the Rumanian Army could pass through. But this plan failed, thanks to the co-operation of Russian forces, and especially of Russian cavalry.

As was clearly shown by the bulletins, considerable forces of Russian cavalry were thrown in front of Buzeu, and succeeded in checking the main advance of Falkenhayn against that important point. The cavalry fought both mounted and dismounted; digging trenches, and opening fire on the enemy, they compelled him to change from marching into fighting order, and to organize a deliberate attack in loose order. The cavalry waited until the enemy was within a few hundred yards, then mounted and withdrew to the next prepared position, where the same tactics were repeated. Further, wherever possible, separate detachments of cavalry made mounted attacks, thus further delaying the advance of the enemy's armies.

Cavalry work of this kind requires great self-sacrifice, energy, and speed, and this work was admirably done by our Russian horse before Buzeu, thus gaining sufficient time for the Rumanian Army to withdraw in two directions, from Buzeu to Rymnits-Foscani, and, further south, from the region east of Bucharest to Galatz.

In this way, after a series of obstinate conflicts, a new temporary battle line was occupied sixty-six miles to the east of Bucharest, in a straight line running from the frontier of Moldavia to the village of Battogu and thence to the Danube, somewhat to the north of Hirsovo. This front had its continuation in the Dobrudja, where similar attacks were made by the enemy with considerable forces.

The enemy attacked the village of Tertumele in considerable force, and, after an obstinate conflict, succeeded in occupying it. The village of Tertumele is not far from Babadakh, to which the allied forces evidently withdrew. There remained the contest for the twenty-five-mile strip of the Dobrudja. The enemy evidently strained every nerve to seize this strip, in order to reach the marshy Danube delta somewhere near Tulchi, and thus to rectify his front in the Dobrudja with his front in Moldavia, which ran through Rimnik-Philipesci-Batogu and other points.

The enemy thus completed the shortening of his Rumanian front from 750 miles to 270 miles. But he was not content with this, and having in view the employment of a smaller number of troops to guard the Rumanian theatre of war, he endeavored to shorten his front by 75 to 100 miles more. It was possible to see this from the efforts of the enemy to advance in the Dobrudja to the marshy Danube delta, where a smaller defensive force would be sufficient, and to the Wallachian-Moldavian frontier, approximately on the line Galatz-Focsani, which would still further shorten the front. Naturally this effort met with vigorous resistance on the part of the Allies, and as a result the enemy was brought to a standstill without reaching the line Rimnik-Philipesci-Batogu; that is, forty or fifty miles behind the Focsani-Galatz line. This made it necessary to expect some new grouping of the enemy's forces, and a further development of the operations in the direction of Focsani-Galatz, in a new effort by the enemy to rectify his front.

We may easily understand that, if the shortening of his front from 750 to 270 miles was of great importance to him, its further reduction from 270 miles to 150 miles was of much less importance. Falkenhayn's main objective was already gained, and, if the enemy continued his forward movement in the Rumanian theatre of war, the cause of this movement was much less strategical than political; it was to give such an impression of "uninterrupted victories" as would strengthen the hands of German diplomacy in the game it was preparing to play, the peace proposals on the basis of German victory. But this impression was shattered by General Nivelle's sweeping successes before Verdun.

His Majesty's Danube Monitors

Karl Marilaun, a Vienna journalist, wrote for his paper the subjoined description of the Danube operations against Rumania. It is here translated for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE as an interesting war episode and a good example of the Austro-Hungarian war spirit..

COMPARED with their heavy cousins of the high seas, the dreadnoughts of the Danube are only little, almost dainty, ships. The most powerful Danube monitor is hardly as long as a big modern submarine; and if the calibre of heroic deeds, daring, and scorn of death were to be measured by ships' tonnage, his Majesty's battle fleet on the waters of the lower Danube would come out pretty poorly.

And yet the Austro-Hungarian naval battle flag does not wave a bit more proudly from the floating iron forts represented by our big battleships than it does from the masts of the nimble little Danube monitors, from whose guns—how long ago it now seems!—thundered the first shots of the great war. They were aimed at the Belgrade fort, which has been taken long ago. In the war against Serbia they got their first honorable scars; then they were guarding the famous crossing of the Danube that decided the Serbian war, and they united with Mackensen once again a year later when the Rumanian campaign began.

That this war with Rumania was sure to come was known no better by any one than by those on board the gray little warships. The young Hungarians in their crews have sharp eyes, and they did not lie on guard in the Bulgarian port of Rustchuk for months for nothing. From that point, and while making numerous scouting trips up and down the Danube, they saw how the Rumanians were beginning to prepare for the war which at that time nobody really wanted to believe was coming.

The monitors' crews are mainly composed of Hungarians, though Croatians and Italians of the coastal districts have also volunteered for service on the Danube flotilla. They are all genuine seadogs who have grown up on the water, are at home on the waves, and have the heavy, rolling gait of the true seaman, to whom any piece of floating plank is more comfortable than the solid land ashore. In time of peace the Croatians, Slovenians, and Italians among them are fishermen along the Adriatic; at home they have stood many a stormy blast, and the Serbian war was just the thing that gave them a chance to satisfy their innate love of adventures—wet adventures. The Hungarians among the crews come from the Danube, the Theiss, and the idyllic, reedy banks of Platten Lake. They, too, in the distant days of peace were fishermen, boatmen, boat builders, and ferrymen. They shot herons and wild geese with the rifle in one hand, so that the other did not have to release its hold on the unyielding, heavy wooden oar. Able, daring fellows, every one, made hard by hard service, and loving their watery element as the hunter loves the forest, they have a fierce joy in their profession and are well-tanned, sinewy, slender sons of Enoch, of the race of their forefathers who hollowed out the fallen trunks of primeval trees and gayly intrusted their lives to wind and waves.

There they sat, a year after the Serbian war, with their hands in their laps and their falconlike eyes fixed on the Rumanian shore, which for the time was not as yet a hostile shore. The Temes lay anchored for months in the harbor of Rustchuk. On her deck Hungarians and Bulgars became good friends, and this friendship grew to the strains of the monitor's Hungarian band, to the sounding of the Hungarian cymbals, and to the wildly exultant and passionately wailing notes of the Hungarian violins, whose melody brought a blank, dreamy look to the eyes of the brown, seasoned chaps in the dark blue sailors' uniforms.

And so the raw Spring of this year passed; it became Summer, and the days were doubly hot; the war hung in the

air; everybody felt it coming, almost saw it, and on board the monitors bets were made as to when it would finally break out, which were only a few days out of the way. In the course of the persistent scouting and reconnoitring trips they occasionally met Rumanian monitors in the neighborhood of Tutrakan; black, soot-spitting, ugly little things, with which they in the meantime got along very well. All kinds of news were signaled from boat to boat, greetings were exchanged in the language of the gay flags and of the colored signal lamps, and the Hungarian and Croatian youths sometimes cast dark looks toward one of these roving, waddling Rumanian patrol boats. In all eyes was the question that they did not dare translate into the language of the pennants and glowing lamps; the burning, fierce, threatening question: "When will it begin?"

And they began it—the Rumanians. They began it on the banks of the Danube the same way as their brothers began it in the passes near Kronstadt. On a Summer evening, one of the last in August, they fired from Giurgevo across the river. Columns of fire arose from the harbor of Rustchuk. This attack was the declaration of war, and in a jiffy the Austro-Hungarian monitors that were lying there with steam up hoisted their battle flags. The river had again become a field of action; the vessels steamed out of the harbor that was being bombarded by the Rumanians. "Clear the decks for action!" rang the commanders' orders through the speaking tubes over the steel-clad quarterdecks, and out through the enemy's badly aimed fire the fleet steamed upstream, shelled the Rumanian shore, destroyed what it could reach, sank some Rumanian ships under the fire of the Rumanian land forces, and reached the Hungarian Danube without having received the slightest scar in this initial battle. But not a man had seen the Rumanian monitors.

When the Rumanians, after the fall of Tutrakan and Silistria, made a desperate and hopeless attempt and crossed the Danube at Rahova, two of our Danube monitors, accompanied by four patrol boats, appeared in order to cut off the retreat over the Danube of the enemy, who had been utterly defeated by the Bulgars and the Germans. The six little ships bravely held their own against the fire of the artillery on the Rumanian shore, and soon the Rumanians began to fire upon them from the Bulgarian shore. But the Hungarians and the Croatians, in the midst of a hail of shells from both sides, lay in the centre of the stream and fired upon the Rumanian engineers' pontoon bridges as if they were merely at target practice during manoeuvres.

As the Rumanians, defeated by the Bulgars, were retreating in headlong flight over the bridges, our monitors, five kilometers below, shot the bridges to pieces. At that time thousands of dead Rumanians floated down the stream, and behind them came the pieces of the destroyed pontoon bridges. The Rumanians had experienced bad luck again.

After having done their work our monitors steamed up the mine-strewn Danube. Not one of the six ships was missing, nor had any sustained serious damage. One monitor had run aground during the heat of the battle, but it had not ceased firing for a single minute; and in the midst of a heavy bombardment by the Rumanians, who were now shooting much better, one of the little boats passed a line to the larger vessel and towed it to safety. The Rahova adventure had cost the Rumanians a small army; during the next few days the pitiless Danube washed the bodies of drowned soldiers to land by the hundreds. The lists of the losses of the Danube monitors on this day of bloody work totaled just eleven men.

The logbooks of his Majesty's Danube monitors contain many accounts of other heroic feats, which may never be made public. All the public may know is that the brave bluejackets down there are doing their duty, as they have been doing it for more than two years, and with steadfast hearts are waiting for the day on which, lined up in their well-tried battle array, they will steam down the conquered Danube with pennants flying, out of the Hungarian waters to the stone arches of the big bridge at Cernavoda.

This, the smallest of our squadrons, helped clear the Dobrudja of the enemy in two weeks; it was the ally of the Bulgars and the Germans in their drive from the walls of Tutrakan to the falling fortifications and ramparts of Constanza, and from the laurels crowning the troops that stormed the Dobrudja we may weave a heavy green wreath for his Majesty's monitors.

Wrecking Rumania's Oil Wells

Story of an Eyewitness

Hamilton Fyfe, special correspondent of The London Daily Mail, wrote from Jassy, Rumania, on Dec. 13, 1916:

DURING the last week I have been in bed only twice, so if these pictures and impressions are a little disjointed I think I may reasonably ask to be forgiven.

As I look back, these seven days seem like a nightmare born of the huge flares of burning petrol, lakes of petrol, rivers of petrol, set on fire of set purpose in order to prevent the enemy from getting lubrication oil.

I fancy it is the destruction of the petrol industry of Rumania which will leave the deepest imprint on my imagination. I have been with armies in retreat before. It is always a hateful experience. This retreat was hastier than the others I have seen, but in essentials not different. The attack on the oil fields was something entirely new. I had tried to picture it to myself beforehand, but without any success. The reality was such as no man's mind could have conceived in advance. Even to convey any idea of it is difficult after it has happened.

The whole business appears to me now so fantastic that I catch myself doubting if it really did happen. That it could be possible to wipe out so completely the slowly built-up result of years upon years of thought and labor, of highly trained intelligence and highly skilled labor, had never occurred to me. When I heard the talk first of what could be done to prevent the oil falling into the enemy's possession I had a vision of tanks set alight, of derricks at the well-heads demolished.

Destruction of that which has been created by man's energy for the satisfaction of the world's needs, of that which provides profit and wage for hundreds of thousands of people and so enables them to live, must be a hideous, saddening spectacle. That the wrecking was beyond all question necessary made the case no better. It added to it a horrid irony. We were forced to defend ourselves against barbarians by barbarous means. To leave the oil wells untouched would have been a crime. The Germans and their dupes need lubricants very badly. These were the only oil fields from which they could get them in any quantity. They would have benefited by the products of the Rumanian wells for as long as they occupied the oil region. Then they would have destroyed the industry themselves so as to prevent the Allies from making use of it.

It was therefore an urgent matter, when the enemy flood came pouring over the Rumanian plain, sweeping the Rumanian Army before it, to set about destruction with vigor. Fortunately a very vigorous man was sent out from England to direct it. Colonel Norton Griffiths surprised not only the Rumanians by his energetic methods: he surprised the Americans as well. To see him wielding a big hammer, swinging it around his head and smashing up machinery with it, just to show how the work ought to be done, made one poetical mine manager describe him as being "in love with ruin."

Neither weariness nor danger could daunt him. When the petrol in basins would not light quickly, he took bundles of straw, thrust them into it, and set them alight, escaping just in time. His helpers were worthy of their chief. The task of destruction was worse for them, since they were wrecking what they had

themselves helped to build; but they went at it with a fury of determination to leave nothing of what they had built to aid the enemy.

"It was pretty hard," one of them said, on the morning after the finish of the wrecking process at Moreny, the most productive of the oil districts; "it was pretty hard to break up one's home, furniture, books, grand piano, everything. But we did it thoroughly, by Jove! Millions of pounds' worth of property destroyed in a few days. Oil burned, wells blocked, machinery demolished, refineries put out of action. Some wreck, believe me." All over the country round about the smoke of the bonfires turned day into night. At Targovistea, twenty miles distant, there rolled over the town, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon, a dense black fog which hid the sky.

In Bucharest the population could scarce believe the tale that came from Ploesti, the oil town. They had heard for the first time the day before the murmur of cannon, still far off. While they were trying to keep their spirits up they had the accounts of the wrecking. They knew now there was little hope of saving the capital.

A little before this a train had gone through the station filled with soldiers and refugees. Whenever I used the railway in these pitiful days I found crowds of refugees at every station. Rich and poor, old and young, women with tiny children, babies a few weeks old even, huddled together on the platforms and in the trains, cold and hungry, cramped and sore.

There was nothing whatever to eat at the railway stations. I saw a kindly American oil engineer sharing a loaf with a Rumanian Colonel and cutting off chunks of the bread for two boys who had been ordered, as all men between 18 and 46 were ordered, to leave a district that was in danger of occupation.

The prices that well-to-do people paid for vehicles to take them into safety even before there was any immediate danger were enormous. For a motor car to go from Bucharest to Ploesti £320 was paid. And, after all, Ploesti fell before Bucharest. For cabs many paid £60, £70, and £80. An Englishman and his wife drove in a cab from Bucharest to Galatz. They were eight days on the way. Another British couple, with a baby 2 weeks old, fought their way into a train.

How long a train will take to reach its destination cannot be guessed. One day I waited at Galatz station from 2 o'clock until 8, the stationmaster assuring me every hour that a train would come soon. It came at 8, started at 10, and made fairly good progress. At 6 in the morning we were within fifty miles of the town I was making for. But we did not get there until 6 in the evening.

On the roads there was more freedom of movement, but one was liable at any moment to get mixed up in a jam of ox wagons, motor transports, hay carts, driven cattle, and retreating troops. On the highway that leads northward from Buzeu, a few days before the enemy came to this region, four transport columns were struggling along at once. Among them, in an inextricable mess, were refugees in all kinds of vehicles, from small open cabs to lumbering farm wagons drawn by white oxen with magnificent horns.

I had been during the day at the village where the staff lived and worked. Toward evening I motored into Ploesti to get some food. Vain hope! At the railway station restaurant, where one could generally count upon a meal, there was nothing. Fortunately, a companion and I had provided ourselves with an emergency ration. We pulled out half a cold turkey, ordered glasses of tea, and fell to. While we were eating, the restaurant was invaded by the headquarters staff. Their special trains, which had been waiting for days with steam up, ready to start at any moment, had just come in. We shared our turkey with acquaintances and were invited to join the train.

British Campaigns in Turkey

By James B. Macdonald

THE population of Turkey at the present time is approximately 18,000,000, distributed thus: 2,750,000 in Turkey in Europe, 9,250,000 in Anatolia, 1,500,000 in Armenia and Kurdistan, 4,500,000 in Syria and Mesopotamia. Turks and Kurds represent a half of the population and Arabs, Armenians, Greeks, Jews, &c., the remainder, who, for various reasons, are more or less disaffected, but have nevertheless been impressed for military purposes.

Since the war commenced Turkey has mobilized between 1,000,000 and 1,250,000 men, yet half of these are accounted for by losses at the Dardanelles, in Armenia, Mesopotamia, Arabia, Egypt, and by ravages of cholera, typhus, and other diseases. The army is now reduced to 600,000 men, and is understood to be located as follows: 313,500 in Armenia and Mesopotamia, 85,500 in Syria and Arabia, 71,250 in Anatolia, Adrianople, and the Dardanelles, 28,500 in Galicia, 28,500 in Rumania, 14,250 in Macedonia; total active forces, 541,500; these, with 58,500 strategic reserves, make the grand total of 600,000.

Although the class of 1918 has already been called up, it is expected that other 200,000 men may be raked up from various sources during the next few months. In addition there are about 60,000 German and Austrian troops maintaining Enver Pasha and his colleagues in power at Constantinople, guarding the Cicilian gate, and complementing the Turkish armies elsewhere.

In normal times the attitude of the Turks to the aliens in their midst is that of tolerant masters, but under the stress of racial or religious excitement they occasionally break out into wholesale excesses which startle the Christian world. Until eight years ago enlistment in the army was open only to Moslems, and by this means the foreign elements were intimidated. The Old Turks welcomed the conversion of infidels to Islam, and were fairly tolerant to aliens so long as they left politics alone. The Young Turks do not profess to be religious, but they insist on the conversion of all foreign elements within the State into ready-made Turks, whether they will or no, and have drafted them into the army promiscuously with the Moslems. The reason of their action is less questionable than the method they have taken to remedy it.

The Turkish population was rapidly decreasing in numbers and its poorer members descending in the social scale, while all were becoming less and less capable of competing with the commercialized Armenians, Greeks, and Jews. This was attributed to the burden of recruitment for the army falling principally upon the Osmanli and the exemption of the aliens.

The New British Campaign

To appreciate the Winter campaign of the British in the East, we should remember that their misdirected efforts in the past have little bearing on the present position, which is totally different. Their army, after two years of schooling in modern warfare, has developed experienced soldiers, and the whole machine is working smoothly under the single direction of the General Staff. With the most perfect equipment of any army in the field, they have made long and careful preparation for a blow in the East and later in the West.

Karachi, the northern port of India, is only five days' steaming from Basra, the seabase of the army in Mesopotamia, and India, with its great resources, is behind these preparations.

Egypt is much more than a helpless dependency which has to be defended against weak attacks from Turks, Senoussi, and Darfur fanatics. It is the great central clearing camp for oversea troops from Australia, New Zealand, India, South Africa, and reinforcements from Great Britain, with a large native

SCENE OF NEW BRITISH ACTIVITIES AGAINST THE TURKS IN EGYPT AND MESOPOTAMIA

army in reserve. Egypt never was in any danger since the war commenced, because half of the Turkish Army has continuously been immobilized elsewhere, and the undivided energy of the whole was necessary to put up a respectable fight for the Suez Canal.

Troops can be dispatched from this distributing centre to Mesopotamia, Saloniki, Syria, or the Levant, as occasion may require.

It is a mistake to assume that the war in the East will be won or lost in the Balkans. While that region constitutes the corridor for Germany's entry into her projected Oriental Empire, her chief enemy can more easily reach the same goal by a different route. Britain has no use for the Balkan corridor as such, having her own private latchkey into Mesopotamia through her absolute dominion over the Persian Gulf and its littoral. What will it avail Germany if she gain the corridor, and even the ferry at Constantinople, and yet lose the land of promise itself, for which she has risked so much? Constantinople would be untenable with hostile artillery on the opposite (Asiatic) shore, and it is possible to get them there. Many of the great conquerors of the past have entered Constantinople by this route. At the point where Darius crossed by a bridge of boats, the Bosporus (which signifies ox-ford) is only 2,800 feet in breadth. The withdrawal from the Dardanelles did not mean that the objective had been abandoned, but rather that the undertaking had assumed a new direction.

It is Russia and Austria, and more recently Germany, who each believe the use of the Balkan alleyway is a prime necessity for its particular well-being.

The principal object which Austria had in initiating the war was to further her ambition to seize Saloniki and Albania. This might not be attained at one leap, but it would be advanced if Serbia were put out of business. With Saloniki as her principal seaport Austria would have the free run of the Mediterranean; and with the fine harbors of Albania and Dalmatia in her possession would dominate the Adriatic and become an important maritime and naval power.

Britain, France, and Italy, the naval powers of the Mediterranean, could not countenance this attempt to alter the *status quo* without even the politeness of "by your leave," and their prompt seizure of Saloniki and Valona foiled Austria-Hungary early in the war. The dual kingdom has consequently been fighting a losing game ever since. Bulgaria went to war to seize Monastir, and having lost it she also is in a quandary. These two powers are more ready for peace than any of the other belligerents, because they realize that they have little to gain and much to lose by continuing the war.

It is doubtful if the Turkish Government has yet attained this frame of mind, but certainly none of the remaining belligerents have.

The Issue in the East

It suited Germany's book to back Austria's adventure into Serbia because as long as the Balkan corridor was "in the family" it would enable her to consolidate her position in Turkey. Briefly, Germany intended to settle the Near and Middle Eastern questions in her own favor without consulting the other great powers, who had more important and long-standing interests involved than she had.

Apart from trade interests, Britain and France are the largest creditors of Turkey, and as such interested in the financial aspect of Constantinople. As the two leading naval powers in the Mediterranean, they could not acquiesce when a rival naval power like Germany moved to take possession of Constantinople without even consulting them.

Their ally Russia also had a much better claim to Constantinople and the strait than Germany had, and the Entente Powers have indorsed Russia's claim, which is one of the principal objects of the war.

It was not so much Constantinople as the derelict valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris that Germany was after, but she could not reach and maintain communication with the latter unless she was in de facto possession of the former. Britain, however, had asserted her predominance over this area long before Ger-

many appeared on the scene, hence the Teuton challenge made for war between the two countries. The position is similar to what would arise if Germany had challenged the Monroe Doctrine.

Germany has exposed her hand in Turkey only since the war began, and consequently this phase of the dispute is not so much before the public, but is none the less in evidence. While the invasion of Belgium was an immediate danger to England itself, the absorption of Asiatic Turkey by Germany was an equal danger to India and Egypt. In point of time the former decided Britain's action in declaring war on Germany, but the latter would probably have insured the same result.

So long as Germany holds to her Eastern ambitions, so long will Britain and Russia fight her, even if all other matters in dispute are removed. Germany has not yet abandoned hope, but the result of the fighting in Asiatic Turkey during the next few months may bring about a decision in that field.

Britain's interest in Asiatic Turkey, as we understand it, is primarily a military one. The policy of Downing Street has been to maintain Asia Minor as a buffer State for the protection of India against European aggression. This was the purport of the convention with Turkey in 1878, whereby Britain guaranteed the latter in the possession of Asia Minor in perpetuity and received a lease of the Island of Cyprus as consideration.

Now that the present Turkish Government has subverted the guarantee by throwing down the barriers and admitting Germany within the stronghold, Britain at war has to secure herself by seizing such a strategic frontier as will protect India and Egypt from the German danger. That is the military object of the operations which they are now conducting in the Middle East.

Where can such a defensive frontier be found? Beyond any doubt in the Taurus and Amanus Mountains. Should the British succeed in attaining that barrier during the present cold weather season, then they will securely possess, in the country behind them, that which Germany sought, and they will hold besides, in her conquered colonies and sequestered foreign trade, much which Germany already had; and the latter per contra would have nothing of theirs to offset these losses. That would be defeat as Germany understands it, although it would not be victory as Britain desires it, for the latter has never yet entered upon war in a huckstering spirit.

The issue in the Middle East is likely to be fought out at an early date on the plains of Mesopotamia and possibly also in the hills of Syria. Decisive results are more likely to be obtained here than elsewhere, because the British Empire can bring the maximum of force to bear at this point, and its enemies are not so favorably situated.

The Strategic Key—Adana

In Mesopotamia and on the Turco-Egyptian frontier the cold season, which corresponds to our Winter, is the only possible time for European troops. In December the British offensive was resumed in Mesopotamia and on the Sinai desert. Both operations may have a common objective, and be a mutual aid to each other. Should such be the case and success attend their arms, then the Euphrates and Syrian columns would converge and come together at Aleppo, while the Tigris column continued upstream to Mosul to establish contact with the Russian left wing.

The Adana vilayet is the strategic prize which the British, or the Russians, or both, must capture to vanquish Germany in the East and facilitate the complete conquest of Turkey.

The Taurus Mountains form a natural wall bisecting the Turkish Empire in Asia from the Gulf of Alexandretta to Trebizond on the Black Sea. In a military sense there are only three gates breaking the continuity—the Cilician Gate, Erzerum, and Trebizond. Whoever holds these has sallyports giving entrance into the neighboring territory. The two last mentioned have already been gained by Russia, and it is Britain's part to secure the Cilician Gate—the celebrated pass through the Taurus Mountains near Adana.

The vilayet of Adana embraces the

alluvial flats at the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta, which are entirely inclosed by the Taurus Mountains on the west and north and by the Amanus Mountains on the east. A landing from the sea would be a perilous undertaking, as the shore flats are commanded from the surrounding hills, which are understood to be strongly held.

Tunnels through these mountains are in course of construction, which when completed will link up the partly built Bagdad railway and the Syrian lines with the Konieh section, which runs through Anatolia to the Bosporus, opposite Constantinople. This brings the most vital railway communications in Turkey within twenty miles of the coast, and this critical area is guarded by at least one camp of 10,000 German troops. The Taurus Mountain tunnel is expected to take two more years to finish, and in the meantime the break in the railway is served by motor transport over a distance of forty-five miles. The Amanus Mountain tunnel is also unfinished, but German engineers during the last year have constructed a temporary light railway, twenty-six miles long, over the mountains.

Turkey's Railway Communications

The Turkish communications suffer from the fact that in several places they run near the sea and invite the attention of hostile seaplane squadrons. They have the further defect of being single line railways, and any interruption throws the whole system out of gear. London War Office announcements show that systematic raids have been made on weak points of the Turkish railway communications. One squadron dropped bombs on the Kule Burgas Bridge over the Maritza River between Adrianople and Constantinople; another bombed an important railway bridge fifteen miles north of Beersheba, (the Turkish base for the Egyptian and Arabian fronts,) and yet another destroyed the Chicalder Bridge, some eighteen miles east of Adana—the most vulnerable point of all. Previous exploits included the bombing of Homs and Afulch junctions on the Syrian railways.

The Campaign in Sinai

When the British annexed Egypt, on the declaration of war in 1914, it threw the onus on the Turks to recover it if they could. Two attempts have failed ignominiously, and although Enver Pasha recently announced that another would be made, it is not apparent where Turkey has the resources to back up his words.

The British command has taken up his gage and carried the war across the desert to the Turkish frontier. This feat is a notable one, carried out unostentatiously on a larger scale than the Turkish ventures and across the same route taken by Napoleon in 1799.

Economic Egypt lies to the west of the Suez Canal, and east of it lies the Sinai Peninsula, which is all desert as far as the Turco-Egyptian boundary, with the exception of a few waterholes. It is not entirely devoid of life, as goats can subsist on the desert shrub, and they pass for wealth with the nomad Arabs. History records that the children of Israel wandered in this "wilderness" for forty years.

This arid region has been the theatre of the Turkish invasion. There are three well-beaten tracks across the desert, which have been in continuous use since before the Christian era. The northern route runs along the Mediterranean coast from Kantara, on the Suez Canal, thirty miles south of Port Said, to Rafa, on the Turkish border. It is 120 miles long, with seven waterholes by the way. The central route, from Ismailia, on the canal, runs to Beersheba, the main Turkish base in Southern Palestine. It is about 140 miles to the boundary line and has six waterholes. The southern route runs from Suez to Akaba, on the gulf of that name, a distance of about 150 miles, with only three waterholes. From Nakhl, midway on the southern route, another road connects diagonally with the central route in Turkish territory, and runs alongside the Wady El Arish (the River of Egypt) part of the way.

The first Turkish attempt on the canal, in February, 1915, made use of all these roads, but the main advance was by the central one. The second Turkish effort, in July and August, 1916, was along the

northern route, supported by a column based upon the Maghara Hills, midway across the central route. Since then Anglo-Egyptian forces have broken up threatening concentrations of the Turks at the well of El Mazar and at the Maghara Hills.

On Dec. 21 a British force, by a surprise attack, captured the fortified town of El Arish, ninety miles east of the canal and thirty miles from the border. El Arish is on the northern road close to the coast, and between it and Nakhl stretches a dry watercourse called the Wady El Arish, (the River of Egypt of ancient times,) with a string of waterholes along its route. The town served as the Turkish forward base, and they had carried the railhead to it from Beersheba. The Turkish communiqué admits that the garrison abandoned El Arish without a fight, and inferentially that they left in a hurry.

Following up this advantage, the British pursued the Turks up the Wady to the waterhole of Magdhaba and captured 1,350 prisoners, 3 mountain guns, 7 Krupp guns, and other military stores. Another mobile column advanced through the Mftla Pass and destroyed the enemy's defenses and camps on the road to Nakhl.

On Jan. 9 Australian mounted troops and the Imperial Camel Corps crossed the Turkish border, and, after an all-day engagement, carried by assault six lines of intrenchments covering the town of Rafa, which they occupied. Later, reinforcements coming to the aid of the Turks were located and destroyed. According to the preliminary report, 1,600 unwounded prisoners and four mountain guns were captured.

These successes are more important than would appear from the cables. They signify that the vanguard of the British army in Egypt has crossed the desert, is now on the Turkish frontier, and within striking distance of Beersheba, the main Turkish base. An invasion of Palestine would appear to be imminent, since the British are laying a railway as they advance, and have seized the enemy's approaching railhead, which connects with the Syrian lines.

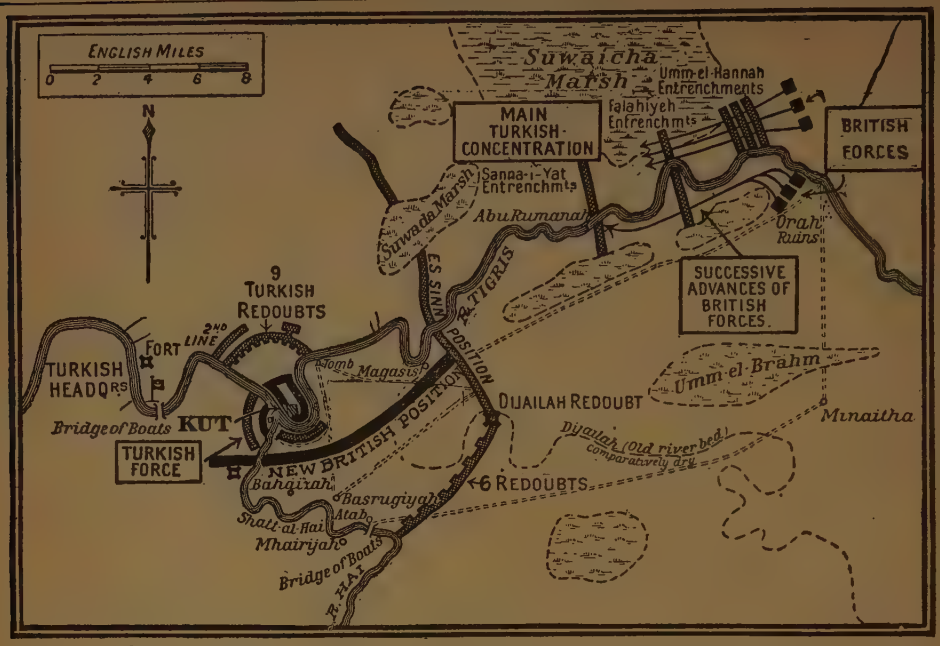
Campaign in Babylonia

That portion of lower Mesopotamia now occupied by the British was known in Biblical times as the "land of the Caldees," and the theatre of their immediate objective is familiarized as Babylonia, or the country inclosed by the bulge of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris before they come together near Kurna. It is a rich alluvial plain, formerly intensively cultivated and irrigated by numerous canals, but neglected since the Arabs, Seljuks, Mongols, and Turks overran it in succession. The land resembles the central plains of India, and the two great rivers correspond to the Ganges and the Jumna. The heat, however, is more intense.

In ancient times the country was protected from flooding by embankments and artificial lakes, which ran off the overflow, but since these have been abandoned the rivers flow where they will, and much of the land at times becomes swamp and morass. One of the first things the British had to do was to construct a bund, or great embankment, several miles in extent to prevent the river from flooding out their base camp at Basra. A similar bund may be seen at Allahabad in India, which was built at the time of the Mogul conquest by the great Akhbar, and is still in use.

The dredging of the river bar having been seen to, two railways were pushed ahead—one to the Tigris front below Kut-el-Amara, and the other to the Euphrates front at Nasiriyeh. All the troops who had been through the terrible heat of the hot weather season in Babylonia were relieved, and their places taken by a fresh army. The country around Nasiriyeh is reputed to be the site of the Garden of Eden, but the Tommies stationed there firmly believe that a mistake has been made and that it really was the site of the other place.

The Euphrates River at Nasiriyeh is connected with the Tigris River at Kut-el-Amara by the Shatt-el-Hai, (River of Hai,) about a hundred miles long. Early in the war, the Turks came down the Shatt-el-Hai from Kut-el-Amara in an attempt to raise the seige of Nasiriyeh,



RECENT BRITISH OPERATIONS ON THE TIGRIS AT KUT-EL-AMARA. THE ARROWS INDICATE THE FORMER ATTEMPT TO BREAK THROUGH THE TURKISH LINES AT THE TIME WHEN GENERAL TOWNSHEND WAS BESIEGED IN KUT

but arrived too late. This stream has again come into prominence through the recent operations. The Es Sinn position on the right bank of the Tigris was abandoned by the Turks in May last, but the British made no move to occupy it.

On Sept. 9 a reconnoitring party from Nasiriyeh was attacked on the Shatt-el-Hai by Turkish irregulars, and two days later a mixed force drove the enemy northward with the loss of 200 dead. The long-expected British offensive was launched on Dec. 13 and 14, and, gaining possession of the bridge of boats at Atab on the Shatt-el-Hai, a few miles south of Kut-el-Amara, drove in the Turkish defenses south of the town. The cables do not divulge where this force came from; whether from the main body on the Tigris, or from the other base at Nasiriyeh.

General Maude, who is now in command, consolidated his new position from Kala Haji Fahan to Magasis, which brings him within a mile of the Tigris south of Kut-el-Amara. The British hold one side of the river and the Turks the other. Possession of the river is indispensable to the Turks if they would remain where they are, and it is equally indispensable to the British if they would move forward. Both depend on it for drinking water and transportation, and neither can move far from its banks. The war in these parts is essentially a struggle for possession of the rivers, and the rise or fall of the stream may make all the difference between success and failure to one side or the other.

The Tigris is usually at its lowest in September, October, and November. It rises about a foot, sometimes two feet, in consequence of the December rains, and keeps fairly high during January, February, and March. In April it begins to appreciate the melting of the snow in the Armenian hills, and in May and June it is in flood. In July and August the river falls again.

When General Townshend won the first battle of Kut-el-Amara, on Sept. 28, 1915, he was unable to follow on the heels of the routed Turks into Bagdad because the river was too low to permit of his transports ascending it. It was improbable, therefore, that General Maude would bring on a general engagement

until the river was sufficiently high to permit of his reaping the full benefit of a victory, or before he had freedom to manoeuvre on at least one of his flanks. These eventualities have now arisen: the cables reported moderate rainfall early in December and heavy downpour toward the end of the month; while the extension of his left flank to the junction of the River Hai with the Tigris gave him the desired freedom of movement to the north along the right bank of the Tigris—at least for his light Indian cavalry and Royal Horse Artillery, which are admirably suited to this style of warfare. Unlike the battles of last year, the coming fight is not primarily for possession of the town of Kut-el-Amara—that could probably have been captured any time in the last three months, as The London Times asserts.

The immediate military object of the invading army is the destruction of the organized Turkish forces in Babylonia and Persia. The strategy to this end is directed, not by the General on the spot but by the General Staff in Europe. The former, however, is the executive who controls the tactics and takes the credit from the public or bears the blame, as the case may be. The day is past when a General can evolve his own strategy as he approaches the field of battle or can fight for his own glory and advancement, and brilliant individual play has made way for combination teamwork in a war theatre which may cover continents.

The President's Peace Note

[A cartoon in verse.]

By OLIVER HERFORD

Suppose a Snake with threatening coils
  Hung o'er a Thrush's nest,
And while the Thrush against its toils
  Was battling her best
An angry Owl cried "Twit to whoo!
  You've spoiled my sleep! For shame!
The objects of each one of you
  Are virtually the same."

Suppose a Hoodlum who has felled
  A woman and a child
By angry citizens is held,
  When o'er the tumult wild
A voice is heard, "This hullaballoo
  Must stop—you're all to blame.
The objects of each one of you
  Are virtually the same!"

Suppose when Tell, the patriot Swiss,
  Shot at the apple tied
To his son's head, and knew to miss
  Would mean infanticide,
Suppose some yodeler had a fit
  And yelled as Tell took aim,
"Too loodle loo! Whate'er you hit
  'Tis virtually the same!"

Suppose that when we came to blows
  With George the Third and won
Our land of Liberty, suppose
  Instead of Washington
We'd had a gifted man of words
  Who cried, "Why fight? For shame!
Our objects and King George the Third's
  Are virtually the same."

The Turkish Soldier

By Lieutenant S. F. Bryant

United States Navy

Lieutenant Bryant, now of the President's yacht Mayflower, was on duty in Turkish waters for the last two years and a half—on board the Unites States steamship Scorpion. For part of that time he was unofficially attached to the American Embassy at Constantinople, looking after British prisoners in Turkey. This gave him opportunities for gathering the impressions of Turkish soldiers embodied in the present article, which is published with the official sanction of the Navy Department.

TO those who have not known him the makeup of the Turkish soldier may bring surprises. The real fighting man that fought in the front ranks at Gallipoli is the one under discussion, and is different from the inland police official that assisted in the attempt to move the Armenian people out of the range of war fronts and communications.

The striking arm of the Turkish defense is made up of the able-bodied peasants of the interior, who have not had their natures corrupted by the influence of city life. Uneducated, sincere, and most loyal in religion, long suffering in toil and hard times, the "fellaheen," or peasant, possesses some of the most necessary traits of a soldier. He is obedient, amenable to discipline, enduring under privation, and absolutely submissive to his superiors, from the drill commands of the Sergeant to the will of Almighty God Himself, who arranged all things for the soldier only as they should be.

The Turkish "askair," or private, is in nature simple, honest, lovable, and peaceful until he is fighting for country and religion. Then he can weather a hail of shrapnel with an unwavering, and even fiendish, courage. He believes and fears that the Russian—the traditional foe of the Ottoman—is descending upon his nation to try to swallow it up and that the Englishman from the south is assisting the Northern Bear in the attempt to destroy his home.

The Ottoman army may be divided into three parts: the fighting branch, composed of Turkish peasants in the main; the Greek, Jewish, and mixed-blood section, employed on construction work, such as roads; and the Armenian section, which is naturally too hostile to be trusted on any work outside of grave digging.

The character of the farmer soldier may best be illustrated by some stories from the city barracks, the hospitals, and the front. Almost all the large cities of the empire were garrisoned during the war, Constantinople in particular, as it was a base for reserve and transient troops. As the existing barracks were inadequate for the number of troops, every possible empty or requisitioned house, palace, mosque, hotel, dive, or tumbledown dwelling was at intervals used for quarters.

The commissariat was simplified to black bread, olives, and perhaps daily a soup stew. Uniforms were generally kept complete by making the initial kit regulation for constant and indefinite use. Pay consisted of 2 piastres (8 cents) a month at the beginning of the war. Later this was changed into an extra loaf of bread each day, which a soldier could sell. At the Stamboul bazaar a loaf of bread with a chunk bitten out of it was auctioned off at 6 piastres! The bread conditions varied. Generally the normal price of 6 cents a loaf was kept in force by the Government, and, with the exception of intervals when grain transportation was held up for military reasons, the supply was sufficient.

Pastimes of Turkish Soldiers

The soldier in his quarters had many privations owing to lack of the necessities of life. As comfort and luxury were unknown to him, he could not miss them. Drink was seldom even heard of among Moslem soldiers. Cigarettes were always in evidence and were furnished by the Government at 3 cents a package of

twenty for the "sixth" best quality. "Kef" was, of course, a great pastime, corresponding to the Italian "dolce far niente," and the sweet nothings a midshipman may think of lying in his bunk the ten minutes after reveille.

Story telling was another pastime. The Turkish sense of humor is ever ready, easy to satisfy, and appreciative. Here, for instance, are some of the Nasradin Hodja stories, as told by the mythical Turkish humorist:

Nasradin, the teacher, one day sent three pounds of meat to his wife for supper. Upon his return home he asked for the meat, but his wife, who had eaten it, said to him, "Oh, Kodjam, the meat is gone."

"Gone? Where?" demanded the Hodja.

"The cat ate it," replied his wife.

"Bring here the cat," said Nasradin.

The cat was produced, and Nasradin commanded sternly that it be weighed. The cat weighed three pounds.

"Oh, hanoum," cried Nasradin, "if this is the cat, where is the meat? If this is the meat, where is the cat?"

Another story probably had its origin among other than Turkish soldiers. One day Allah called up Mohammed on the telephone and asked him to go below and stop the war. But Mohammed replied that he could only stop his own people and that by doing so he would expose them to destruction by the Christians. The Christians, on the other hand, if they stopped fighting, would be destroyed by the Mohammedans. Therefore Allah called up Moses, but Moses replied that he had no influence on the war, because all the Jews had paid their exemption taxes.

"Alas, alas!" cried Allah; "I would go down and stop the war myself if the Kaiser would not, while I was away, seize my place!"

Another yarn was told of a Turkish soldier who died for his country at Gallipoli. As the supply of houris in his paradise had long ago become inadequate for the number of resurrected heroes, he made his way to the gate of heaven and knocked loudly for St. Peter. The gate was finally opened, and St. Peter grudgingly asked what was wanted, as heaven for the moment was full.

"I want to come in," replied the soldier.

"Have you a special permit or any contraband to declare?" asked St. Peter.

"Yes, Effendi. I have a Turkish police pass, but no contraband."

St. Peter examined the pass closely, and, calling his clerk, told him to search the record. After reading the record St. Peter said: "No, you can't enter here; the police pass says you were killed at the battle of Sedul-bahr and the record says that the official Turkish communiqué states for that battle that on the Turkish side only a donkey and a camel were wounded."

That story suggests another of a soldier in a hospital at Constantinople who kept up a clamor for a medal for having been the only soldier in a certain battle that nearly died for his country from the kick of a mule.

Caring for the Wounded

When the fighting at Gallipoli was at its height the hospitals in the capital were overflowing with wounded. The number of doctors and the supply of medicaments were then pitifully inadequate. Emergency dressings put on at the peninsula were not replaced by proper bandages until the men arrived at Constantinople. In one hospital in Scutari the wounded came in so fast that over a hundred cases had to be doubled up in the beds, and mixtures of wounded and typhoid, pneumonia, and dysentery cases had to be put in the same wards.

Young students in the medical school were given responsible work. Pharmacists were commissioned as doctors, and dentists as veterinary surgeons. A story is told of a dentist who was put in charge of eleven sick camels to nurse them back to health and strength. Not knowing how to make them kneel, he was forced to use a ladder in dressing the hump chafings. Upon being asked one day by a friend as to the progress of his work, he replied: "Oh, they will soon be all right; Allah has provided; eight have died already, and the other three won't last much longer!"

The hospital systems, considering the means available, were as well run as could be expected. During the rush work American and English women in the capital assisted as nurses. One of them said that the patience of the men under suffering was unlimited, that when a man was writhing in agony it was rare that he would cry out or even groan. Some times there would be a confused muttering of "Allah! oh, Allah, Allah!" but that was all.

They had great sympathy for one another. If it was evident from a man's expression and involuntary shrinking that the dressing of his wound or tearing away of the old bandage was unusually painful, men would raise themselves in their cots from all sides and watch with pitying eyes, sometimes even with their faces contorted with sympathetic suffering. Few could read, and those few seemed never-tiring in their willingness to help less fortunate brothers. Going through the wards, one could always find groups of convalescents around the bed of a learned neighbor, who would be reading old papers, letters, and scraps of all sorts to his eager audience.

Their love of flowers was surprising to a stranger. If a bouquet were left by a visitor on the table of a ward, in a very short time the vase would be empty and the flowers could be found tied to the bedposts or lying on the coverlet of a man who was not able to hold them, but could still enjoy the fragrance. Some women brought armfuls of flowers to the hospitals each week. It was touching to see the interest some of the men took in choosing just their particular kind and color from the pile. Sometimes they would hide their gift and pretend that they had been overlooked, begging for another by the never-failing sign language. Some one who exchanged a usual burden of flowers for oranges said that she was greeted with distinctly less enthusiasm than usual.

One old soldier had lost one arm and had but one finger left on the hand of the other. This finger he very proudly named his "Padischah," which signifies the Sultan, or the "only one."

Another soldier, with both legs amputated, was in great distress when he received a letter from his wife saying that she was in great need. After an anxious moment a happy thought struck him. "Allah has provided!" he exclaimed to the doctor. "Will you write to her, hakim, and tell her that all will be well, for now she can sell my Friday pants!"*

During the Winter of 1915 typhus spread among the soldiers in many districts. It was brought to the cities by recruits from the interior. While visiting a cemetery in Constantinople a gang of Armenians was found, over forty strong, digging graves and burying the dead for one hospital, from which the bodies arrived at the rate of over 130 a day. That scene, with the numaur, or priest, muttering prayers from his Koran at a safe distance, as the shrunken, withered corpses of the typhus victims, wrapped only in a layer of cheesecloth, were dropped side by side in long trenches, left a permanent impression of what war can bring.

Humane Acts at the Front

Of the conduct of the Turkish soldiers at the front many have read: perhaps of the time in Mesopotamia when, on evacuating a position, water was left in skins marked by the Ottomans, "for the wounded"; also of the time at Fellahié in Irak, when some English soldiers were caught between the trenches, too severely wounded to move and under a broiling sun that would have killed them, without water and shade. When the rescuers ran forward to recover them, exposing themselves directly in the line of fire, there was not a shot fired at them.

Once during a walk by moonlight between two Turkish villages a rickety soldier's cart overtook me. As I climbed aboard the two soldiers moved up to make room and wished me good evening, apologizing in a crude way for the lack of a seat. One of them rolled a cigarette. Instead of smoking it, he asked me to take it. I thanked him, and, as I left them at the crossroads, gave him my bag of tobacco. It was an interesting picture, as walking down the road I could

*Turkish Sunday occurs on Friday.

ELABORATE GERMAN WINTER QUARTERS BACK OF THE SOMME FRONT

Substantial Shelters for German Officers and Reserve Troops, Erected Beyond Range of the British and French Guns.

(© *Brown & Dawson.*)

AN AUSTRIAN OUTPOST IN THE HIGH ALPS

This Lonely Sentinel Is Equipped with a "Snow Shirt" to Render Him Less Visible to the Enemy, a Device Adopted by Both Austrians and Italians in the Alps; also by the Germans on the Russian Front.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

see the two soldiers salaaming and thanking, with the wagon silhouetted in the moonlight, and the soldiers chuckling over the bag. They not only offered to drive out of their way to take me to my destination, but invited me first to go to camp with them and be presented to their German commander, to whom, judging by their conversation, they seemed devoted. Unfortunately I had other views on the type of introduction that would be appropriate.

At the front there were hardships to bear that would not be possible to realize from mere description. They must be seen or experienced. At the Dardanelles there were times when, as in most military expeditions, the food gave out. During the Winter there was no food for two days in a section of the Gallipoli trenches. At one time in the Caucasus region the soldiers were so hungry that part of them deserted to the Russians simply from seeing loaves of bread stuck on the bayonets of the enemy to tempt them as the food projected over the trenches. The cold there was so bitter that at night there were occasions when the sentry could not stand watch over ten minutes on account of the danger of freezing. There was almost no coal or wood there. The fuel used was dried cow manure. The uniforms were made from raw sheepskins, including coverings for the feet. The typhus at Erzeroun carried off over 300 soldiers daily during that Winter of 1915, and in that region the losses exceeded 200,000 from that disease. The mortality was close to 90 per cent. The details of these conditions were related by Turkish officers who had been through them.

Victims of Vast Causes

One may ask, Why should these men have suffered and died? What did these poor, inorant, honest toilers of the soil know of the quadruple alliance? What did they know of the fact that the extension of German influence in the Orient might, by a combination of four countries, lead to the development of a powerful empire which would cut Europe in half and possess naval bases on every important body of water adjacent to Europe, with the exception of the White Sea? His was not to know, simply to obey. Rarely among these peasants was there insubordination, and never mutiny. With obedience and loyalty to their officers, even under the severest discipline and untold privations, these soldiers gave their lives unflinchingly for country and religion. They possessed ideals that were more to them than life itself.

The Turkish soldier in this war has surprised his enemies and prevented changes in geography and history that many had counted on. He has shown that the best man is the one who, when enduring most and when in greatest need, can keep his courage and fight the same. Though he has been somewhat overlooked among so many heroic high lights, he deserves to be remembered and appreciated, and, whatever may be his ultimate fate, he has earned a fair page in history.

President Wilson's Senate Address on Permanent Peace

PRESIDENT Wilson appeared unexpectedly before the United States Senate on Jan. 22 and delivered the following important address, at the same time announcing that the text of the speech had been transmitted to the American Ambassadors accredited to all the belligerent nations of Europe:

Gentlemen of the Senate: On the 18th of December last I addressed an identic note to the Governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been stated by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the war puts in constant jeopardy.

The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace.

The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely, and have stated, in general terms, indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement.

We are that much nearer a definite discussion of the peace which shall end the present war. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by some definite concert of power, which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man, must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind in regard to the duty of our Government in those days to come when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

America's Participation Certain

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their Government, ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honorable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They cannot, in honor, withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this—to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a league for peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

Need Force to Make Peace Secure

The present war must first be ended, but we owe it to candor and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended. The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged.

We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant, and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterward, when it may be too late.

No covenant of co-operative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war, and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing.

The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American Governments, elements consistent with their political faith and the practical conviction which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American

Government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the Governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure. It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this:

Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be not only a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately, we have received very explicit assurances on this point. The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all, may not be the same on both sides of the water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

Peace Without Victory

They imply first of all that it must be a peace without victory. It is not pleasant to say this. I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities and to face them without soft concealments. Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at an intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory, upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand.

Only a peace between equals can last; only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.

Equality of territory, of resources, there, of course, cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of rights among organized nations. No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property.

I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of Governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace, which seem to me clearly indispensable—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

Access and Freedom of the Seas

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling toward a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right

comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the sine qua non of peace, equality, and co-operation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto sought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them.

The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the Governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe.

Limiting Armaments

And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programs of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these question are, they must be faced with the utmost candor and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings and come to stay.

Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armies are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. The question of armaments, whether on land or sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve, and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. Perhaps I am the only person in high authority among all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great Government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say.

May I not add that I hope and believe that I am, in effect, speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every program of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

And in holding out the expectation that the people and the Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named, I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfillment rather of all that we have professed or striven for.

Monroe Doctrine for the World

I am proposing that all nations henceforth should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: That no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am propsing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competition of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in the common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We can stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail.

Criticism of the President's Plan for "Peace Without Victory"

PRESIDENT WILSON'S address to the Senate on Jan. 22 aroused animated comment alike in the belligerent countries and in the United States. The Entente nations took vigorous exception to the phrase "peace without victory," and the Teutonic Powers, while rejoicing in that aspect, looked with disfavor upon the President's suggestion of autonomy for all nationalities, notably for the Poles. In the United States, on the other hand, the idea of abandoning the Monroe Doctrine and casting in our lot with a worldwide league for peace aroused deep and earnest dissent in many quarters. Pacifists everywhere praised the address. The vast variety of the comment it provoked is indicated by the fact that some of the President's admirers declared it to be the most important pronouncement of an American Executive since that of the Monroe Doctrine, while some of his critics called him a "German catspaw" and said his speech would "make Don Quixote wish he hadn't died so soon."

German opinion was generally favorable, but cautious in expressing itself. The President's views on "freedom of the seas" and on "peace without victory" were received with satisfaction, but German officials both in Washington and in Berlin refrained from public utterances on the subject. The press summary of Germany's view was to the effect that President Wilson's step, though well meant, was unsuitable for discussion at a time when the attitude of the Entente was making prosecution of the war inevitable.

Count Tisza's Reply

The Hungarian Premier, Count Stephen Tisza, made the frankest official reply for the Teutonic Powers when he said (Jan. 24) in answer to a question in the Parliament at Budapest:

In view of the fact that President Wilson in his address makes certain distinctions between our reply and our enemies' reply, I must especially state that the quadruple alliance declares that it is inclined to enter into peace negotiations, but at the same time it will propose terms which, in its opinion, are acceptable for the enemy and calculated to serve as a basis for a lasting peace.

On the other hand, the conditions of peace contained in our enemies' reply to the United States are equivalent at least to the disintegration of our monarchy and of the Ottoman Empire. This amounts to an official announcement that the war aims at our destruction, and we are, therefore, forced to resist with our utmost strength as long as this is the war aim of our enemies.

In such circumstances it cannot be doubted which group of powers by its attitude is the obstacle to peace, and this group approximates to President Wilson's conception. The President opposes a peace imposed by a conqueror, which one party would regard as a humiliation and an intolerable sacrifice. From this it follows clearly that so long as the powers opposed to us do not substantially change their war aims an antagonism that cannot be bridged stands between their viewpoint and the President's peace aims.

My second observation has to do with the principle of nationalities. I desire to be brief; therefore I will not dilate on the question of what moral justification England and Russia have to lay stress on the principle of nationalities in a peace program, which would destroy the Hungarian Nation and deliver the Mohammedan population of the Bosporus region into Russian domination. But I say that the whole public opinion in Hungary holds to the principle of nationalities in honor.

The principle of nationalities in the formation of national States, however, can only prevail unrestrictedly where single nations live within sharply marked ethnographical boundaries in compact masses and in regions suited to the organization of a State. In territories where various races live intermingled it is impossible that every single race can form a national State. In such territories it would only be possible to create a State without national character, or one in which a race by its numbers and importance predominates, thus imprinting its national character.

In such circumstances, therefore, only that limited realization of the principle of nationalities is possible which the President of the United States rightly expresses in demanding that security of life and religion and individual and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples. I believe that nowhere is this demand realized to such a degree as in both States of the monarchy. I believe that in the regions of Southeastern

Europe, which are inhabited by a varied mixture of peoples and nations, the demand for free development of nations cannot be more completely realized than it is by the existence and domination of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

We feel ourselves, therefore, completely in agreement with the President's demands. We shall strive for the realization as far as possible of this principle in the regions lying in our immediate neighborhood. I can only repeat that, true to our traditional foreign policy and true to the standpoint we took in our peace action in conjunction with our allies, we are ready to do everything that will guarantee to the peoples of Europe the blessings of a lasting peace.

Ruffini Answers for Italy

Italy's answer to the President's utterance took the form of a published statement from Francesco Ruffini, Minister of Public Instruction, reported in a cable dispatch from Rome on Jan. 28. After stating that Italy heartily approved the idea of free nationalities, Signor Ruffini added that the aims of Italy in this regard were indispensable conditions of peace. He continued:

Italy having laboriously emerged from bondage by driving out the Austrians, has among her war aims the attainment of complete unity. This is justified historically, and its completion will be a proper act, because Italy does not wish to live by the grace of others. She has already been able to constitute her national solidarity, and is working today to settle finally the question of her unity.

President Wilson could not find a better exemplification of these principles than the war in which Italy is fighting beside her allies. Italy's aims can be attained only by victory, since her enemy never for an instant has hidden or modified the principles of tyranny and oppression which would negative absolutely the principles proclaimed by the President.

In fact, the statement of Premier Tisza of Hungary shows that Austria-Hungary not only wishes to continue oppression of the various nationalities, but desires to extend it to the Balkans, over Serbia, Montenegro, and Rumania. All this is monstrous, and particularly repulsive to Italy, whose situation, on account of the Italians still under Austrian rule, is unique. These Italians do not form a separate nation subject to Austria, like Bohemia, but are a suffering and bleeding part of a nation the greatest part of which has attained its freedom. Italy would be unworthy of her liberty and strength if she permitted unchanging Austria forever to grind down her Italian brethren.

Americans, who enjoy entire independence, cannot fail to understand Italy's position in the conflict—why Italy cannot lay down her arms until a common victory signalizes realization of those aims which are indispensable conditions for a future peace. It is inadmissible that lasting peace could emerge from a situation which would represent the consolidation of oppression and violence. It is inadmissible that the just desire for peace which inspires even neutrals could coincide with submission to brutal and truculent power.

Comments of Entente Powers

The preponderance of sentiment in the Entente countries was unfavorable, if not actively hostile, to the proposition of "peace without victory." The French press generally praised President Wilson's ideals, but pronounced them Utopian and incapable of bringing peace to the world in the present crisis. The British newspapers were respectfully hostile, with very few exceptions. The phrase "freedom of the seas" was as unwelcome as "peace without victory." Frederic Harrison published in The Morning Post a satirical fable in the form of a letter in which the Emperor of Brazil was represented as having written to President Lincoln in the darkest hour of the American civil war, urging "peace without victory" and the rest of it. The official reply of the British Government to the President's utterance was made by Bonar Law and is published in full elsewhere in these pages.

Russia was politely appreciative, but the press generally agreed in saying that the President's address brought peace no nearer. The Russian Foreign Office at Petrograd issued this formal statement

Russia always has been in full sympathy with the broad humanitarian principles expressed by the President of the United States, and his message to the Senate, therefore, has made a most favorable impression upon the Russian Government. Russia will welcome all suitable measures which will help prevent a recurrence of the world war. Accordingly we can gladly indorse President Wilson's communication.

President Wilson's views on free access to the seas find an advocate in Russia, because she considers it necessary to have free access to the seas.

The President's proposal regarding limited armament has the support of Russia, who made representations of this nature at The Hague Conference. In expressing these convictions the President of the United States

is at the same time expressing the point of view of Russia.

The Russian Government notes with satisfaction that President Wilson makes a sharp contrast between the definite reply of the Entente Allies to his first communication and the evasive note of the Central Powers.

Russia already has definitely announced her unalterable determination regarding the future of Poland. The Russian Emperor has declared that one of the objects of the war is a free Poland, consisting now of three separated provinces.

As to the nature of the peace to be concluded, whether it be a peace without victory or not, one should remember that it never has been the aim of the Allies to crush their enemies, and that they have never insisted upon victory in that sense over Germany. It is Germany who has taken that point of view and who wishes to dictate peace as a victor.

Arouses Debate at Home

President Wilson's address called forth a violent diversity of opinion in the United States. The cleavage for the most part followed party lines. Leading Democratic newspapers pronounced the utterance epoch-making, a message to mankind, a summary of the broad principles of liberty and justice upon which alone a durable peace is possible. Republican papers for the most part condemned it as untimely, harmful, or at best an "oration on the millennium." Elihu Root declared himself in sympathy with the President's ideals, but added that our entry into a league for peace would be worthless and meaningless without ships and soldiers to do our part in enforcing its mandates. Theodore Roosevelt issued an attack on the President's proposition, concluding with this passage:

When fear of the German submarine next moves Mr. Wilson to declare for "peace without victory" between the tortured Belgians and their cruel oppressors and taskmasters, when such fear next moves him to utter the shameful untruth that each side is fighting for the same things, and to declare for neutrality between wrong and right, let him think of the prophetess Deborah, who, when Sisera mightily oppressed the children of Israel with his chariots of iron, and when the people of Meroz stood neutral between the oppressed and the oppressor, sang of them:

"Curse ye, Meroz, said the Angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty."

President Wilson has earned for this nation the curse of Meroz, for he has not dared to stand on the side of the Lord against the wrongdoings of the mighty.

In the Senate the President's address, especially the portion of it relating to our entrance into a world league to enforce peace, aroused Republican opposition, which took formal shape in a resolution introduced by Senator Cummins of Iowa, calling for a discussion of the President's proposals. The resolution was combated by the Democratic leaders, and finally on Jan. 30 it was tabled by a strict party vote of 38 to 30.

Meanwhile, Senator Borah of Idaho introduced a somewhat different resolution on Jan. 25, calling upon the Senate to reaffirm its faith in the Monroe Doctrine and in the policy of nonintermeddling in European politics advocated by Washington and Jefferson. At his own request the resolution was allowed to lie on the table to be called up whenever he wished to discuss it. In a public address in Washington the next day he denounced the President's peace league idea as vicious and dangerous, stating his reasons for this belief in part as follows:

If the people of this country want to enter European politics, take part in European controversies, become entangled in its dynastic dissensions; if they want to furnish money and soldiers, ships and men to be subject to the call of some tribunal or league, in which tribunal we will have but one vote, very well. The people have a right to enter that perilous course if they choose, for this is the people's Government. But let us understand perfectly what it means before we take the step. Let us not be deceived nor deceive ourselves. We should debate and consider every step before we take it, for these are the steps which once taken it is impossible for a people to retrace.

Once in the maelstrom of European politics, it will be almost impossible to get out. Once involved in the matter of economically boycotting or in the matter of enforcing decrees of military force, it will be practically impossible to get back to the policy under which we have lived and strengthened for more than a century.

The whole subject was swept into the background shortly afterward by Germany's proclamation of unrestricted submarine warfare and the breaking of diplomatic relations with that Government.

Bonar Law's Answer to President Wilson's Speech on Permanent Peace

ANDREW BONAR LAW, Chancellor of the Exchequer and member of the British War Council, delivered an address at Bristol on Jan. 24 in which he made this frank reply to President Wilson's Senate message:

The end of war is peace. The Germans made us what they have called an offer of peace. It received from the allied Governments the reply which it deserved—the only possible reply.

Most of you have, however, I presume, read the speech by President Wilson, which appeared in yesterday's papers. It is a frank speech, and it is right that any member of one of the allied Governments who refers to it should speak with equal frankness. It is impossible that he and we can look on it from the same point of view.

The head of a great neutral nation, whatever his private views may be—and I know as little as any of you what they are—must adopt a neutral attitude. America is very far removed from the horrors of this war. We are in the midst of them. America is neutral; we are not neutral. We believe that the essence of this conflict is a question which is as old as time—the difference between right and wrong. We believe, we know that this is a war of naked aggression, that crimes which have accompanied the conduct of the war, which have been unknown in the world for centuries, are small in comparison with the initial crime of plunging the world into war by cold-blooded calculation because those responsible thought it would pay.

President Wilson's speech had this aim—to gain peace now and secure peace for the future. That is our aim, and our only aim. He hoped to secure this by a league of peace, and he not only spoke in favor of such a league, but he is trying to induce the American Senate to take the steps necessary to give effect to it. It would not be right to regard this proposal as something altogether Utopian.

You know that almost up to our own day dueling continued, and just as the settling of private disputes by the sword has now become unthinkable, so, I think, we may hope that the time will come when all the nations of the world will play the part which Cromwell described as his life work—to act as constable and keep peace. That time will come, I hope.

But this whole subject is not an abstract question for the future. It is a question of life and death now. In judging whether that result can be secured by his methods it is impossible for us to forget the past. For generations humane men, men of good-will among all nations, have striven by The Hague Convention, by peace conferences, and by all other means to make war impossible, or at least to mitigate the horrors of war. When war comes, by what means can these barriers built up against barbarism be made effective? They cannot be preserved by the belligerents, if any of them choose to ignore them. It is only from neutral States that effective sanction can be given to them.

What happened? At the very outbreak of the war the Germans swept aside every one of these barriers. They tore up treaties which they had themselves solemnly signed. They strewed mines in the open sea. They committed every atrocity on sea and land against The Hague Convention, which they had themselves signed. They made war on women and children. They destroyed neutrals as ruthlessly as they did their enemies. They are at this moment driving the population of conquered territories into slavery, and, worse even than that, they are making some of the subjects of their enemies take up arms against their own country.

All this has been done, and no neutral power has been able to stop it. No neutral power, indeed, has made any protest against it. We must, then, take other means to secure the future peace of the world.

We have rejected the German offer to enter into negotiations, not from lust of conquest or desire for shining victories. We have rejected it, not from a spirit of vindictiveness, or a desire for revenge, but because peace now would mean a peace based on [German?] victory. It would be a peace which would leave the military machine unbroken, with the halo of success surrounding it. It would leave the control of that machine in the hands of the same men who for a generation prepared for war, who would make the same preparation again, and who would choose their own time to plunge the world into the horrors which we are now enduring.

Our aims are the same as President Wilson's. What he is longing for we are fighting for, our sons and brothers are risking their lives for, and we mean to secure it. The hearts of the people of this country are longing for peace. We are praying for peace, for a peace which will bring back to us in safety those who are fighting our battles, and a peace which will mean that those who will not come back have not laid down their lives in vain.

Will Russia Make a Separate Peace?

Russia's Official Reply

FOLLOWING is the official reply made in the Duma by N. N. Pokrovsky, Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the German peace proposal of Dec. 12. It has been specially translated from the Russian for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE:

Gentlemen of the Duma: Coming before you immediately after my appointment to the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs, I cannot, of course, give you a complete and detailed account of the present political situation. But I feel myself under obligation to inform you, by the wish of his Majesty, of the relation of the Russian Government to the step of our enemies which you learned from last night's telegrams.

Words concerning peace, resounding from the camp on which lies all the heavy responsibility for kindling this world conflagration, unprecedented in history, in spite of their strangeness, were not unexpected by the Allies.

During the two and a half years that the war has lasted, Germany has repeatedly spoken of peace. She has spoken of it to her armies and to her people, before each aggressive operation that was to decide the war. After each military success, which did not bring a wider success, she felt out the ground for peace, now on this, now on that side. And the press of neutral countries was very active in the same direction. But all these attempts, set in motion by the Germans, met with a quiet and decided refusal.

At the present time, since she has lost all hope of smashing a breach in our indissoluble alliance, Germany comes forward with an official proposal to begin peace negotiations.

In order to be able to estimate the value of this proposal, we must consider both its character and the circumstances under which it has been made. In reality, the German proposal contains no substantive indications of the character of the peace which is referred to in it. It repeats the worn-out legend that the war was forced upon the Central Empires. The victories of the Austro-German armies are spoken of, and the impossibility of resisting them. Proposing, therefore, to enter into peace negotiations, the Central Powers express the conviction that the conditions which they would be able to accept must guarantee the existence, honor, and free development of "their" peoples, and that these conditions will suffice to establish world peace. This is all the communication contains, except the threat to continue the war to a victorious end, and, in case of our refusal, to transfer to us and to our allies the responsibility for further bloodshed.

Under what circumstances do the Germans make this proposal? The armies of our enemies have devastated and occupied Belgium, Serbia, Montenegro, a part of France, Russia, and Rumania. The Austro-Germans have just announced the autonomy of a part of Poland, and are trying in this way to get the whole Polish people into their hands. For whom, except for Germany, can such a situation be favorable for beginning peace negotiations?

But the motives of Germany's action become still clearer if we take into consideration the internal situation of our enemy. To try at the last moment to gain an advantage from his temporary seizures of territory, before his internal weakness has become manifest—this is the real purpose of the German proposal. In case of failure, our enemies will use the refusal of our allies to make peace, to raise the fainting spirits of their people.

There is also another illogical aim—in their failure to comprehend the true spirit which inspires Russia, our enemies flatter themselves with the hope that among us cowards may be found who, even for a moment, may allow themselves to be deceived by lying proposals. This will not happen!

No Russian heart is quaking. With greater unity than before will all Russia rise and stand like a wall around its supreme leader, who, at the beginning of the war, declared that "he would not make peace until the last enemy soldier had left Russian soil."

With still greater energy will the Russian Government strive to master the problems announced at your first meeting, the performance of the common task, as the only true means of reaching the goal dear to the heart of each of us—the final conquest of our enemy!

And the Russian Government rejects with indignation the thought of the base possibility of ceasing the struggle now, and merely giving to Germany the possibility of availing herself of the last chance to subject all Europe to her hegemony. All the countless sacrifices that we have made would be rendered unavailing by the premature conclusion of peace with an enemy whose forces are impaired but not yet rendered innocuous, and who seeks a breathing spell under the lying pretext of peace.

In this unshakable determination, Russia finds herself in complete unity of spirit with her glorious allies. We are all penetrated with the necessity, vital for us, of bringing the war to a victorious issue. And on that path we shall not allow ourselves to be stopped by any craft of our enemies.

The declaration of the Minister of Foreign Affairs received the unanimous

support of the Duma. The Council of State, after hearing the communication of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, resolved:

Having heard the communication of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Council of State unanimously joins in the decisive refusal of the Entente Governments to enter into peace discussions of any kind, in the present circumstances; and, believing, on their own part, that the German offer of peace is merely a further proof of the increasing weakness of our foes, and a hypocritical move, not calculated to bring any practical results, but to relieve the German Government of blame from German public opinion for beginning and continuing the war; that untimely peace would prove to be nothing but a brief armistice, bringing the danger of another sanguinary war and yet heavier sacrifices on the part of the people, and that a lasting peace is only possible after a definite victory over the military might of our foes, and after Germany has definitely renounced the tendencies which made it responsible for the world war with its accompanying horrors, the Council of State proceeds with the business of the day.

Pokrovsky's Later Address

M. Pokrovsky, the Foreign Minister, later made this further declaration regarding the policy of the Russian Government:

The course of Russia's foreign policy remains as before. No changes in the personnel of the Government can cause either change or hesitation with regard to the path chosen, once for all, for Russia to tread, in accordance to the directions traced by our supreme leader. War, fierce and unprecedented in its dimensions, continues as before to strain the strength of the contending nations to the utmost.

The attitude of the (Russian) Imperial Government toward the enemies' peace proposal was made known by my address before the Duma. That address pointed out that neither the contents of the recent proposal nor the circumstances under which it was made could admit of any conclusion except that the Germans desired to take advantage of their temporary territorial gains in order to raise the fainting spirits of their people in case the Allies refused to discuss peace; and, further, that they misunderstood the true spirit of Russia, if they have counted on the chance of faint-heartedness on our part.

President Wilson's Proposal

President Wilson's proposal concerning peace does not change the political situation created by the insincere and meaningless offer of peace made by Germany. We readily pay tribute to the humane purposes of the President of the United States, and we realize how neutral interests are affected by the war, especially in view of the methods of the enemy. However, we cannot lose sight of the fact that the American proposal came almost at the same time as the German. Nominally, Germany's proposal is a peace proposal, but in reality it is a piece of military strategy, because, while stating no conditions of peace in its note, the German Government proudly stands forth as the conqueror. Peace negotiations with Germany under such circumstances would presuppose our acceptance of that fact. Yet we are not conquered, and consequently we cannot accept any such assumption. As a counterweight to the vain thoughts of the Germans, we can show, as a guarantee of the successful ending of the war, the brilliant valor of our army, tempered in the fire of heavy trials, and, behind the army, the whole mighty Russian Nation, permeated throughout by the single thought that our land must be saved and the freedom of our future development guaranteed.

The one pledge and condition of victory is the unshakable strength of the bond which unites us to our brother allies. On the banks of the Meuse and of the Somme, on the heights about Gorizia and the Macedonian front they press against our common foe, and Russia rejoices to pay the tribute of her just admiration to their bravery and their self-sacrifice. Each of the Allies knows what we owe to each other and how imperative is the necessity of our close union in order that our common cause may be successful. With unshaken fortitude Russia will fight hand in hand with her allies until the enemy is brought low.

When Peace Comes

More than this: When peace comes, Russia hopes to maintain close relations with her present friends. The entente with France and England, widened by the accession of Italy, will remain the cornerstone of our foreign policy even after the war. The proof of the strength of the bond between the Allies lies in the agreement concerning the future of Constantinople and the strait, mentioned by the Prime Minister in his declaration before the Duma.

The friendly and peaceful collaboration of all our present friends is highly desirable in the future on economic grounds, its foundation having been already laid at the recent international conference at Paris, during which the Allies invested in common the means of ridding themselves from German domination in the sphere of commerce and finance after the end of the war, all decisions being built on the idea of the free collaboration of the Allies.

An end must be put to the economic as well as to the political hegemony of Germany. For us one of the most important purposes of this war is to secure to Russia the opportunity to pursue our economic aims in free-

dom; until now we have been bound hand and foot by our commercial agreements with Germany. The future conditions of Russia's foreign trade should assure to us the untrammeled development of the inexhaustible productive resources of our land and the completion of our economic machinery.

The Balkan Nations

The interests of all Slavs will be ever near to Russia's heart. At present, more than ever before, Russia's strong support and help are particularly needed for the regeneration and national growth of the Slavonic nations who arose with us for the defense of right and justice.

Recent events in Greece have perturbed public opinion in Russia as well as abroad —and this is easily understood. From the very beginning of the war, the guaranteeing powers, in whose hands rests the fate of Greece, and to whom Greece owes her national existence, relying on the repeated assurances of the Greek Government, were without doubt justified in expecting from Greece, if not a friendly attitude toward themselves, at least conduct conforming to reason. But, owing to the intrigues of our enemies and the light-minded tolerance of the authorities, the magnanimity of the powers, whose attitude toward Grece was that of the strong toward the weak, was wrongly interpreted in certain circles in Greece and taken as a sign of weakness. You know the circumstances under which detachments of soldiers of our allies have been attacked in Athens and the strife and bloodshed thereby caused in the Athenian streets.

Besides, at this time the Allies cannot for one moment allow the possible creation of conditions contrary to their military existence. Accordingly, the powers have at present the intention to add to the measures already taken by them further measures of a more definitely military character, calculated to end the indecision of Greece.

As to Rumania: The expectation of our enmy that his easy geographical victories might confuse the Rumanian people, shaking their resolve to fight on in the ranks of the Allies, have not been realized in the slightest degree. The Rumanians have faced with fortitude and courage the temporary trials which were sent to them. You know, no doubt, that Russia has hastened in a whole-hearted way to the rescue of her ally. The participation of the Russian Nation with its army in the destiny of Rumania ought to dissipate the wicked insinuations of the enemy that Rumania has been abandoned to her fate. At present, more than ever, Russia and Rumania present an unbroken front, both politically and in a military sense.

Russia and Japan

In the Far East the chief factor of our international situation is our relation with Japan, a part of the general relation between the Allies. During the present war the Government of Japan continues to be of the utmost service to us, in the task of furnishing our armies with certain supplies, which can be mentioned only with the liveliest gratitude. Our political collaboration with Japan, under the agreement of July 30, 1916, completes the chain which binds Russia, France, England, and Japan together, and is the source of the perfect stability of the situation in the Far East.

The victorious termination of the world war is the goal on which all the faculties of Russia are bent. Russian public opinion realizes this quite clearly, and the Russian press faithfully reflects the general conviction. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs draws strength necessary for the arduous tasks intrusted to it from the firm belief that, in this historical moment of her growth, Russia will preserve all her rights unimpaired.

The Czar's Rescript

Emperor Nicholas of Russia addressed to Prince Galitzine, President of the Council of Ministers, the following important rescript, which was published at Petrograd on Jan. 21:

Having intrusted to you the responsible post of President of the Council of Ministers, I deem the time opportune to indicate to you the immediate problems whose solution should be the aim of the principal efforts of the Government.

In the present stage of the evolution of the great war all the thoughts of all the Russias without distinction of nationality or of class are directed toward the brave and glorious defenders of our country, who, with keen expectation, are awaiting the decisive encounter with the enemy. In absolute solidarity with our faithful allies, admitting no thought of peace before definitive victory, I believe firmly that the Russian people, supporting with abnegation the burden of this war, will do their duty to the last without stopping at any sacrifice.

The resources of Russia are inexhaustible. They eliminate the danger of the country's exhaustion, a danger which apparently confronts our adversaries. But the question of the distribution of provisions, which is so important, is evidently complicated under present conditions. I therefore especially charge the Government unified in your person to have care alike for the revictualing of my brave armies and for the lessening of the inevitable difficulties that attend the furnishing of military supplies back of the firing line in this world war of nations.

I trust that the common efforts of all members of the Government will be concentrated upon the realization and development on a large scale of the measures recently adopted to that end. The task of provisioning the armies and the population demands co-operation in the measures adopted both by the authorities at the front and by the dif-

ferent departments unified under the direction of the Council of Ministers.

Another problem to which I attach predominant importance is that of the administration and ultimate bettering of railway and river transport. The Council of Ministers should work out decisive measures in this domain, assuring the complete utilization of all means of transport, in order to be able to furnish promptly all the necessary supplies for the army, both at the front and at the rear, thanks to the co-ordinated activities of all departments.

While indicating to you these immediate problems for your attention and labor, it gives me pleasure to believe that the activities of the Council of Ministers under your Presidency will have the support of the Imperial Council and of the Duma, united in a unanimous and ardent desire to carry on the war to a victorious end. I consider it the duty of all persons called to the service of the State to act with good-will, justice, and dignity as regards legislative institutions.

In the coming activities in organizing the nation's economic life the Government will find an indispensable support in the zemstvos, which, by their labors in time of peace and in time of war, have proved that they piously cherish the brilliant traditions of my grandfather, the Emperor Alexander II. of imperishable memory.

Turkey's Note to Neutrals

At the time when Germany and Austria issued notes to the neutrals in virtual retort to the Entente's reply of Dec. 12 to President Wilson, Turkey followed suit with a note which has finally reached the public through the French press. After remarking that Turkey has no reason to desire a hasty end of the war, "since no part of its territory is occupied by the enemy," the note continues:

The world knows the pretensions of France regarding Syria and Alsace-Lorraine, of Russia regarding Constantinople, the strait, and a great part of Anatolia, and the pretensions of England regarding Mesopotamia and Arabia. Equally well known are the intrigues of the Entente to hinder the natural development of Turkey. The Entente's plan of partition is contrary to the principle of nationalities, for the Entente no longer concerns itself with such principles when it is a matter of its own interests. The English protectorate over Egypt is contrary to those principles, for the Egyptian population has no relation with the English race. The annexation of Egypt, which is not English; the annexation of Tripoli, which is not Italian; the fantastic plan of Russia regarding Constantinople and the basin of the Sea of Marmora, a region whose inhabitants are largely Turkish and Mesopotamian—all these are violations of the principle of nationalities.

Like its allies, Turkey has been obliged to take up arms to defend its territory, its liberty, and its independence. Today, like its allies, Turkey believes its ends attained. The enemy powers, on the contrary, seeing the realization of their plans growing more and more remote, are correspondingly opposed to accepting reasonable propositions. The responsibility for the continuation of the sanguinary struggle must be laid at their door.

Vatican's Protest Against Belgian Deportations

A letter to Cardinal Mercier, written by the Papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Gasparri, states that Pope Benedict has appealed to Germany to return the deported Belgians. The letter was sent on Nov. 29, 1916, and was read from the pulpit by the famous Archbishop of Malines, but has only recently been published in other countries. Cardinal Gasparri wrote as follows to Cardinal Mercier:

"The Pontiff, whose fatherly heart is deeply moved by all the sufferings of the well-beloved Belgian people, has instructed me to inform your Eminence that, taking a vivid interest in your people, who have been so harshly put on trial, he has already pleaded in their favor with the Imperial German Government, and that he will do everything in his power in order that an end may be put to the deportations, and that those who have already been carried off far from their country may soon be back amid their mourning families.

"His Holiness has also been pleased to intrust me with the agreeable mission of sending to your Eminence and the faithful diocese of Malines his very special benediction."

Peace Propagandas of Past Centuries

By Dr. Alfred Fried

Editor of the official Peace Organ, Friedenswarte, published in Zurich, Switzerland

President Wilson's efforts toward permanent peace have aroused worldwide interest, but few of those who praise or condemn his ideas have been aware of the vast perspective of similar peace propagandas in past centuries. The story of these is ably summarized for CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE by Dr. Fried in the subjoined article.

THE idea of universal peace may be traced far back in the history of mankind. We find it appearing in the earliest ages of all peoples, and in the course of the centuries it has never been entirely obliterated. The idea, however, which lies at the bottom of the modern peace movement, concerning itself not merely with the glorification of peace and its advantages, but seeking for means by which to insure to mankind an establishment and perpetuation of its rights, began to make a distinct path for itself only when the modern idea of the State had begun to make itself felt. Not until State jurisprudence had found a firm footing could there be any thought of international jurisdiction or of any organization of civil corporations for the maintenance of peace.

The earliest traces of this idea lead us back to the great Utopians of the various empires of the world. A universal monarchy was the cherished idea of the apostles of peace of the Middle Ages and the earlier modern era. Many of the would-be reformers sought to establish universal peace by bringing the entire world under one yoke.

At the head of these peace precursors we find the great Dante, (1265-1321,) who in his book "De Monarchia" recommends a universal federation in which mankind was to live in peace and freedom under one monarch or President. Similar ideas appear now and again in the "Divina Commedia." Marsilius of Padua (1325) defended this idea, and the Abbé Honoré Bonnor, at the close of the fourteenth century, in his book the "Arbre de Bataille"—which he wrote at the suggestion of the French King, Charles the Wise—went so far as to advocate the subjection of his royal master to the Emperor, whom he regarded as the sole sovereign of the world. He supported his position by the teachings of the Bible.

On the threshold of modern times stands the Bohemian King, Podiebrad, who strove to bring about a European empire of peace between 1462 and 1463, the chief object of which was to be the subjugation of the Turks, who shortly before had overrun Europe. The inspirer of the idea was his Councilor, Anton de Marini of Grenoble. The leadership of this new Europe was to be assumed by the King of France. A federative council, to be chosen from the various nations, was to control the workings of this universal kingdom, and all controversies were to be settled by a court of arbitration. King Podiebrad's plan was shattered by the opposition it met from the Pope and the Emperor.

Peace Efforts of Erasmus

The great humanist Erasmus of Rotterdam (1467-1536) did not fail to touch upon the idea of universal peace in his writings. He was a declared enemy of warfare, and in his works "Adagia," (1498,) "Antipolemos," the "Substitutio Principis Christiani," (1516,) as well as in the "Querela Pacis," (1516,) attacked its horrors with vehemence and severity. Especially in the "Querela" he left on record one of the most remarkable polemics of all time against warfare, which he regarded as fratricide when participated in by Christians, and as something which could only appeal to heathen and barbarians. He suggested a scheme for a universal Kingdom of Europe, in which peace should be established and maintained. To the rulers of his age he made the following invocation: "Everything calls for peace, first of all the natural human emotions and feelings; secondly the teachings of Christ, the lawmaker

and author of all human happiness; and thirdly the multitude of advantages which peace brings in her train, compared with the many disadvantages of war. If you estimate the cost you will find, even when you have been the victors, that you have lost more than you have gained."

Thomas More, (1478-1535,) the friend and contemporary of Erasmus and the author of the famous "Utopia," gave expression to his ideas on the subject of warfare by the attitude which he allowed the inhabitants of his island to assume. He characterized war as "brutal savagery," and declared fame won in battle to be a disgrace. The Utopians carried on their wars by means of barbaric mercenaries, considering themselves much too good for participation in the same.

About the year 1518 the English Cardinal and statesman Wolsey (1474-1536) was fired by the ambition of carrying out the idea of King Podiebrad, by making his master, Henry VIII., the head of a universal monarchy. At the close of the sixteenth century Giulio Ferrero of Ravenna gave expression to the same idea in a book on the science of warfare published in Vienna; in this case, however, the Pope was to be the head of the peace federation.

Plans of Henry IV.

The ideas of the age found their most pregnant expression in the great plans framed by Henry IV. of France (1589-1610) for the establishment of a universal monarchy. His scheme involved a political system by which all of Europe was to be organized and ruled as one big family. In the year 1602 Henry IV. put himself in touch with Queen Elizabeth of England, who is said to have cherished the same idea, and who supported the plans of the French monarch. In his undertaking he also had the co-operation of his Minister Rosny, Duke of Sully, (1560-1641,) whose publication, entitled "Memoires des sages et royales economies d'estat Henry le Grand," first made known the scope of the King's plans. For a long time the opinion was generally held that the entire project originated in Sully's brains, and that in order to inspire more confidence in his (Sully's) idea he accredited them to his royal master. More recently, however, a number of letters written by Henry to the Queen of England have come to light, which prove the incorrectness of this supposition. Henry's plan consisted in uniting fifteen of the greatest ruling Governments of his time into one Christian republic.

The States to be thus united were the six hereditary monarchies — France, Great Britain, Spain, Sweden, Denmark, and Lombardy; the five elective monarchies—the Papal See, the Empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, and the four republics—Venice, the Netherlands, Switzerland, and Central Italy. Freedom of trade and religion was to be granted, and a Senate was to adjust controversies by arbitration.

Cologne or Metz was to be raised to the dignity of the capital of the empire, and the chief object of this peace federation was the subjugation of Turkey. For the rest, Henry's chief idea was to break the power of the Hapsburgs and set himself up as the ruler of united Europe, all of which plans were frustrated by the dagger of Ravaillac.

In the year 1623 a Frenchman, Emeric de Lacrois, (1590-1648,) under the pseudonym of Emericus Cruceus, published a work called the "Neue Cynee." The title alludes to the Greek statesman, Cineas, who advised his master, King Pyrrhus, to abandon his plans of conquest and live at peace with his neighbors. In the same way Lacrois advised the rulers of his century to govern their lands in peace, and to this purpose suggested a council, to be composed of representatives of all countries, to convene in Venice. The council was to have for its object the adjustment of the controversies of the various rulers, "whose heinous passions was the chief cause of war." Free trade he regarded as one of the chief factors in the preservation of peace, and he was the first to advocate the freedom and security of the high seas. National prejudice seemed to him absurd. The most significant feature of this scheme was the detailed manner in which he had worked out the idea of universal federation and permanent international jurisdiction. He further suggested that the Pope and the

King of France take the initiative in developing the idea.

Foundations Laid by Grotius

The Thirty Years' War, which brought to Europeans a full realization of the scourges of war, had a decided influence upon the peace movement, as it was there that the foundation of modern civil law was laid. The work of the Netherlander, Hugo Grotius, (1583-1645,) "De jure belli ac pacis," set forth for the first time the fundamental principles of international law, which were to hold good in time of war as well as in time of peace. He sketched out certain humane regulations, by virtue of which his labors were of great value, even though he did not work directly toward an idea of universal peace. His work reached its culminating point in the recognition of the common interests of the nations, and in expressing this idea Grotius was the first to lay down a fundamental principle for the modern conception of pacification.

He believed that when war became inevitable it could still be controlled by the laws of mankind and humanity, and his work marks the beginning of the restriction and retrenchment of warfare. If he did not propose any great scheme for the establishment of a universal monarchy, he at least pioneered the path along which future developments have been made. It was by following out his suggestions that civil rights developed gradually into international rights and became a powerful weapon against the injustice and injury of war. Grotius openly advocated that the highest duty of a Christian sovereign was not to improve the methods of warfare, but to abolish it entirely. "It is the chief duty of Christian sovereigns and States to pursue a path which leads to the avoidance of taking up arms." He suggested means by which war could be prevented, one of these, curiously enough, being the duel; but he also recommended congresses and courts of arbitration.

About the year 1640 the Bohemian philosopher and pedagogue, Amos Comenius, (1592-1670,) published a treatise, "Panegersia," in which he adjured mankind to unite in bringing about a peaceful solution of political controversies. The impulse to this appeal he received from "the barbaric scourge of war, at present unleashed throughout Europe." The cause of these frightful disorders he declared to be the fact that "neither rulers nor subjects know how to obey the laws, nor understand how to subordinate their passions to justice." The persons whose business it is to preserve peace and maintain justice must be aroused to a sense of their duty. He also gave clear expression to the idea of European arbitration conferences, but his entire appeal was drowned in the stormy waves of the Thirty Years' War.

One of the most conspicuous Generals of this war, Landgrave Ernst von Hessan Rheinfels, (1623-1693,) put himself on record both in his printed works and in his correspondence with Leibniz as being a friend of universal pacification. He sketched a plan for the establishment of a tribunal, the seat of which should be in Lucerne, as this city would serve as a suitable neutral point between Austria and France, the two greatest Catholic powers of the age.

Pufendorf's Arbitration System

One of the chief perpetuators of the ideas of Hugo Grotius was the German jurist, Samuel Baron von Pufendorf, (1631-1694,) who worked out a complete system of international arbitration. In the year 1680, during the time of the English revolution, Duke Charles of Lorraine (1604-1685) framed his political testament, which contained a plan for the maintenance of peace in Europe, and which, in more than one point, suggests the earlier plans of Henry IV. The testament was composed of twenty-six articles and provided for an Academy of thirteen politicians, whose protector was to be the King of Hungary.

A short time before this—1670—Spinoza (1632-1677) had opposed the idea of warfare in his political tracts. About 1676 the English diplomat, William Temple, (1628-1699,) made a plea for a European federation in his work "Observations on the United Provinces of the Netherlands."

John Bellers, a Quaker of Gloucester,

England, published a treatise in 1710 bearing the title "Some Reasons for a European States," &c. Bellers also suggests a congress, senate, or parliament which should have representation. His plans comprised a complete scheme for a European confederation.

St. Pierre's Elaborate Plan

At the beginning of the eighteenth century it was again a Frenchman who came forward with a comprehensive project for the establishment of a great peace federation of the European States. The French Abbé Castel de Saint Pierre (1658-1743) was moved by the Peace of Utrecht to develop his plans, to which he had already given publicity in a work called "Projet de la Paix perpetuel." St. Pierre also recommends a European Senate, to be composed of twenty-four Deputies sent by the various powers. A big European alliance was to protect the nations and insure to them the elimination of future warfare. Every State was to desist from going to war, and a tribunal, supported by all the States, was to be given full executive power in deciding all controversies.

St. Pierre's project is the most comprehensive one ever written on the subject. It created a great sensation among his contemporaries, and was commented upon in detail by the most conspicuous writers of the day. The great philosopher Leibnitz (1646-1716) greeted the work of the abbé with extreme cordiality. "I have read your work with close attention, and cherish the conviction that such a project is not only possible of execution, but that its accomplishment would be of the most incalculable benefit to humanity"; so he writes to the author. In his own work on "Jurisprudence" Leibnitz comes back to the idea of universal peace. Montesquieu (1687-1755) occupies himself with the subject of war in his "Reflexions sur la Monarchie Universelle," which appeared in 1724. War he regards as justifiable under certain conditions, but deplores the sad results, and recommends humane principles and greater moderation in the conduct of war.

About the middle of the eighteenth century the great common-law scholar Christian von Wolff (1679-1754) and Vattel (1714-1767) carried the ideas of Grotius still further. The former in his work "Le but des états naturel" and "Institutionis juris natural et gentium" developed the idea of international rights and international intercourse; the latter in his "Völkerrecht" advocated the advantages of arbitration, which he characterized as "the most rational and natural means of adjusting controversies."

Early German Pacifists

In the year 1764 were published the writings of a Göttingen scholar, Professor Trotze, under the title of "Der einige und der allgemeine Friede in dem durch ein beständiges Bündniss zu einem Staatskörper zu vereinigenden Europa," ("A universal peace through a union of the European nations into one State by means of a permanent alliance,") in which allusion is again made to the peace ideas of Henry IV. In the year 1766 the French Academy received anonymous instructions to offer a prize for the best treatise directed against warfare. This contest was undoubtedly the inspiration of more than one examination into the peace problem. As a direct result of it there appeared in Germany Lilienfels's "Neues Staatsgebäude," ("A New State Structure,") with a strongly marked anti-war tendency; "Gedanken zur Verbesserung der menschlichen Gesellschaft," ("Thoughts on the Bettering of Human Society,") by Loen, and in Holland van der Marken's "Rechten von den Mensch," ("Rights of Man.")

About this time the most conspicuous French statesman and finance politician, Turgot, (1727-1781,) made a plea for the plan of a European federative republic. Free trade, centralization of power, a militia for the enforcement of decrees form the cornerstones of this not uninteresting system. In 1769 an anonymous work appeared in London under the title of "Essai sur les préjugés," in which so vehement an attack was made upon war as to provoke an incisive reply from Frederick the Great.

In 1777 "Tableau politique et littéraire de l'Europe," by Mayer, appeared, setting forth the necessity of an organ-

AN OASIS IN THE LAND WHERE BRITONS AND TURKS ARE FIGHTING

This Beautiful Scene in Egypt Is Near Cairo and the Pyramids of Gizeh. A Hundred Miles to the East, Across the Desert, the Turks Have Been Vainly Attacking the British Forces Guarding the Suez Canal.

(© Brown & Dawson.)

ST. PETER'S AND THE VATICAN SEEN FROM AN AEROPLANE

This Remarkable View of the Great Cathedral at Rome Was Taken from a Point Over the Tiber. In the Centre Are the Piazza San Pietro and St. Peter's Itself, and on the Right Is the Vatican, with the Pontifical Palace Extending to the Extreme Right.

(Photo Underwood & Underwood.)

ized state of peace, together with the need of a European congress. In the same year Richard Price, in England, laid out the fundamental principles of an international senate, which was to adjust controversies between the nations. The Marquis of Condocet, (1743-1794,) a friend of Turgot's and one of the "Encyclopedists," directed a sharp attack against war in his "Lobrede auf Pascal," ("Eulogy of Pascal,") Later he declared war to be the greatest of all crimes and expressed the hope that it would gradually disappear.

Between 1790 and 1795 the French National Assembly occupied itself repeatedly with the question of peace and war, the discussions often leading to the severe condemnation of the latter. The Constitution of Sept. 3, 1791, contains the resolution to abandon wars of conquest.

Kant on Perpetual Peace

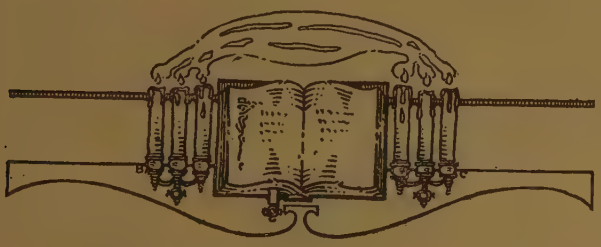
In the year 1795 Immanuel Kant's great philosophic work, "Zum ewigen Frieden," ("For Perpetual Peace,") appeared. As early as 1784, in a treatise "Die Idee zu einer allgemeinen Geschichte in weltburgerlichen Absicht," ("The Idea of a General History from a Cosmopolitan Viewpoint,") as well as in the essay "Ueber das Verhältnis der Theorie zur Praxis," ("The Relation of Theory to Practice,") he had defended the idea of a natural and necessary development of mankind into a federated commonwealth, and also the necessity of a general league, composed of all the nations, for the maintenance of eternal peace.

In the last-named writing he gave expression to his firm conviction that in the course of historic development the nations would be forced to enter into federative relations, which would entirely eliminate war. The work "Zum ewigen Frieden" is in the form of a treatise on international law. Kant regards war as a natural condition; as long as men carry on warfare they have not grown out of their primitive natural state. Peace, on the other hand, he regards as an institution; Kant would prescribe a day of repentance after each war, and emphasizes the strict immorality in dedicating thankofferings and hymns of victory to the chiefs of the conquering armies. He gives three articles as fundamental principles in this institution of peace:

1. The civil constitution in every State must be republican. [Kant here means democratic.—Ed.]
2. International law must be based on a federation of free States.
3. International rights of citizenship must rest upon conditions of universal hospitality.

The Peace League shall be no federative State, but a union of free States held together by a peace contract—the effort of the union being not to end one particular war by the terms of this contract, but to abolish war entirely.

"Permanent peace," writes Kant, "will be assured when the most powerful of the world have a constitution of representation. * * * International law must be founded on a federation of such free States. The federation would be given a firm foundation if two or three of the most powerful of these States would declare: 'There shall be no more war between us!' Such a peace league alone can lead us away from the lawless conditions which accompany war, provided the various civilized nations subject themselves to its constitutional restrictions."



Forcing Belgians to Work in Germany

New Documents in the Case

THE protest of the United States Government against the Belgian deportations was answered by the German Government on Dec. 13, 1916, and the text of that reply, as given out to the German press, was printed in the January issue of CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE. The official text, since made public by the State Department at Washington, is substantially the same as that just referred to, except that it adds the following paragraphs inviting the United States Government to send a member of its Berlin Legation to make a personal investigation of the conditions among the Belgians now working in Germany:

The unemployed are being sent from the central receiving places, which have been established at Altengrabow, Guben, Cassel, Maschede, Münster, Saltau, and Wittenberg, to their working places, where they are to be employed in agricultural and industrial establishments.

Employments to which a hostile population cannot be coerced, in accordance with international law, are, of course, excluded. If the Government of the United States attaches importance to it a member of its embassy in Berlin will be permitted with pleasure to inform himself by a personal visit about the conditions under which these persons are living.

The German Government greatly deplores that, by a slandering press campaign of her enemies, the conditions as explained above have been completely distorted by the United States. The German Government would likewise extremely deplore, not the least in the interest of the Belgian population, if by these distortations the highly beneficial action of the Relief Committee should be hampered.

The German Government, finally, feels obliged to point out the fact that the deportation of the German population from parts of Germany and from German colonies occupied by hostile troops, especially the deportation of women, children, and old persons from Eastern Prussia to Siberia, as far as it is known here, has not given the neutral States any inducements to take steps against the respective Governments similar to those now being taken against Germany. At all events, there can be no doubt that the enemy measures mentioned were gross violations of the laws of humanity and of the rules of international law, while, after the explanations given, the measures of the German Government are absolutely in accordance with these principles.

The State Department at Washington announced on Jan. 24 that it had instructed Ambassador Gerard to accept the German Government's offer to permit an investigation. At that time the deportations totaled more than 125,000 and were still proceeding. A week later came the break of diplomatic relations and the recall of Mr. Gerard, before any thorough steps could be taken to accomplish the task.

Hunted Down by Soldiers

At the close of January a dispatch via The Hague stated that deportations from Brussels were being made at the rate of 350 men daily, and that many of these were skilled workmen who had been engaged at least a part of the time in their trades. The dispatch continues:

In some provinces the Belgians are adopting methods of passive resistance in efforts to escape deportation. This resistance takes the form of failing to appear at the appointed place of examination. Out of 1,700 men called in five communes near Malines, not more than one-half presented themselves. Thereupon the German military authorities arrested three prominent men in each commune, holding them as hostages until the appearance of the absentees, who in the meantime were hunted by squads of soldiers. In Brussels many of the summoned men who failed to appear are now in hiding.

About 1,000 Belgians connected with the work of the American Relief Commission—members of provincial and communal committees or helpers in storehouses, mills, or soup kitchens—have been deported to Germany over the strong protest of the commission. As a result of vigorous protests, however, a few of these men have been returned to their homes, and no others are being taken.

At the same time the Belgian Government at Havre received information that when a large number of laborers had been assembled in Berlaer, Santhoven, Viersel, and other towns, the men, frightened by the German methods, suddenly fled into the neighboring woods, where they were pursued unsuccessfully by the German soldiers. In reprisal the

Germans seized the Mayors and other prominent citizens and imprisoned them at Mechlin. Troops were also billeted on the wealthier people, and, as further punishment, the residents of these towns were forbidden to leave their homes after 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

Sufferings of Ghent Victims

Twenty workmen of Ghent, who had been deported to Germany, returned home in January and afterward drew up a sworn report of their experiences, which was transmitted secretly to the Belgian Government at Havre and made public by the Ministry of Justice. The report reads in part as follows:

Our journey from Germany to France was made in closed cars, each containing forty men and women. Arriving in France late one afternoon we were compelled to march on a muddy road in the dark in such a way that we had to support one another to avoid falling into the ditches. Six hundred and fifty workmen found lodgings in barns and stables, sleeping on straw and covered with hay. Our journey from Germany occupied sixteen and a half hours, and this was followed by an hour's hard march, when many fell down too exhausted to eat even such little food as they could get.

It was absolute slavery. We had no fire, no light, no medical or nursing attendance for the sick. We worked with spades, shovels, and picks assisting the German military engineers. Great difficulty was encountered by the German authorities in compelling us to work. We had been assured in Ghent that no military work would be required of us. We had been assured also that we should work in Belgium and not elsewhere, and therefore we refused to work.

For two days we were left in peace. Then came a peremptory call at 6:30 one morning for us to report in a body. Tools were brought to us by some twenty pioneer soldiers. We declined to respond, arguing that we were badly cared for, that we were in France and not in Belgium, and that the proposed work had a military purpose. Our commander, an affable man, said that unless we worked he feared that we would suffer unhappy consequences. Presently the chief of the pioneers appeared on horseback together with another officer, who ordered us to work. Again there was a general refusal. Thereupon the two men on horseback rushed upon us, whipped us and pressed us back into a meadow close by. The soldiers also assaulted us, kicking us with great violence.

Nevertheless we refused to work, insisting that the promises made to us in Ghent should be fulfilled. The chief of the pioneers then ordered us to advance in order to have a talk with him. A dozen left the ranks and reminded the commandant of the promises he had previously made that we should be well fed and lodged and not be compelled to work outside of Belgium nor for a military purpose. Thereupon the chief of the pioneers ordered a squad of soldiers to load their rifles, raise them to their shoulders, and take aim. Overcome by terror many gave way, and an hour afterward everybody was at work, unable to resist the pressure of the menace.

We worked in the rain, wind, and sleet with soaked garments. It was impossible to dry our clothing by night in the barn, and we put them on again in the morning still wet. Everybody suffered terribly from hunger. Laborers had raw cabbages and potatoes. Even a hedgehog was fetched at night and prepared on a stove. Men were so weak they were unable to move, and the sick lay in heaps. Fresh promises were made but never carried out.

At every stage we stubbornly opposed the authorities, yielding only when we were threatened with rifle fire. At night to protect the ill from the frightful cold we covered them with blankets, while those who were stronger walked up and down to keep warm. The seesaw struggle continued for a long stretch of days and nights. At times the sick were compelled to drag the field kitchens from Montigny to a neighboring village.

Finally our release came, followed by a long and agonizing journey by way of Laon, Guise, Le Cateau, Aulnoy, Valenciennes, Courtrai, and Deynize. During the whole journey we received neither food nor drink.

We feel bound to report these facts in the hope of causing an amelioration of the conditions under which our fellow-countrymen are still suffering.

Text of German Memorial Defending Belgian Deportations

THE following memorial in defense of the deportation and forced employment of Belgian workingmen was communicated by the German Government on Jan. 20 to the State Department at Washington and to the Foreign Offices of other neutral nations:

The compulsory employment of Belgian workmen in German establishments is being seized upon by our enemies as a welcome opportunity for inflaming public opinion in the

neutral and hostile countries against this alleged latest violation of the Belgian people. This effort at arousing sentiment against Germany is threatening to assume considerable proportions, and it may even be considered probable that the Entente will attempt to move neutral Governments or high personages in neutral countries to make a formal protest. It seems therefore necessary, to prevent a one-sided judgment on this question from being formed, to elucidate the causes and the effects of the measures to which exception is being taken.

Those who are far removed from the war theatres and can therefore form only a superficial opinion of the conditions obtaining in the occupied territories in the west may not, perhaps, readily understand that the measures which have been adopted are not only in no wise detrimental to the population from an economic point of view, but that they have become, as it were, a social necessity in view of the peculiar conditions which prevail there. Those who wish to comprehend these facts will first of all have to gain a clear conception of the extent of unemployment in Belgium and its consequences.

The principal cause for this unemployment is to be found in the ruthless application of the British blockade even as against Belgium. Belgian industries are dependent on the importation of raw materials and the exportation of manufactured goods to such an extent that the almost complete throttling of Belgium's foreign trade by England was bound to lead automatically to the closing down of by far the greater part of the Belgian factories.

Blockade Cripples Industries

This is especially true of the important iron and steel industry, the textile and clothing industries, the ceramic and glass industries, which altogether employ over half a million workmen in peace times; it is also true of the leather, tobbaco, paper, and chemical industries. The fishing industry also has ceased completely as a result of the blockade. A number of other enterprises had to close down because the materials employed, as well as their transportation, had become so dear that they were working at a loss; this happened, for example, in the building industry (which in peace time employs 95,000 workers) and in the wood and furniture industry, (which normally employs 80,000 workers.) That the important mining industry is still able to employ nine-tenths of its 145,000 workers is due solely to the extensive coal exports to Germany; similarly the quarries employ one-third of their former working force of 35,000, chiefly in order to fill German orders.

It is frequently asserted in Belgium that German requisitions of raw materials and machinery had considerably increased the lack of employment. This assertion is not in accordance with the facts because these requisitions were made chiefly in such factories as, for one or another of the reasons enumerated, were unable to continue at work.

Due to the above-mentioned causes it has come about that out of 1,200,000 men and women who before the war were working in Belgian industrial establishments, comprising approximately one-half of the total population of Belgium engaged in gainful pursuits, 505,000 people (including 158,000 women) are totally unemployed, while 150,000 (including 46,000 women) are only partially employed. Thus in all 655,000 persons who formerly were earning their living as industrial workers are now dependent upon public charity. If, moreover, 293,000 wives and 612,000 children of the unemployed are added, the figure rises to 1,560,000 people in need of asistance—approximately one-fifth of the total Belgian population.

"Workers Tempted Into Idleness"

It is obvious that in a highly developed industrial country like Belgium the conditions described, which are without parallel in history, must of necessity lead to the gravest economic and social evils. The sums so far expended in procuring the minimum of subsistence for the unemployed and their dependents reach a total of 300,000,000 francs, and they promise in future to amount to no less than 20,000,000 francs monthly. And although foreign countries undertook to finance this relief work, in the last analysis the burden must be borne by the national economy of Belgium. Not only are the values thus unproductively expended a total loss to Belgium's economic life, but they also do it much harm. Owing to the relief granted them, the workers are tempted into continued idleness, with the result that today Belgian employers are with difficulty able to obtain the workmen necessary to keep their concerns going.

In view of the great number of the unemployed, this fact throws into strong relief the economic evils which have arisen in Belgium because of unemployment. But from the social point of view the present state of affairs must be characterized as absolutely intolerable, if the consequences are considered which permanent idleness is bound to produce among the laboring people themselves. It is self-evident that the skilled worker will in course of years lose his skill through lack of practice, and his usefulness to Belgian industry after the war will therefore be considerably diminished. Likewise, the unskilled worker, accustomed to a regular expenditure of energy, will deteriorate physically through prolonged idleness. Morally, the continuance of present conditions would have truly disastrous results. The laboring classes would end by losing entirely the sense of humiliation which all morally sound people feel when they are obliged to appeal to the charity of strangers for their sustenance; they would

lose their pride in being able to support their families by their own efforts. The old proverb that idleness is the fruitful mother of vice is being confirmed to an unusual degree in the Belgian workman, who is inclined to consider life from the materialistic aspect. In wide circles of these classes of the population idleness is resulting in drunkenness and moral abandonment, which engender manifold dangers to the family life.

To all these circumstances must be added the ever-increasing misery of the working-class families, who have used up their last savings and are now granted the means for no more than the satisfaction of the barest material necessities. Such conditions cannot but lead to a weakening of the fibre, material, and morale of the Belgian people.

The Governor General of Belgium, Baron von Bissing, realized at an early date the grave importance of this question for the population of the territory under his administration, and turned his entire attention to it from the beginning of his tenure of office. So far as the demands of a state of war permitted, he promoted the revival of trade and industry and favored all such importation and exportation as had not been rendered impossible by the British blockade. He also urged the Belgian municipalities to undertake emergency works of public utility in so far as this could be done without overburdening the municipal finances. The ever-growing dimensions which relief for the unemployed were assuming was of constant concern to him, for he had long since recognized that this dependence upon charity was bound to encourage laziness and increase the number of unemployed. Consequently he took occasion again and again to remind the authorities subordinate to him to take care that the aid granted to the unemployed did not militate against the resumption of work, and he also urged the heads of the relief committees to bear this in mind.

Denies Forcing Military Work

By means of all these measures the evil could be restricted but it could not be eliminated, for the deeper-lying cause of it, the British blockade, was making itself felt more and more as time went on. Hence the Governor General was obliged in the preceding year to resort to more effective means in order to check the idleness which was increasing among the population. At the initiative of clear-sighted Belgians and with the cooperation of the competent Belgian Ministry, he issued in August, 1915, an ordinance against idleness, which was supplemented and made more rigorous in March, 1916. These ordinances provided for the compulsory removal of workers to places of work only in those cases in which the unemployed person refuses, without satisfactory reason, to perform work of which he is capable and for which he is offered adequate remuneration; every reason for refusal based on international law is regarded as satisfactory. A laborer cannot, therefore, be forced to participate in work of a military character. The ordinances are directed, in the first place, against certain organized influences that are trying to keep the laborers from voluntarily accepting remunerative work for no other reason than that it is offered by the Germans. The ordinances are based on the scund legislative consideration that the liberty of the individual should be restricted in the interest of the common weal.

Now that the evils which gave rise to these ordinances have developed absolutely intolerable conditions, the ordinances have to be carried into effect on a larger scale than heretofore. Before they are applied the unemployed are given an opportunity to enter of their own will into remunerative labor contracts, and coercive measures are resorted to only in cases of obstinate refusal, which in most instances are found to be the result of instigation. The unemployed who are sent to Germany are placed there on the same footing with the German laborers and are receiving higher wages than were ever given in Belgium. Provision has been made that a part of these wages be turned over to the relatives who have remained at home. The laborers are also permitted to correspond with their families, and they are granted home leaving at regular intervals. On request they may even take their families with them to Germany. Religious services are provided in their native tongue.

The great advantages which accrue to the Belgian laborers from the opportunity to work thus granted them, in contrast to their previous lamentable condition, are so obvious that for a long time past thousands of them have voluntarily made use of the offer and have found profitable work in Germany. Happy to have escaped the misery resulting from the many months of unemployment and the humiliation of public support, they have been able to regain their physical and moral strength through their return to their normal occupation. They are enabled to better their economic condition and provide for their families by the labor of their own hands, and once more to lay by savings for the future. Their temporary transplantation to another country does not frighten them; Belgian laborers are accustomed to travel from place to place, and in time of peace they were wont to hire themselves out, frequently for many months, to employers in the southern industrial districts of their country or in those of Northern France for a far smaller increase in wage than is offered them today.

Belgian Legation's Reply to German Memorandum

EMMANUEL HAVENITH, the Belgian Minister to the United States, issued a statement on Jan. 28—with the approval of his Government—in rejoinder to the German defense of the Belgian deportations. The statement, a copy of which was filed with the State Department at Washington, is as follows:

In a communication recently published in the newspapers in the United States the German Government declares that the deportation of Belgians is a social necessity, on account of the great number of unemployed Belgians, and that this situation has been caused by the British blockade.

The legation of Belgium, thinking that its silence might give currency to this false statement, deems it its duty to point out some of the absolutely erroneous assertions made in that communication.

According to the German Government, the principal cause of the great number of unemployed in Belgium is the British blockade, so that it is incorrect to say that the requisition by Germany of raw materials and machinery has in great part caused this situation. According to the statement of the German Government, the machinery and raw materials were seized only because of lack of workmen.

In reality what has happened is the exact contrary to the statement of Germany, and, as in the case of the deportations, it is the Germans who have created a state of affairs upon which they have afterward endeavored to establish the justification of the illegal measures taken by them.

On June 30, 1915, the legation of the King (the Belgian Legation at Washington) officially protested against the seizure of raw materials amounting to the sum of $17,000,000. Other official protests have been made under dates of Dec. 29, 1914, March 4, 1915, and Oct. 29, 1915, against the seizure of machines and tools requisitioned by the Germans in Belgium and sent into Germany. Belgian industries having been thus prevented from continuing work, there followed an increase in the number of unemployed, due entirely to the action of Germany, who has not hesitated to sacrifice Belgian interests, as, indeed, General von Bissing openly acknowledged when he recently declared that he was not in Belgium to watch over the interests of that country but to take care of the interests of Germany.

[After discussing financial conditions and the war tax of $8,000,000 a month imposed on Belgium, the statement says:]

When Germany had thus reduced to idleness a large number of workmen she decided to export them into Germany in order to liberate in this way an equal number of German workmen, who would rejoin the German Army in the field. This plan was conceived a long time in advance, as one may see by reading the official orders of the German Government.

[After quoting orders to bear out its contention, the statement says:]

Today it is no longer a question of forced labor in Belgium, but in Germany, and for the benefit of the Germans.

Today it is no longer a question only of the deportation of the unemployed. According to information received by the Government of the King, employed and unemployed—all those whom the German Government thinks that it can utilize—are deported into Germany.

The number of these unfortunates is today more than 120,000.

This, again, Germany, after having created a situation, makes of it a pretext for the justification of her illegal actions, for these actions are illegal, whatever may have been the cause which created the situation. The German note handed to the Government of the United States declares:

These ordinances provided for the compulsory removal of workers to places of work only in those cases in which the unemployed person refuses, without satisfactory reason, to perform work of which he is capable and for which he is offered adequate remuneration; every reason for refusal based on international law is regarded as satisfactory. A laborer cannot, therefore, be forced to participate in work of a military character.

This false statement is the strongest condemnation of the German system of deportation. What higher motive, based upon international law, could exist than the refusal of a Belgian citizen to go and work in Germany when he knows that this work will liberate a German workman, who will rejoin the enemy army and fight against his brothers? * * *

These unfortunate workmen are being deported into Germany, where they are employed on work of a military or semi-military nature, such as in lime-kilns and cement plants, when they are sent near the firing line. However that may be, their presence in Germany liberates German workmen, who go to rejoin the army in the field; it is, therefore, a violation of international law in spirit and in letter.

It is a return to an institution which has been definitely suppressed by civilized nations. The United States especially, in order

to assure the abolition of this institution, did not hesitate to give its utmost resources and to sacrifice the blood of its noblest sons; the greatest among these, Lincoln, died a martyr to this cause, and his name is forever linked with this victory of humanity over the darkness of the past.

Today a nation which calls itself civilized wishes to reintroduce this abomination in the twentieth century. A fact more grave, if it is possible that anything could be more grave, is that she wishes to justify her re-establishment of the institution upon the principles of international law—this code of civilization which the peoples of the earth have drawn up by common accord to open to humanity the path of progress.

If this theory should be accepted it would mean the shipwreck of all the acquisitions, of all the progress that civilization has made during these recent centuries, for it would be an admission that all the efforts made in the past for the advancement and progress of humanity, and which are set forth in the various treaties and conventions, could be used as justification for the re-establishment of the most hideous evil from which humanity has suffered.

German Methods in Northern France

Personal Experiences of Repatriated Citizens of Roubaix and Tourcoing

FIFTEEN HUNDRED French civilians from the occupied portions of Northern France, chiefly from the neighborhood of Roubaix and Tourcoing, were sent back into France by way of Switzerland in the first week of January. A representative of Le Temps, Paris, talked with a man and wife who had been allowed to leave Roubaix after closing up their home, and they told him this pitiful story:

The young people of Roubaix, including the son of these parents, had been taken away by the Germans to a reconcentration camp. A few days before leaving for Switzerland this couple learned that the young men and women were to return to their homes. They did return, but before being given back to their families they were herded in a barrack of the "kommandatur." The son in question, succumbing to fatigue, fell asleep. Suddenly armed guards noisily entered the hall where the young men were confined. The son, waked by the noise of this sudden irruption, instinctively raised his arms in a gesture of self-defense. The soldiers seem to have seen in this gesture either a movement of revolt or an intention of irony. At any rate, one of them, furious, ran his bayonet through the young man's body. The next day they delivered to the parents the dead body, absolutely naked, robbed of its clothes and of everything that the young man had possessed.

The bereaved parents furnished to Le Temps the following details regarding the German methods of administration in the occupied districts:

"Every man and woman, regardless of age, has received a 'house card' and a personal number to prevent the inhabitants from leaving their homes. Each house has nailed to its threshold an official placard with the full names, ages, and sexes of all its inhabitants.

"The boys and young men of fourteen years or more are sent to the concentration camps. The young women and girls likewise are torn from their families and assembled in groups, pell-mell with women of evil life, with the lowest prostitutes. Thence they are sent into the camps, where they are 'divided' according to the tasks imposed upon them, as, for example, 'serving the officers.' On arriving at their destinations they are systematically deprived of the right to communicate with their families. Young married couples have thus been separated without the husband and wife being able to know what has become each of the other.

"In Germany the heaviest kind of labor is imposed on the deported people, accompanied by a severe régime of terrorism and penalties, wounds, blows with rifle stocks, insufficient and impossible food, barbarous punishments. A single wooden bowl serves alike for containing food and for the elementary needs of

cleanliness. Most of the victims sleep on the ground, without shelter, exposed to all the biting winds. Under this régime many become worn out, lose flesh, and succumb to fatal disease. The rest fall into a state of frightful emaciation.

"As for the levies in mass, this is how the Germans operate: In the evening they warn the occupants of a house to have themselves in readiness early the next morning before the door of their home. The next day at the appointed hour they are all obliged to range themselves in front of the house and remain there, however long the time may be, whatever the weather, rain or snow, sometimes for several hours, waiting until the officers have made their choice among them. Old men, who under no circumstances ought to be taken out of their homes, have died of cold after vain protests, having been unable to obtain permission to go inside. After the choice of victims has been made by the officers, the separations, of course, are heartrending.

"It frequently happens that the officers, passing the inhabitants of a house in review, notice women and girls whose beauty or prettiness piques their attention. Woe to them! Their names are inscribed on a special list and sent to the 'Kommandatur,' which will not delay to invite them to the officers' quarters. Those who refuse to go will be punished promptly with a month's imprisonment. At the expiration of that time, if they refuse again, it is the fortress that closes upon them. Finally, a further refusal brings upon them a veritable sentence to forced labor.

"Last Summer, during the offensive on the Somme, the inhabitants of Roubaix and Tourcoing heard the cannon thundering and cherished high hopes. Liberty seemed near to them. The Germans themselves expected to see their lines pierced. Becoming very amiable, they announced their coming departure, saying: 'The French are great warriors. We are raising carrots, but you will eat them without us.' In the banks all the papers were tied up ready to be sent away. The rear-guard troops had taken their stations for the evacuation of the occupied territory. Everybody asked, meanwhile, why the French did not break through the German lines. The inhabitants had boarded up all their windows and taken stoves and provisions down into their cellars, hoping for the bombardment that would free them, preferring this bombardment of Frenchmen by Frenchmen rather than the nightmare of not knowing whether they could sleep another night in their own beds, of being exposed to the worst reprisals at the slightest frown of the 'Kommandatur.'

"Now all is changed. The enemy has fortified all his works of defense. The inhabitants have been compelled to labor on these fortifications without pay, the withholding of food being for our enemies the surest means of compelling our unhappy compatriots to give this indispensable assistance.

"Every time that their troops report a little military success, apparent or real, the Germans ring the bells. For a long time we had not heard them at Roubaix and Tourcoing. On the day of the taking of Bucharest they rang for two hours.

"The Germans have become more arrogant than ever. They starve the population through the enormous prices of all provisions. One cannot get a kilo of meat (about 2¼ pounds) for less than 25 francs, ($5.) A kilo of potatoes costs 20 francs, an egg 1½ francs, (30 cents,) a pair of shoes 75 francs, ($15;) so almost everybody is shod with hemp slippers or sandals. A zone a kilometer wide has been established along the Belgian frontier to prevent the passing of certain provisions, such as butter and milk, which we had previously procured at better rates. The inhabitants of that zone are not allowed to keep in their houses more than two days' supply of food. All in excess of that is confiscated under the pretext of feeding those who have nothing. In reality it is the Germans who utilize it.

"The people of Roubaix and Tourcoing have access only to two German newspapers, which publish false news. If they wish French journals they can sometimes succeed in buying them from the German officers themselves, who sell them very dear—$10 a copy!"

An English Mother and Her Dead Boy

Harold Begbie's Tribute

Mr. Begbie recently contributed to The London Chronicle this touching tribute to the tens of thousands of British youths who have perished in great waves on the battle front.

THE other day there died in France a boy from Clayesmore School, who had been loved by all who knew him. He was a boy's hero, a mother's hero, and the pride of his regiment. He had won the Military Cross and the D. S. O. And he died in the flush and rapture of his youth. His mother's letter to the headmaster, which has been printed in the school magazine, tells the story of his end in language so moving and so beautiful that I wish to give it to a wider public. This boy was in the Rifle Brigade and his Colonel said of him, "He was the best company commander by far that I have seen out here. * * * As I said in my recommendation of him for a D. S. O., he was the finest type of fighting officer I have ever seen."

A telegram from the War Office came to this boy's home one day, telling his parents that he was seriously wounded and that they might visit him at Abbeville. The father was unable to go, but an hour after the telegram arrived the mother and another son had started for France. They arrived an hour and a half too late, and yet not too late for such a farewell as will live in their souls forever. This is what the mother says:

> We saw him in the mortuary looking such a soldier, and the dear forehead was hardly cold when I kissed it. He was covered with the union jack and lay in front of the little altar, just the supreme sacrifice. We stayed to the funeral early Thursday, when a Captain Johnson and three privates shared the same service. One other mother was there, who had nursed her boy for some days ere he went, and we three mourners stood in the glorious sunshine, the blue sky piled with grand banks of white clouds; and when the service was over the buglers saluted us and them, and, standing between us and the open graves, sounded the "Last Post" and the "Reveille" as I have never heard it before and never shall again. It must have rolled beyond the clouds and down the vaults of heaven till J. himself must have heard it. Then we hastened back to England to tell the news we dared not wire.

When you read these few words do you not seem to see in this one mother and this one son the whole human tragedy and also the whole human glory of war? The boy was what he was because of that breast which had fed him, those arms which had held him, that love which had enriched him, inspired him, and consecrated his young soul. And this devotion of the mother has for its end a grave in France. There was the brave parting in England when he went out to fight, and then the last kiss on the dear forehead which was hardly cold. And yet there is no agonized cry of revolt from the mother, no furious imprecations, no bitterness of soul. For the son, death in the glory and beauty of his youth: for the mother, a memory of all he was to her, from infancy to the hour of farewell. "He was covered with the union jack and lay in front of the little altar, just the supreme sacrifice."

So England stoops and kisses the dear foreheads of her youth, covering them with her flag, laying them before the altar of God's judgment, leaving them there as just the supreme sacrifice. She has mothered them from infancy under Summer and Winter skies, giving them her roses to love, her hedgerows to hunt, her hills to climb, her great winds to make them strong, and her history for a tradition and an inspiration. She is bereft of her youth. She hears the "Last Post" sounding for them, and wonders if "reveille" will sound for us.

> Shall it be in vain
> His dazzling courage, his piteous pain?
> Shall our glorious flag that he flung so high
> Slide down but an inch in the starry sky?

There is only one thing in England more moving than the death of these glorious children. It is the courage of their mothers. And that courage for us who remain should sound an eternal, a resistless reveille in our souls.

The Greatest Battle in History

Text of General Sir Douglas Haig's Report on the Battle of the Somme

THE British War Office made public on Dec. 29, 1916, an exhaustive and important dispatch, which had been received by Lord Derby, Secretary of State for War, from General Sir Douglas Haig, Commander in Chief of the British forces in France. That dispatch, here published in full, covers the British operations on the Somme from May 19 to Nov. 15, 1916. It is the first official story in proper sequence of the battles for Pozières, Contalmaison, Guillemont, Combles, Ginchy, Delville Wood, Longueval, Martinpuich, Flers, Courcelette, Thiepval, and a score of other fights, which will for long years to come stir the blood in British veins. The results of this desperate struggle the British Commander in Chief summarizes as follows:

GENERAL SIR DOUGLAS HAIG

The enemy's power has not yet been broken, nor is it yet possible to form an estimate of the time the war may last before the objects for which the Allies are fighting have been attained. But the Somme battle has placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to gain those objects.

The German Army is the mainstay of the Central Powers, and a full half of that army, despite all the advantages of the defensive, supported by the strongest fortifications, suffered defeat on the Somme this year. Neither the victors nor the vanquished will forget this; and, though bad weather has given the enemy a respite, there will undoubtedly be many thousands in his ranks who will begin the new campaign with little confidence in their ability to resist our assaults or to overcome our defense.

Sir Douglas Haig states that the object of the Allies' offensive on the Somme was threefold:

1. To relieve the pressure on Verdun.

2. To assist Britain's allies in other theatres of war by stopping the transfer of German troops.

3. To wear down the strength of the enemy.

All these objects, he says, have been achieved, and any one of them is sufficient to justify forcing the enemy to battle. The full official text of the document follows:

General Headquarters,
Dec. 23, 1916.

My Lord: I have the honor to submit the following report on the operations of the forces under my command since May 19, the date of my last dispatch.

1. The principle of an offensive campaign during the Summer of 1916 had already been decided on by all the Allies. The various possible alternatives on the western front had been studied and discussed by General Joffre and myself, and we were in complete agreement as to the front to be attacked by the combined French and British armies. Preparations for our offensive had made considerable progress; but as the date on which the attack should begin was dependent on many doubtful factors, a final decision on that point was deferred until the general situation should become clearer.

Subject to the necessity of commencing operations before the Summer was too far advanced, and with due regard to the general situation, I desired to postpone my attack as long as possible. The British armies were growing in numbers and the supply of munitions was steadily increasing. Moreover, a very large proportion of the officers and men under my command were still far from being fully trained, and the longer the attack could be deferred the more efficient they would become. On the other hand, the Germans were continuing to press their attacks at Verdun, and both there and on the Italian front, where the Austrian offensive was gaining ground, it was evident that the strain might become too great to be borne unless timely

action were taken to relieve it. Accordingly, while maintaining constant touch with General Joffre in regard to all these considerations, my preparations were pushed on, and I agreed, with the consent of his Majesty's Government, that my attack should be launched, whenever the general situation required it, with as great a force as I might then be able to make available.

2. By the end of May the pressure of the enemy on the Italian front had assumed such serious proportions that the Russian campaign was opened early in June, and the brilliant successes gained by our allies against the Austrians at once caused a movement of German troops from the western to the eastern front. This, however, did not lessen the pressure on Verdun. The heroic defense of our French allies had already gained many weeks of inestimable value and had caused the enemy very heavy losses; but the strain continued to increase. In view, therefore, of the situation in the various theatres of war, it was eventually agreed between General Joffre and myself that the combined French and British offensive should not be postponed beyond the end of June.

Objects and Preparations

The object of that offensive was threefold:

(i.) To relieve the pressure on Verdun.

(ii.) To assist our allies in the other theatres of war by stopping any further transfer of German troops from the western front.

(iii.) To wear down the strength of the forces opposed to us.

3. While my final preparations were in progress the enemy made two unsuccessful attempts to interfere with my arrangements. The first, directed on May 21 against our positions on the Vimy Ridge, south and southeast of Souchez, resulted in a small enemy gain of no strategic or tactical importance; and rather than weaken my offensive by involving additional troops in the task of recovering the lost ground, I decided to consolidate a position in rear of our original line.

The second enemy attack was delivered on June 2 on a front of over one and a half miles from Mount Sorrell to Hooge, and succeeded in penetrating to a maximum depth of 700 yards. As the southern part of the lost position commanded our trenches, I judged it necessary to recover it, and by an attack launched on June 13, carefully prepared and well executed, this was successfully accomplished by the troops on the spot.

Neither of these enemy attacks succeeded in delaying the preparations for the major operations which I had in view.

4. These preparations were necessarily very elaborate and took considerable time.

Vast stocks of ammunition and stores of all kinds had to be accumulated beforehand within a convenient distance of our front. To deal with these many miles of new railways—both standard and narrow gauge—and trench tramways were laid. All available roads were improved, many others were made, and long causeways were built over marshy valleys. Many additional dugouts had to be provided as shelter for the troops, for use as dressing stations for the wounded, and as magazines for storing ammunition, food, water, and engineering material. Scores of miles of deep communication trenches had to be dug, as well as trenches for telephone wires, assembly and assault trenches, and numerous gun emplacements and observation posts.

Important mining operations were undertaken, and charges were laid at various points beneath the enemy's lines.

Except in the river valleys, the existing supplies of water were hopelessly insufficient to meet the requirements of the numbers of men and horses to be concentrated in this area as the preparations for our offensive proceeded. To meet this difficulty many wells and borings were sunk, and over one hundred pumping plants were installed. More than one hundred and twenty miles of water mains were laid, and everything was got ready to insure an adequate water supply as our troops advanced.

Much of this preparatory work had to be done under very trying conditions, and was liable to constant interruption from the enemy's fire. The weather, on the whole, was bad, and the local accommodation totally insufficient for housing the troops employed, who consequently had to content themselves with such rough shelter as could be provided in the circumstances. All this labor, too, had to be carried out in addition to fighting and to the everyday work of maintaining existing defenses. It threw a very heavy strain on the troops, which was borne by them with a cheerfulness beyond all praise.

The German Positions

5. The enemy's position to be attacked was of a very formidable character, situated on a high, undulating tract of ground, which rises to more than 500 feet above sea level, and forms the watershed between the Somme on the one side and the rivers of Southwestern Belgium on the other. On the southern face of this watershed, the general trend of which is from east-southeast to west-northwest, the ground falls in a series of long irregular spurs and deep depressions to the valley of the Somme. Well down the forward slopes of this face the enemy's first system of defense, starting from the Somme near Curlu, ran at first northward for 3,000 yards, then westward for 7,000 yards to near Fricourt, where it turned nearly due north, forming a great salient angle in the enemy's lines.

Some 10,000 yards north of Fricourt the trenches crossed the River Ancre, a tributary of the Somme, and, still running northward, passed over the summit of the watershed, about Hébuterne and Gommecourt, and then down its northern spurs to Arras.

On the 20,000-yard front between the Somme and the Ancre the enemy had a strong second system of defense, sited generally on or near the southern crest of the

BATTLE OF THE SOMME: THE BLACK LINE ON THE LEFT SHOWS THE ORIGINAL LINE OF ATTACK, JULY 1, 1916, AND THE SHADED SECTIONS INDICATE THE SUCCESSIVE ADVANCES BEFORE THE CAPTURE OF ST. PIERRE DIVION, BEAUCOURT, AND BEAUMONT HAMEL.

highest part of the watershed, at an average distance of from 3,000 to 5,000 yards behind his first system of trenches.

During nearly two years' preparation he had spared no pains to render these defenses impregnable. The first and second systems each consisted of several lines of deep trenches, well provided with bomb-proof shelters and with numerous communication trenches connecting them. The front of the trenches in each system was protected by wire entanglements, many of them in two belts forty yards broad, built of iron stakes interlaced with barbed wire, often almost as thick as a man's finger.

The numerous woods and villages in and between these systems of defense had been turned into veritable fortresses. The deep cellars, usually to be found in the villages, and the numerous pits and quarries common to a chalk country were used to provide cover for machine guns and trench mortars. The existing cellars were supplemented by elaborate dugouts, sometimes in two stories, and these were connected up by passages as much as thirty feet below the surface of the ground. The salients in the enemy's lines, from which he could bring enfilade fire across his front, were made into self-contained forts, and often protected by mine fields, while strong redoubts and concrete machine-gun emplacements had been constructed in positions from which he could sweep his own trenches should these be taken. The ground lent itself to good artillery observation on the enemy's part, and he had skillfully arranged for cross-fire by his guns.

Complete Defensive System

These various systems of defense, with the fortified localities and other supporting points between them, were cunningly sited to afford each other mutual assistance and to admit of the utmost possible development of enfilade

and flanking fire by machine guns and artillery. They formed, in short, not merely a series of successive lines, but one composite system of enormous depth and strength.

Behind this second system of trenches, in addition to woods, villages, and other strong points prepared for defense, the enemy had several other lines already completed; and we had learned from aeroplane reconnoisance that he was hard at work improving and strengthening these and digging fresh ones between them and still further back.

In the area above described, between the Somme and the Ancre, our front-line trenches ran parallel and close to those of the enemy, but below them. We had good direct observation on his front system of trenches and on the various defenses sited on the slopes above us between his first and second systems; but the second system itself, in many places, could not be observed from the ground in our possession, while, except from the air, nothing could be seen of his more distant defenses.

North of the Ancre, where the opposing trenches ran transversely across the main ridge, the enemy's defenses were equally elaborate and formidable. So far as command of ground was concerned we were here practically on leval terms, but, partly as a result of this, our direct observation over the ground held by the enemy was not so good as it was further south. On portions of this front the opposing first-line trenches were more widely separated from each other, while in the valleys to the north were many hidden gun positions from which the enemy could develop flanking fire on our troops as they advanced across the open.

Offensive's Three Phases

6. The period of active operations dealt with in this dispatch divides itself roughly into three phases. The first phase opened with the attack of July 1, the success of which evidently came as a surprise to the enemy and caused considerable confusion and disorganization in his ranks. The advantages gained on that date and developed during the first half of July may be regarded as having been rounded off by the operations of July 14 and three following days, which gave us possession of the southern crest of the main plateau between Delville Wood and Bazentin-le-Petit.

We then entered upon a contest lasting for many weeks, during which the enemy, having found his strongest defenses unavailing, and now fully alive to his danger, put forth his utmost efforts to keep his hold on the main ridge. This stage of the battle constituted a prolonged and severe struggle for mastery between the contending armies, in which, although progress was slow and difficult, the confidence of our troops in their ability to win was never shaken. Their tenacity and determination proved more than equal to their task, and by the first week in September they had established a fighting superiority that has left its mark on the enemy, of which possession of the ridge was merely the visible proof.

The way was then opened for the third phase, in which our advance was pushed down the forward slopes of the ridge and further extended on both flanks until, from Morval to Thiepval, the whole plateau and a good deal of ground beyond were in our possession. Meanwhile our gallant allies, in addition to great successes south of the Somme, had pushed their advance, against equally determined opposition and under most difficult tactical conditions, up the long slopes on our immediate right, and were now preparing to drive the enemy from the summit of the narrow and difficult portion of the main ridge which lies between the Combles Valley and the River Tortille, a stream flowing from the north into the Somme just below Péronne.

7. Defenses of the nature described could only be attacked with any prospect of success after careful artillery preparation. It was accordingly decided that our bombardment should begin on June 24, and a large force of artillery was brought into action for the purpose.

Artillery bombardments were also carried out daily at different points on the rest of our front, and during the period from June 24 to July 1 gas was discharged with good effect at more than forty places along our line upon a frontage which in total amounted to over fifteen miles. Some seventy raids, too, were undertaken by our infantry between Gommecourt and our extreme left north of Ypres during the week preceding the attack, and these kept me well informed as to the enemy's dispositions, besides serving other useful purposes.

On June 25 the Royal Flying Corps carried out a general attack on the enemy's observation balloons, destroying nine of them, and depriving the enemy for the time being of this form of observation.

Joint Attack Launched

8. On July 1, at 7:30 A. M., after a final hour of exceptionally violent bombardment, our infantry assault was launched. Simultaneously the French attacked on both sides of the Somme, co-operating closely with us.

The British main front of attack extended from Maricourt on our right, round the salient at Fricourt, to the Ancre in front of St. Pierre Divion. To assist this main attack by holding the enemy's reserves and occupying his artillery, the enemy's trenches north of the Ancre, as far as Serre, inclusive, were to be assaulted simultaneously, while further north a subsidiary attack was to be made on both sides of the salient at Gommecourt.

I had intrusted the attack on the front from Maricourt to Serre to the Fourth Army, under the command of General Sir Henry S. Rawlinson, Bart., K. C. B., K. C. V. O., with five army corps at his disposal. The subsidiary attack at Gommecourt was carried out by troops from the army commanded by General Sir E. H. H. Allenby, K. C. B.

Just prior to the attack the mines which had been prepared under the enemy's lines were exploded, and smoke was discharged at many places along our front. Through this smoke our infantry advanced to the attack with the utmost steadiness in spite of the very heavy barrage of the enemy's guns. On our right our troops met with immediate success, and rapid progress was made. Before midday Montauban had been carried, and shortly afterward the Briqueterie, to the east, and the whole of the ridge to the west of the village were in our hands. Opposite Mametz part of our assembly trenches had been practically leveled by the enemy artillery, making it necessary for our infantry to advance to the attack across 400 yards of open ground. None the less they forced their way into Mametz, and reached their objective in the valley beyond, first throwing out a defensive flank toward Fricourt on their left. At the same time the enemy's trenches were entered north of Fricourt, so that the enemy's garrison in that village was pressed on three sides. Further north, though the village of La Boisselle and Ovillers for the time being resisted our attack, our troops drove deeply into the German lines on the flanks of these strongholds, and so paved the way for their capture later.

Leipsic Salient Stormed

On the spur running south from Thiepval the work known as the Leipsic Salient was stormed, and severe fighting took place for the possession of the village and its defenses. Here and north of the valley of the Ancre, as far as Serre, on the left flank of our attack, our initial successes were not sustained. Striking progress was made at many points, and parties of troops penetrated the enemy's positions to the outer defenses of Grandcourt, and also to Pendant Copse and Serre; but the enemy's continued resistance at Thiepval and Beaumont Hamel made it impossible to forward reinforcements and ammunition, and in spite of their gallant efforts our troops were forced to withdraw during the night to their own lines.

The subsidiary attack at Gommecourt also forced its way into the enemy's positions, but there met with such vigorous opposition that as soon as it was considered that the attack had fulfilled its object our troops were withdrawn.

9. In view of the general situation at the end of the first day's operations I decided that the best course was to press forward on a front extending from our junction with the French to a point half way between La Boisselle and Contalmaison, and to limit the offensive on our left for the present to a slow and methodical advance. North of the Ancre such preparations were to be made as would hold the enemy to his positions and enable the attack to be resumed there later if desirable. In order that General Sir Henry Rawlinson might be left free to concentrate his attention on the portion of the front where the attack was to be pushed home, I also decided to place the operations against the front, La Boisselle to Serre, under the command of General Sir Hubert de la P. Gough, K. C. B., to whom I accordingly allotted the two northern corps of Sir Henry Rawlinson's army. My instructions to Sir Hubert Gough were that his army was to maintain a steady pressure on the front from La Boisselle to the Serre road and to act as a pivot on which our line could swing as our attacks on his right made progress toward the north.

10. During the succeeding days the attack was continued on these lines. In spite of strong counterattacks on the Briqueterie and Montauban, by midday on July 2 our troops had captured Fricourt, and in the afternoon and evening stormed Fricourt Wood and the farm to the north. During July 3 and 4 Bernajay and Caterpillar Woods were also captured, and our troops pushed forward to the railway north of Mametz. On these days the reduction of La Boisselle was completed after hard fighting, while the outskirts of Contalmaison were reached on July 5. North of La Boisselle also the enemy's forces opposite us were kept constantly engaged, and our holding in the Leipsic Salient was gradually increased.

First Line Captured

To sum up the results of the fighting of these five days, on a front of over six miles, from the Briqueterie to La Boisselle, our troops had swept over the whole of the enemy's first and strongest system of defense, which he had done his utmost to render impregnable. They had driven him back over a distance of more than a mile, and had carried four elaborately fortified villages. The number of prisoners passed back at the close of July 5 had already reached the total of ninety-four officers and 5,724 other ranks.

11. After the five days' heavy and continuous fighting just described it was essential to carry out certain readjustments and reliefs of the forces engaged. In normal conditions of enemy resistance the amount of progress that can be made at any time without a pause in the general advance is necessarily limited. Apart from the physical exhaustion of the attacking troops and the considerable distance separating the enemy's successive main systems of defense, special artillery preparation was required before a successful assault could be delivered. Meanwhile, however, local operations were continued in spite of much unfavorable weather. The attack on Contalmaison and Mametz Wood was undertaken on July 7, and after three days' obstinate fighting, in the course of which the enemy delivered several powerful counterattacks, the village and the whole of the wood, except its northern border, were finally secured. On July 7 also a footing was gained in the other defenses of Ovillers, while on July 9, on our extreme right, Maltz Horn Farm—an important point on the spur north of Hardecourt—was secured.

A thousand yards north of this farm our troops had succeeded at the second attempt in establishing themselves on July 8 in the southern end of Trones Wood. The enemy's positions in the northern and eastern parts of this wood were very strong, and no less than eight powerful German counterattacks were made here during the next five days. In the course of this struggle portions of the wood changed hands several times; but we were left eventually, on July 13, in possession of the southern part of it.

Operations of July 14

12. Meanwhile Mametz Wood had been entirely cleared of the enemy, and with Trones Wood also practically in our possession we were in a position to undertake an assault upon the enemy's second system of defense. Arrangements were accordingly made for an attack to be delivered at daybreak on the morning of July 14 against a front extending from Longueval to Bazentin-le-Petit Wood, both inclusive. Contalmaison Villa, on a spur 1,000 yards west of Bazentin-le-Petit Wood, had already been captured to secure the left flank of the attack, and advantage had been taken of the progress made by our infantry to move our artillery forward into new positions. The preliminary bombardment had opened on July 11. The opportunities offered by the ground for enfilading the enemy's lines were fully utilized, and did much to secure the success of our attack.

13. In the early hours of July 14 the attacking troops moved out over the open for a distance of from about 1,000 to 1,400 yards, and lined up in the darkness just below the crest and some 300 to 500 yards from the enemy's trenches. Their advance was covered by strong patrols, and their correct deployment had been insured by careful previous preparations. The whole movement was carried out unobserved and without touch being lost in any case. The decision to attempt a night operation of this magnitude with an army, the bulk of which had been raised since the beginning of the war, was perhaps the highest tribute that could be paid to the quality of our troops. It would not have been possible but for the most careful preparation and forethought, as well as thorough reconnoissance of the ground, which was, in many cases, made personally by divisional, brigade, and battalion commanders and their staffs before framing their detailed orders for the advance.

The actual assault was delivered at 3:25 A. M. on July 14, when there was just sufficient light to be able to distinguish friend from foe at short ranges, and along the whole front attacked our troops, preceded by a very effective artillery barrage, swept over the enemy's first trenches and on into the defenses beyond.

On our right the enemy was driven from his last foothold in Trones Wood, and by 8 A. M. we had cleared the whole of it, relieving a body of 170 men who had maintained themselves all night in the northern corner of the wood, although completely surrounded by the enemy. Our position in the wood was finally consolidated, and strong patrols were sent out from it in the direction of Guillemont and Longueval. The southern half of this latter village was already in the hands of the troops who had advanced west of Trones Wood. The northern half, with the exception of two strong points, was captured by 4 P. M. after a severe struggle.

In the centre of our attack Bazentin-le-Grand village and wood were also gained, and our troops pushing northward captured Bazentin-le-Petit village and the cemetery to the east. Here the enemy counterattacked twice about midday without success, and again in the afternoon, on the latter occasion momentarily reoccupying the northern half of the village as far as the church. Our troops immediately returned to the attack and drove him out again with heavy losses. To the left of the village Bazentin-le-Petit Wood was cleared, in spite of the considerable resistance of the enemy along its western edge, where we successfully repulsed a counterattack. In the afternoon further ground was gained to the west of the wood, and posts were established immediately south of Pozières.

The enemy's troops, who had been severely handled in these attacks and counterattacks, began to show signs of disorganization, and it was reported early in the afternoon that it was possible to advance to High Wood. General Rawlinson, who had held a force of cavalry in readiness for such an eventuality, decided to employ a part of it. As the fight progressed small bodies of this force had pushed forward gradually, keeping in close touch with the development of the action, and prepared to seize quickly any opportunity that might occur. A squadron now came up on the flanks of our infantry, who entered High Wood at about 8 P. M., and, after some hand-to-hand fighting, cleared the whole of the wood with the exception of the northern apex. Acting mounted in cooperation with the infantry, the cavalry came into action with good effect, killing several of the enemy and capturing some prisoners.

Fight for Longueval

14. On July 15 the battle still continued, though on a reduced scale. Arrow Head Copse, between the southern edge of Trones Wood and Guillemont, and Waterlot Farm on the Longueval-Guillemont road, were seized, and Delville Wood was captured and held against several hostile counterattacks. In Longueval fierce fighting continued until dusk for the possession of the two strong points and the orchards to the north of the village. The situation in this area made the position of our troops in High Wood somewhat precarious, and they now began to suffer numerous casualties from the enemy's

heavy shelling. Accordingly orders were given for their withdrawal, and this was effected during the night of July 15-16 without interference by the enemy. All the wounded were brought in.

In spite of repeated enemy counterattacks further progress was made on the night of July 16 along the enemy's main second-line trenches northwest of Bazentin-le-Petit Wood to within 500 yards of the northeast corner of the village of Pozières, which our troops were already approaching from the south.

Meanwhile the operations further north had also made progress. Since the attack of July 7 the enemy in and about Ovillers had been pressed relentlessly and gradually driven back by incessant bombing attacks and local assaults, in accordance with the general instructions I had given to General Sir Hubert Gough. On July 16 a large body of the garrison of Ovillers surrendered, and that night and during the following day, by a direct advance from the west across No Man's Land, our troops carried the remainder of the village and pushed out along the spur to the north and eastward toward Pozières.

New British Line

15. The results of the operations of July 4 and subsequent days were of considerable importance. The enemy's second main system of defense had been captured on a front of over three miles. We had again forced him back more than a mile, and had gained possession of the southern crest of the main ridge on a front of 6,000 yards. Four more of his fortified villages and three woods had been wrested from him by determined fighting, and our advanced troops had penetrated as far as his third line of defense. In spite of a resolute resistance and many counterattacks, in which the enemy had suffered severely, our line was definitely established from Maltz Horn Farm, where we met the French left, northward along the eastern edge of Trones Wood to Longueval, then westward past Bazentin-le-Grand to the northern corner of Bazentin-le-Petit and Bazentin-le-Petit Wood, and then westward again past the southern face of Pozières to the north of Ovillers. Posts were established at Arrow Head Copse and Waterlot Farm, while we had troops thrown forward in Delville Wood and toward High Wood, though their position was not yet secure.

I cannot speak too highly of the skill, daring, endurance, and determination by which these results had been achieved. Great credit is due to Sir Henry Rawlinson for the thoroughness and care with which this difficult undertaking was planned; while the advance and deployment made by night without confusion, and the complete success of the subsequent attack, constitute a striking tribute to the discipline and spirit of the troops engaged, as well as to the powers of leadership and organization of their commanders and staffs.

During these operations and their development on the 15th a number of enemy guns were taken, making a total capture since July 1 eight heavy howtizers, four heavy guns, forty-two field and light guns and field howitzers, thirty trench mortars, and fifty-two machine guns. Very considerable losses had been inflicted on the enemy, and the prisoners captured amounted to over 2,000, bringing the total since July 1 to over 10,000.

16. There was strong evidence that the enemy forces engaged on the battle front had been severely shaken by the repeated successes gained by ourselves and our allies; but the great strength and depth of his defenses had secured for him sufficient time to bring up fresh troops, and he had still many powerful fortifications, both trenches, villages, and woods, to which he could cling in our front and on our flanks.

We had, indeed, secured a footing on the main ridge, but only on a front of 6,000 yards, and desirous though I was to follow up quickly the successes we had won, it was necessary first to widen this front.

West of Bazentin-le-Petit the villages of Pozières and Thiepval, together with the whole elaborate system of trenches around, between and on the main ridge behind them, had still to be carried. An advance further east would, however, eventually turn these defenses, and all that was for the present required on the left flank of our attack was a steady, methodical, step by step advance as already ordered.

An Undesirable Salient

On our right flank the situation called for stronger measures. At Delville Wood and Longueval our lines formed a sharp salient, from which our front ran on the one side westward to Pozières, and on the other southward to Maltz Horn Farm. At Maltz Horn Farm our lines joined the French, and the allied front continued still southward to the village of Hem, on the Somme.

This pronounced salient invited counterattacks by the enemy. He possessed direct observation on it all around from Guillemont on the southeast to High Wood on the northwest. He could bring a concentric fire of artillery to bear not only on the wood and village, but also on the confined space behind, through which ran the French communications as well as ours, where great numbers of guns, besides ammunition and impedimenta of all sorts, had necessarily to be crowded together. Having been in occupation of this ground for nearly two years, he knew every foot of it, and could not fail to appreciate the possibilities of causing us heavy loss there by indirect artillery fire; while it was evident that, if he could drive in the salient in our line and so gain direct observation on the ground behind, our position in that area would become very uncomfortable.

If there had not been good grounds for confidence that the enemy was not capable of driving from this position troops who had

shown themselves able to wrest it from him, the situation would have been an anxious one. In any case it was clear that the first requirement at the moment was that our right flank, and the French troops in extension of it, should swing up into line with our centre. To effect this, however, strong enemy positions had to be captured both by ourselves and by our allies.

From Delville Wood the main plateau extends for 4,000 yards east-northeast to Les Boeufs and Morval, and for about the same distance southeastward to Leuze and Bouleau Woods, which stand above and about 1,000 yards to the west of Combles. To bring my right up into line with the rest of my front it was necessary to capture Guillemont, Falfemont Farm, and Leuze Wood, and then Ginchy and Bouleau Woods. These localities were naturally very strong, and they had been elaborately fortified. The enemy's main second-line system of defense ran in front of them from Waterlot Farm, which was already in our hands, southeastward to Falfemont Farm, and thence southward to the Somme. The importance of holding us back in this area could not escape the enemy's notice, and he had dug and wired many new trenches, both in front of and behind his original lines. He had also brought up fresh troops, and there was no possibility of taking him by surprise.

Allies' Difficult Task

The task before us was, therefore, a very difficult one and entailed a real trial of strength between the opposing forces. At this juncture its difficulties were increased by unfavorable weather. The nature of the ground limited the possibility of direct observation of our artillery fire, and we were consequently much dependent on observation from the air. As in that element we had attained almost complete superiority, all that we required was a clear atmosphere; but with this we were not favored for several weeks. We had rather more rain than is usual in July and August, and even when no rain fell there was an almost constant haze and frequent low clouds.

In swinging up my own right it was very important that the French line north of the Somme should be advanced at the same time in close combination with the movement of the British troops. The line of demarkation agreed on between the French commander and myself ran from Maltz Horn Farm due eastward to the Combles Valley and then northeastward up that valley to a point midway between Sailly-Saillisel and Morval. These two villages had been fixed upon as objectives, respectively, of the French left and of my right. In order to advance in co-operation with my right, and eventually to reach Sailly-Saillisel, our allies had still to fight their way up that portion of the main ridge which lies between the Combles Valley on the west and the River Tortille on the east. To do so they had to capture, in the first place, the strongly fortified villages of Maurepas, Le Forest, Rancourt, and Fregicourt, besides many woods and strong systems of trenches. As the high ground on each side of the Combles Valley commands the slopes of the ridge on the opposite side, it was essential that the advance of the two armies should be simultaneous and made in the closest co-operation. This was fully recognized by both armies, and our plans were made accordingly.

To carry out the necessary preparations to deal with the difficult situation outlined above a short pause was necessary, to enable tired troops to be relieved and guns to be moved forward; while at the same time old communications had to be improved and new ones made. Intrenchments against probable counterattacks could not be neglected, and fresh dispositions of troops were required for the new attacks to be directed eastward.

It was also necessary to continue such pressure on the rest of our front, not only on the Ancre, but further south, as would make it impossible for the enemy to devote himself entirely to resisting the advance between Delville Wood and the Somme. In addition, it was desirable further to secure our hold on the main ridge west of Delville Wood by gaining more ground to our front in that direction. Orders were therefore issued in accordance with the general considerations explained above, and, without relaxing pressure along the enemy's front from Delville Wood to the west, preparations for an attack on Guillemont were pushed on.

Fight for the Woods

17. During the afternoon of July 18 the enemy developed his expected counterattack against Delville Wood, after heavy preliminary shelling. By sheer weight of numbers, and at very heavy cost, he forced his way through the northern and northeastern portion of the wood and into the northern half of Longueval, which our troops had cleared only that morning. In the southeast corner of the wood he was held up by a gallant defense, and further south three attacks on our positions in Waterlot Farm failed.

This enemy attack on Delville Wood marked the commencement of the long, closely contested struggle which was not finally decided in our favor till the fall of Guillemont on Sept. 3, a decision which was confirmed by the capture of Ginchy six days later. Considerable gains were indeed made during this period, but progress was slow, and bought only by hard fighting. A footing was established in High Wood on July 20, and our line linked up thence with Longueval. A subsequent advance by the Fourth Army on July 23 on a wide front from Guillemont to Pozières found the enemy in great strength all along the line, with machine guns and forward troops in shell holes and newly constructed trenches well in front of his main defenses. Although ground was won, the

strength of the resistance experienced showed that the hostile troops had recovered from their previous confusion sufficiently to necessitate long and careful preparation before further successes on any great scale could be secured.

An assault delivered simultaneously on this date by General Gough's army against Pozières gained considerable results, and by the morning of July 25 the whole of that village was carried, including the cemetery, and important progress was made along the enemy's trenches to the northeast. That evening, after heavy artillery preparation, the enemy launched two more powerful counterattacks, the one directed against our new position in and around High Wood and the other delivered from the northwest of Delville Wood. Both attacks were completely broken up with very heavy losses to the enemy.

On July 27 the remainder of Delville Wood was recovered, and two days later the northern portion of Longueval and the orchards were cleared of the enemy, after severe fighting, in which our own and the enemy's artillery were very active.

Guillemont

18. On July 30 the village of Guillemont and Falfemont Farm to the southeast were attacked, in conjunction with a French attack north of the Somme. A battalion entered Guillemont, and part of it passed through to the far side; but as the battalions on either flank did not reach their objectives, it was obliged to fall back, after holding out for some hours on the western edge of the village. In a subsequent local attack on Aug. 7 our troops again entered Guillemont, but were again compelled to fall back owing to the failure of a simultaneous effort against the enemy's trenches on the flanks of the village.

The ground to the south of Guillemont was dominated by the enemy's positions in and about that village. It was therefore hoped that these positions might be captured first, before an advance to the south of them in the direction of Falfemont Farm was pushed further forward. It had now become evident, however, that Guillemont could not be captured as an isolated enterprise without very heavy loss, and, accordingly, arrangements were made with the French Army on our immediate right for a series of combined attacks, to be delivered in progressive stages, which should embrace Maurepas, Falfemont Farm, Guillemont, Leuze Wood, and Ginchy.

An attempt on Aug. 16 to carry out the first stage of the prearranged scheme met with only partial success, and two days later, after a preliminary bombardment lasting thirty-six hours, a larger combined attack was undertaken. In spite of a number of enemy counterattacks—the most violent of which, leveled at the point of junction of the British with the French, succeeded in forcing our allies and ourselves back from a part of the ground won—very valuable progress was made, and our troops established themselves in the outskirts of Guillemont village and occupied Guillemont Station. A violent counterattack on Guillemont Station was repulsed on Aug. 23; and next day further important progress was made on a wide front north and east of Delville Wood.

19. Apart from the operations already described, others of a minor character, yet involving much fierce and obstinate fighting, continued during this period on the fronts of both the British armies. Our lines were pushed forward wherever possible by means of local attacks and by bombing and sapping, and the enemy was driven out of various forward positions from which he might hamper our progress. By these means many gains were made which, though small in themselves, in the aggregate represented very considerable advances. In this way our line was brought to the crest of the ridge above Martinpuich, and Pozières Windmill and the high ground north of the village were secured, and with them observation over Martinpuich and Courcelette and the enemy's gun positions in their neighborhood and around Le Sars. At a later date our troops reached the defenses of Mouquet Farm, northwest of Pozières, and made progress in the enemy's trenches south of Thiepval. The enemy's counterattacks were incessant and frequently of great violence, but they were made in vain and at heavy cost to him. The fierceness of the fighting can be gathered from the fact that one regiment of the German Guards Reserve Corps which had been in the Thiepval salient opposite Mouquet Farm is known to have lost 1,400 men in fifteen days.

20. The first two days of September on both army fronts were spent in preparation for a more general attack, which the gradual progress made during the preceding month had placed us in a position to undertake. Our assault was delivered at 12 noon on Sept. 3, on a front extending from our extreme right to the third enemy trenches on the right bank of the Ancre, north of Hamel. Our allies attacked simultaneously on our right.

Guillemont was stormed and at once consolidated, and our troops pushed on unchecked to Ginchy and the line of the road running south to Wedge Wood. Ginchy was also seized, but here, in the afternoon, we were very strongly counterattacked. For three days the tide of attack and counterattack swayed backward and forward among the ruined houses of the village, till, in the end, for three days more the greater part of it remained in the enemy's possession. Three counterattacks made on the evening of Sept. 3 against our troops in Guillemont all failed, with considerable loss to the enemy. We also gained ground north of Delville Wood and in High Wood, though here an enemy

counterattack recovered part of the ground won.

On the front of General Gough's army, though the enemy suffered heavy losses in personnel, our gain in ground was slight.

Falfemont Farm and Ginchy

21. In order to keep touch with the French who were attacking on our right the assault on Falfemont Farm on Sept. 3 was delivered three hours before the opening of the main assault. In the impetus of their first rush our troops reached the farm, but could not hold it. Nevertheless, they pushed on to the north of it, and on Sept. 4 delivered a series of fresh assaults upon it from the west and north.

Ultimately this strongly fortified position was occupied piece by piece, and by the morning of Sept. 5 the whole of it was in our possession. Meanwhile further progress had been made to the northeast of the farm, where considerable initiative was shown by the local commanders. By the evening of the same day our troops were established strongly in Leuze Wood, which on the following day was finally cleared of the enemy.

22. In spite of the fact that most of Ginchy and of High Wood remained in the enemy's hands, very noteworthy progress had been made in the course of these four days' operations, exceeding anything that had been achieved since July 14. Our right was advanced on a front of nearly two miles to an average depth of nearly one mile, penetrating the enemy's original second line of defense on this front, and capturing strongly fortified positions at Falfemont Farm, Leuze Wood, Guillemont, and southeast of Delville Wood, where we reached the western outskirts of Ginchy. More important than this gain in territory was the fact that the barrier which for seven weeks the enemy had maintained against our further advance had at last been broken. Over 1,000 prisoners were taken and many machine guns captured or destroyed in the course of the fighting.

23. Preparations for a further attack upon Ginchy continued without intermission, and at 4:45 P. M., on Sept. 9, the attack was reopened on the whole of the Fourth Army front. At Ginchy and to the north of Leuze Wood it met with almost immediate success. On the right the enemy's line was seized over a front of more than 1,000 yards from the southwest corner of Bouleau Woods, in a northwesterly direction to a point just south of the Guillemont-Morval tramway. Our troops again forced their way into Ginchy, and passing beyond it carried the line of enemy trenches to the east. Further progress was made east of Delville Wood and south and east of High Wood.

Over 500 prisoners were taken in the operations of Sept. 9 and following days, making the total since July 1 over 17,000.

A Disillusioned Enemy

24. Meanwhile the French had made great progress on our right, bringing their line forward to Louage Wood (just south of Combles)-Le Forest-Clery-sur-Somme, all three inclusive. The weak salient in the allied line had therefore disappeared and we had gained the front required for further operations.

Still more importance, however, lay in the proof afforded by the results described of the ability of our new armies, not only to rush the enemy's strongest defenses, as had been accomplished on July 1 and 14, but also to wear down and break his power of resistance by a steady, relentless pressure, as they had done during the weeks of this fierce and protracted struggle. As has already been recounted, the preparations made for our assault on July 1 had been long and elaborate; but though the enemy knew that an attack was coming, it would seem that he considered the troops already on the spot, secure in their apparently impregnable defenses, would suffice to deal with it. The success of that assault, combined with the vigor and determination with which our troops pressed their advantage, and followed by the successful night attack of July 14, all served to awaken him to a fuller realization of his danger. The great depth of his system of fortification, to which reference has been made, gave him time to reorganize his defeated troops, and to hurry up numerous fresh divisions and more guns. Yet in spite of this, he was still pushed back, steadily and continuously. Trench after trench, and strong point after strong point were wrested from him. The great majority of his frequent counterattacks failed completely, with heavy loss; while the few that achieved temporary local success purchased it dearly, and were soon thrown back from the ground they had for the moment regained.

The enemy had, it is true, delayed our advance considerably, but the effort had cost him dear; and the comparative collapse of his resistance during the last few days of the struggle justified the belief that in the long run decisive victory would lie with our troops, who had displayed such fine fighting qualities and such indomitable endurance and resolution.

On the Main Ridge

25. Practically the whole of the forward crest of the main ridge on a front of some 9,000 yards, from Delville Wood to the road above Mouquet Farm, was now in our hands, and with it the advantage of observation over the slopes beyond. East of Delville Wood, for a further 3,000 yards to Leuze Wood, we were firmly established on the main ridge, while further east, across the Combles Valley, the French were advancing victoriously on our right. But though the centre of our line was well placed, on our flanks there was still difficult ground to be won.

From Ginchy the crest of the high ground runs northward for 2,000 yards, and then eastward, in a long spur, for nearly 4,000

yards. Near the eastern extremity of this spur stands the village of Morval, commanding a wide field of view and fire in every direction. At Leuze Wood my right was still 2,000 yards from its objective at this village, and between lay a broad and deep branch of the main Combles Valley, completely commanded by the Morval spur, and flanked, not only from its head northeast of Ginchy, but also from the high ground east of the Combles Valley, which looks directly into it.

Up this high ground beyond the Combles Valley the French were working their way toward their objective at Sailly-Saillisel, situated due east of Morval, and standing at the same level. Between these two villages the ground falls away to the head of the Combles Valley, which runs thence in a southwesterly direction. In the bottom of this valley lies the small town of Combles, then well fortified and strongly held, though dominated by my right at Leuze Wood and by the French left on the opposite heights. It had been agreed between the French and myself that an assault on Combles would not be necessary, as the place could be rendered untenable by pressing forward along the ridges above it on eitheir side.

The capture of Morval from the south presented a very difficult problem, while the capture of Sailly-Saillisel, at that time some 3,000 yards to the north of the French left, was in some respects even more difficult. The line of the French advance was narrowed almost to a defile by the extensive and strongly fortified Wood of St. Pierre Vaast on the one side, and on the other by the Combles Valley, which, with the branches running out from it and the slopes on each side, is completely commanded, as has been pointed out, by the heights bounding the valley on the east and west.

On my right flank, therefore, the progress of the French and British forces was still interdependent, and the closest co-operation continued to be necessary in order to gain the further ground required to enable my centre to advance on a sufficiently wide front. To cope with such a situation unity of command is usually essential, but in this case the cordial good feeling between the allied armies, and the earnest desire of each to assist the other, proved equally effective, and removed all difficulties.

On my left flank the front of General Gough's army bent back from the main ridge near Mouquet Farm down a spur descending southwestward, and then crosed a broad valley to the Wonderwork, a strong point situated in the enemy's front-line system near the southern end of the spur on the higher slopes of which Thiepval stands. Opposite this part of our line we had still to carry the enemy's original defenses on the main ridge above Theipval, and in the village itself, defenses which may fairly be described as being as nearly impregnable as nature, art, and the unstinted labor of nearly two years could make them.

Our advance on Thiepval and on the defenses above it had been carried out up to this date, in accordance with my instructions given on July 3, by a slow and methodical progression, in which great skill and much patience and endurance had been displayed with entirely satisfactory results. General Gough's army had, in fact, acted most successfully in the required manner as a pivot to the remainder of the attack. The Thiepval defenses were known to be exceptionally strong, and as immediate possession of them was not necessary to the development of my plans after July 1, there had been no need to incur the heavy casualties to be expected in an attempt to rush them. The time was now approaching, although it had not yet arrived, when their capture would become necessary; but from the positions we had now reached and those which we expected shortly to obtain, I had no doubt that they could be rushed when required without undue loss. An important part of the remaining positions required for my assault on them was now won by a highly successful enterprise carried out on the evening of Sept. 14, by which the Wonderwork was stormed.

The "Tanks" in Action

26. The general plan of the combined allied attack which was opened on Sept. 15 was to pivot on the high ground south of the Ancre and north of the Albert-Bapaume road, while the Fourth Army devoted its whole effort to the rearmost of the enemy's original systems of defense between Morval and Le Sars. Should our success in this direction warrant it I made arrangements to enable me to extend the left of the attack to embrace the villages of Martinpuich and Courcelette. As soon as our advance on this front had reached the Morval line, the time would have arrived to bring forward my left across the Thiepval Ridge. Meanwhile on my right our allies arranged to continue the line of advance in close co-operation with me from the Somme to the slopes above Combles, but directing their main effort northward against the villages of Rancourt and Frégicourt, so as to complete the isolation of Combles and open the way for their attack upon Sailly-Saillisel.

27. A methodical bombardment was commenced at 6 A. M. on Sept. 12, and was continued steadily and uninterruptedly till the moment of attack.

At 6:20 A. M. on Sept. 15 the infantry assault commenced, and at the same moment the bombardment became intense. Our new heavily armored cars, known as "tanks," now brought into action for the first time, successfully co-operated with the infantry, and, coming as a surprise to the enemy rank and file, gave valuable help in breaking down their resistance.

The advance met with immediate success on

almost the whole of the front attacked. At 8:40 A. M. " tanks " were seen to be entering Flers, followed by large numbers of troops. Fighting continued in Flers for some time, but by 10 A. M. our troops had reached the north side of the village, and by midday had occupied the enemy's trenches for some distance beyond. On our right our line was advanced to within assaulting distance of the strong line of defense running before Morval, Les Boeufs, and Gueudecourt, and on our left High Wood was at last carried after many hours of very severe fighting, reflecting great credit on the attacking battalions. Our success made it possible to carry out during the afternoon that part of the plan which provided for the capture of Martinpuich and Courcelette, and by the end of the day both these villages were in our hands. On Sept. 18 the work of this day was completed by the capture of the Quadrilateral, an enemy stronghold which had hitherto blocked the progress of our right toward Morval. Further progress was also made between Flers and Martinpuich.

28. The result of the fighting of Sept. 15 and following days was a gain more considerable than any which had attended our arms in the course of a single operation since the commencement of the offensive. In the course of one day's fighting we had broken through two of the enemy's main defensive systems and had advanced on a front of over six miles to an average depth of a mile. In the course of this advance we had taken three large villages, each powerfully organized for prolonged resistance. Two of these villages had been carried by assault with short preparation in the course of a few hours' fighting. All this had been accomplished with a small number of casualties in comparison with the troops employed, and in spite of the fact that, as was afterward discovered, the attack did not come as a complete surprise to the enemy.

The total number of prisoners taken by us in these operations since their commencement on the evening of Sept. 14 amounted at this date to over 4,000, including 127 officers.

Fall of Morval and Combles

29. Preparations for our further advance were again hindered by bad weather, but at 12:35 P. M. on Sept. 25, after a bombardment commenced early in the morning of the 24th, a general attack by the Allies was launched on the whole front between the Somme and Martinpuich. The objectives on the British front included the villages of Morval, Les Boeufs, and Gueudecourt, and a belt of country about 1,000 yards deep curving round the north of Flers to a point midway between that village and Martinpuich. By nightfall the whole of these objectives were in our hands, with the exception of the village of Gueudecourt, before which our troops met with very serious resistance from a party of the enemy in a section of his fourth main system of defense.

On our right our allies carried the village of Rancourt, and advanced their line to the outskirts of Frégicourt, capturing that village also during the night and early morning. Combles was therefore nearly surrounded by the allied forces, and in the early morning of Sept. 26 the village was occupied simultaneously by the allied forces, the British to the north and the French to the south of the railway. The capture of Combles in this inexpensive fashion represented a not inconsiderable tactical success. Though lying in a hollow, the village was very strongly fortified, and possessed, in addition to the works which the enemy had constructed, exceptionally large cellars and galleries, at a great depth under ground, sufficient to give effectual shelter to troops and material under the heaviest bombardment. Great quantities of stores and ammunition of all sorts were found in these cellars when the village was taken.

On the same day Gueudecourt was carried, after the protecting trench to the west had been captured in a somewhat interesting fashion. In the early morning a " tank " started down the portion of the trench held by the enemy from the northwest, firing its machine guns and followed by bombers. The enemy could not escape, as we held the trench at the southern end. At the same time an aeroplane flew down the length of the trench, also firing a machine gun at the enemy holding it. These then waved white handkerchiefs in token of surrender, and when this was reported by the aeroplane the infantry accepted the surrender of the garrison. By 8:30 A. M. the whole trench had been cleared, great numbers of the enemy had been killed, and 8 officers and 362 of the ranks made prisoners. Our total casualties amounted to five.

Thiepval and Ridge Captured

30. The success of the Fourth Army had now brought our advance to the stage at which I judged it advisable that Thiepval should be taken, in order to bring our left flank into line and establish it on the main ridge above that village, the possession of which would be of considerable tactical value in future operations.

Accordingly at 12:25 P. M. on Sept. 26, before the enemy had been given time to recover from the blow struck by the Fourth Army, a general attack was launched against Thiepval and the Thiepval Ridge. The objective consisted of the whole of the high ground still remaining in enemy hands extending over a front of some 3,000 yards north and east of Thiepval, and including, in addition to that fortress, the Zollern Redoubt, the Stuff Redoubt, and the Schwaben Redoubt, with the connecting lines of trenches.

The attack was a brilliant success. On the right our troops reached the system of enemy trenches which formed their objectives without great difficulty. In Thiepval and the strong works to the north of it the enemy's

resistance was more desperate. Three waves of our attacking troops caried the outer defenses of Mouquet Farm, and, pushing on, entered Zollern Redoubt, which they stormed and consolidated. In the strong point formed by the buildings of the farm itself, the enemy garrison, securely posted in deep cellars, held out until 6 P. M., when their last defenses were forced by a working party of a pioneer battalion acting on its own initiative.

On the left of the attack fierce fighting, in which "tanks" again gave valuable assistance to our troops, continued in Thiepval during that day and the following night, but by 8:30 A. M. on Sept. 27 the whole of the village of Thiepval was in our hands.

Nearly 10,000 Prisoners Taken

Some 2,300 prisoners were taken in the course of the fighting on the Thiepval Ridge on these and the subsequent days, bringing the total number of prisoners taken in the battle area in the operations of Sept. 14-30 to nearly 10,000. In the same period we had captured 27 guns, over 200 machine guns, and some 40 trench mortars.

31. On the same date the south and west sides of Stuff Redoubt were carried by our troops, together with the length of trench connecting that strong point with Schwaben Redoubt to the west and also the greater part of the enemy's defensive line eastward along the northern slopes of the ridge. Schwaben Redoubt was assaulted during the afternoon, and in spite of counterattacks, delivered by strong enemy reinforcements, we captured the whole of the southern face of the redoubt and pushed out patrols to the northern face and toward St. Pierre Divion.

Our line was also advanced north of Courcelette, while on the Fourth Army front a further portion of the enemy's fourth system of defense northwest of Gueudecourt was carried on a front of a mile. Between these two points the enemy fell back upon his defenses running in front of Eaucourt l'Abbaye and Le Sars, and on the afternoon and evening of Sept. 27 our troops were able to make a very cosiderable advance in this area without encountering serious opposition until within a few hundred yards of this line. The ground thus occupied extended to a depth of from 500 to 600 yards on a front of nearly two miles between the Bazentin-le-Petit, Lingy, Thilloy, and Albert-Bapaume roads.

Destremont Farm, southwest of Le Sars, was carried by a single company on Sept. 29, and on the afternoon of Oct. 1 a successful attack was launched against Eaucourt l'Abbaye and the enemy defenses to the east and west of it, comprising a total front of about 3,000 yards. Our artillery barrage was extremely accurate, and contributed greatly to the success of the attack. Bomb fighting continued among the buildings during the next two days, but by the evening of Oct. 3 the whole of Eaucourt l'Abbaye was in our hands.

32. At the end of September I had handed over Morval to the French, in order to facilitate their attacks on Sailly-Saillisel, and on Oct. 7, after a postponement rendered necessary by three days' continuous rain, our allies made a considerable advance in the direction of the latter village. On the same day the Fourth Army attacked along the whole front from Les Boeufs to Destremont Farm in support of the operations of our allies.

The village of Le Sars was captured, together with the quarry to the northwest, while considerable progress was made at other points along the front attacked. In particular, to the east of Gueudecourt, the enemy's trenches were carried on a breadth of some 2,000 yards, and a footing gained on the crest of the long spur which screens the defenses of Le Transloy from the southwest. Nearly 1,000 prisoners were secured by the Fourth Army in the course of these operations.

33. With the exception of his positions in the neighborhood of Sailly-Saillisel, and his scanty foothold on the northern crest of the high ground above Thiepval, the enemy had now been driven from the whole of the ridge lying between the Tortille and the Ancre.

Possession of the northwestern portion of the ridge north of the latter village carried with it observation over the valley of the Ancre between Miraumont and Hamel and the spurs and valleys held by the enemy on the right bank of the river. The Germans, therefore, made desperate efforts to cling to their last remaining trenches in this area, and in the course of the three weeks following our advance made repeated counterattacks at heavy cost in the vain hope of recovering the ground they had lost. During this period our gains in the neighborhood of Stuff and Schwaben Redoubts were gradually increased and secured in readiness for future operations; and I was quite confident of the ability of our troops, not only to repulse the enemy's attacks, but to clear him entirely from his last positions on the ridge whenever it should suit my plans to do so. I was, therefore, well content with the situation on this flank.

Along the centre of our line from Gueudecourt to the west of Le Sars similar considerations applied. As we were already well down the forward slopes of the ridge on his front, it was for the time being inadvisable to make any serious advance. Pending developments elsewhere all that was necessary or indeed desirable was to carry on local operations to improve our positions and to keep the enemy fully employed.

Fighting in Rivers of Mud

On our eastern flank, on the other hand, it was important to gain ground. Here the enemy still possessed a strong system of trenches covering the villages of Le Transloy and Beaulencourt and the town of Bapaume; but, although he was digging with feverish haste, he had not yet been able to create any very formidable defenses behind this line. In

this direction, in fact, we had at last reached a stage at which a successful attack might reasonably be expected to yield much greater results than anything we had yet attained. The resistance of the troops opposed to us had seriously weakened in the course of our recent operations, and there was no reason to suppose that the effort required would not be within our powers.

The last completed system of defense, before Le Transloy, was flanked to the south by the enemy's positions at Sailly-Saillisel, and screened to the west by the spur lying between Le Transloy and Les Boeufs. A necessary preliminary, therefore, to an assault upon it was to secure the spur and the Sailly-Saillisel heights. Possession of the high ground at this latter village would at once give a far better command over the ground to the north and northwest, secure the flank of our operations toward Le Transloy, and deprive the enemy of observation over the allied communications in the Combles Valley. In view of the enemy's efforts to construct new systems of defense behind the Le Transloy spur was extended and secured, time in dealing with the situation.

Unfortunately, at this juncture, very unfavorable weather set in and continued with scarcely a break during the remainder of October and the early part of November. Poor visibility seriously interfered with the work of our artillery, and constant rain turned the mass of hastily dug trenches for which we were fighting into channels of deep mud. The country roads, broken by countless shell craters, that cross the deep stretch of ground we had lately won, rapidly became almost impassable, making the supply of food, stores, and ammunition a serious problem. These conditions multiplied the difficulties of attack to such an extent that it was found impossible to exploit the situation with the rapidity necessary to enable us to reap the full benefits of the advantages we had gained.

None the less, my right flank continued to assist the operations of our allies against Saillisel, and attacks were made to this end, whenever a slight improvement in the weather made the co-operation of artillery and infantry at all possible. The delay in our advance, however, though unavoidable, had given the enemy time to reorganize and rally his troops. His resistance again became stubborn and he seized every favorable opportunity for counterattacks. Trenches changed hands with great frequency, the conditions of ground making it difficult to renew exhausted supplies of bombs and ammunition, or to consolidate the ground won, and so rendering it an easier matter to take a battered trench than to hold it.

34. On Sept. 12 and 18 further gains were made to the east of the Les Boeufs-Gueudecourt line and east of Le Sars, and some hundreds of prisoners were taken. On these dates, despite all the difficulties of ground, the French first reached and then captured the villages of Sailly-Saillisel, but the moment for decisive action was rapidly passing away, while the weather showed no signs of improvement. By this time, too, the ground had already become so bad that nothing less than a prolonged period of drying weather, which at that season of the year was most unlikely to occur, would suit our purpose.

In these circumstances, while continuing to do all that was possible to improve my position on my right flank, I determined to press on with preparations for the exploitation of the favorable local situation on my left flank. At midday on Oct. 21, during a short spell of fine, cold weather, the line of Regina Trench and Stuff Trench, from the west Courcelette-Pys road westward to Schwaben Redoubt, was attacked with complete success. Assisted by an excellent artillery preparation and barrage, our infantry carried the whole of their objectives very quickly and with remarkably little loss, and our new line was firmly established in spite of the enemy's shell fire. Over one thousand prisoners were taken in the course of the day's fighting, a figure only slightly exceeded by our casualties.

On Oct 23, and again on Nov. 5, while awaiting better weather for further operations on the Ancre, our attacks on the enemy's positions to the east of Les Boeufs and Gueudecourt were renewed, in conjunction with French operations against the Sailly-Saillisel heights and St. Pierre Vaast Wood. Considerable further progress was achieved. Our footing at the crest of Le Transloy Spur was extended and secured, and the much-contested tangle of trenches at our junction with the French left at last passed definitely into our possession. Many smaller gains were made in this neighborhood by local assaults during these days, in spite of the difficult conditions of the ground. In particular, on Nov. 10, after a day of improved weather, the portion of Regina Trench lying to the east of the Courcelette-Pys road was carried on a front of about one thousand yards.

Throughout these operations the enemy's counterattacks were very numerous and determined, succeeding indeed in the evening of Oct. 23 in regaining a portion of the ground east of Le Sars taken from him by our attack on that day. On all other occasions his attacks were broken by our artillery or infantry and the losses incurred by him in these attempts, made frequently with considerable effectives, were undoubtedly very severe.

Attack on the Ancre

35. On Nov. 9 the long-continued bad weather took a turn for the better, and thereafter remained dry and cold, with frosty nights and misty mornings, for some days. Final preparations were therefore pushed on for the attack on the Ancre, though, as the ground was still very bad in places, it was

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necessary to limit the operations to what it would be reasonably possible to consolidate and hold under the existing conditions.

The enemy's defenses in this area were already extremely formidable when they resisted our assault on July 1, and the succeeding period of four months had been spent in improving and adding to them in the light of the experience he had gained in the course of our attacks further south. The hamlet of St. Pierre Divion and the villages of Beaucourt-sur-Ancre and Beaumont Hamel, like the rest of the villages forming part of the enemy's original front in this district, were evidently intended by him to form a permanent line of fortifications, while he developed his offensive elsewhere. Realizing that his position in them had become a dangerous one, the enemy had multiplied the number of his guns covering this part of his line, and at the end of October introduced an additional division on his front between Grandcourt and Hébuterne.

36. At 5 o'clock on the morning of Nov. 11 the special bombardment preliminary to the attack was commenced. It continued with bursts of great intensity until 5:45 o'clock on the morning of Nov. 13, when it developed into a very effective barrage covering the assaulting infantry.

At that hour our troops advanced on the enemy's position through dense fog, and rapidly entered his first-line trenches on almost the whole of the front attacked, from east of Schwaben Redoubt to the north of Serre. South of the Ancre, where our assault was directed northward against the enemy's trenches on the northern slopes of the Thiepval Ridge, it met with a success altogether remarkable for rapidity of execution and lightness of cost. By 7:20 A. M. our objectives east of St. Pierre Divion had been captured, and the Germans in and about that hamlet were hemmed in between our troops and the river. Many of the enemy were driven into their dugouts and surrendered, and at 9 A. M. the number of prisoners was actually greater than the attacking force. St. Pierre Divion soon fell, and in this area nearly 1,400 prisoners were taken by a single division at the expense of less than 600 casualties. The rest of our forces operating south of the Ancre attained their objectives with equal completeness and success.

Struggle North of the Ancre

North of the river the struggle was more severe, but very satisfactory results were achieved. Though parties of the enemy held out for some hours during the day in strong points at various places along his first line and in Beaumont Hamel, the main attack pushed on. The troops attacking close to the right bank of the Ancre reached their second objectives to the west and northwest of Beaucourt during the morning, and held on there for the remainder of the day and night, though practically isolated from the rest of our attacking troops. Their tenacity was of the utmost value, and contributed very largely to the success of the operations. At nightfall our troops were established on the western outskirts of Beaucourt, in touch with our forces south of the river, and held a line along the station road from the Ancre toward Beaumont Hamel, where we occupied the village. Further north the enemy's first-line system for a distance of about half a mile beyond Beaumont Hamel was also in our hands. Still further north—opposite Serre—the ground was so heavy that it became necessary to abandon the attack at an early stage, although, despite all difficulties, our troops had in places reached the enemy's trenches in the course of their assault.

Next morning, at an early hour, the attack was renewed between Beaucourt and the top of the spur just north of Beaumont Hamel. The whole of Beaumont was carried, and our line extended to the northwest along the Beaucourt road across the southern end of the Beaumont Hamel spur. The number of our prisoners steadily rose, and during this and the succeeding days our front was carried forward eastward and northward up the slopes of the Beaumont Hamel spur.

The results of this attack were very satisfactory, especially as before its completion bad weather had set in again. We had secured the command of the Ancre Valley on both banks of the river at the point where it entered the enemy's lines, and, without great cost to ourselves, losses had been inflicted on the enemy which he himself admitted to be considerable. Our final total of prisoners taken in these operations, and their development during the subsequent days, exceeded 7,200, including 149 officers.

37. Throughout the period dealt with in this dispatch the rôle of the other armies holding our defensive line from the northern limits of the battle front to beyond Ypres was necessarily a secondary one, but their task was neither light nor unimportant. While required to give precedence in all respects to the needs of the Somme battle, they were responsible for the security of the line held by them and for keeping the enemy on their front constantly on the alert. Their rôle was a very trying one, entailing heavy work on the troops and constant vigilance on the part of commanders and staffs. It was carried out to my entire satisfaction, and in an unfailing spirit of unselfish and broad-minded devotion to the general good, which is deserving of the highest commendation.

Some idea of the thoroughness with which their duties were performed can be gathered from the fact that in the period of four and a half months from July 1 some 360 raids were carried out, in the course of which the enemy suffered many casualties and some hundreds of prisoners were taken by us. The largest of these operations was undertaken on July 19 in the neighborhood of Armentières. Our troops penetrated deeply into the enemy's defenses, doing much damage to his works and inflicting severe losses upon him.

Objects Achieved by Somme Battle

38. The three main objects with which we had commenced our offensive in July had already been achieved at the date when this account closes, in spite of the fact that the heavy Autumn rains had prevented full advantage from being taken of the favorable situation created by our advance, at a time when we had good grounds for hoping to achieve yet more important successes.

Verdun had been relieved, the main German forces had been held on the western front, and the enemy's strength had been very considerably worn down.

Any one of these three results is in itself sufficient to justify the Somme battle. The attainment of all three of them affords ample compensation for the splendid efforts of our troops and for the sacrifices made by ourselves and our allies. They have brought us a long step forward toward the final victory of the allied cause.

The desperate struggle for the possession of Verdun had invested that place with a moral and political importance out of all proportion to its military value. Its fall would undoubtedly have been proclaimed as a great victory for our enemies, and would have shaken the faith of many in our ultimate success. The failure of the enemy to capture it, despite great efforts and very heavy losses, was a severe blow to his prestige, especially in view of the confidence he had openly expressed as to the results of the struggle.

Information obtained both during the progress of the Somme battle and since the suspension of active operations has fully established the effect of our offensive in keeping the enemy's main forces tied to the western front. A movement of German troops eastward, which had commenced in June as a result of the Russian successes, continued for a short time only after the opening of the allied attack. Thereafter the enemy forces that moved east consisted, with one exception, of divisions that had been exhausted in the Somme battle, and these troops were always replaced on the western front by fresh divisions. In November the strength of the enemy in the western theatre of was was greater than in July, notwithstanding the abandonment of his offensive at Verdun. It is possible that if Verdun had fallen large forces might still have been employed in an endeavor further to exploit that success. It is, however, far more probable, in view of developments in the eastern theatre, that a considerable transfer of troops in that direction would have followed. It is therefore justifiable to conclude that the Somme offensive not only relieved Verdun but held large forces which would otherwise have been employed against our allies in the east.

The third great object of the allied operations on the Somme was the wearing down of the enemy's powers of resistance. Any statement of the extent to which this has been attained must depend in some degree on estimates. There is, nevertheless, sufficient evidence to place it beyond doubt that the enemy's losses in men and material have been very considerably higher than those of the Allies, while morally the balance of advantage on our side is still greater.

During the period under review a steady deterioration took place in the morale of large numbers of the enemy's troops. Many of them, it is true, fought with the greatest determination, even in the latest encounters, but the resistance of still larger numbers became latterly decidedly feebler than it had been in the earlier stages of the battle. Aided by the great depth of his defenses and by the frequent reliefs which his resources in men enabled him to effect, discipline and training held the machine together sufficiently to enable the enemy to rally and reorganize his troops after each fresh defeat. As our advance progressed, four-fifths of the total number of divisions engaged on the western front were thrown one after another into the Somme battle, some of them twice, and some three times; and toward the end of the operations, when the weather unfortunately broke, there can be no doubt that his power of resistance had been very seriously diminished.

Tribute to British Troops

The number of prisoners taken by us in the Somme battle between July 1 and Nov. 18 is just over 38,000, including over 800 officers. During the same period we captured 29 heavy guns, 96 field guns and field howitzers, 136 trench mortars, and 514 machine guns.

So far as these results are due to the action of the British forces, they have been attained by troops the vast majority of whom had been raised and trained during the war. Many of them, especially among the drafts sent to replace wastage, counted their service by months, and gained in the Somme battle their first experience of war. The conditions under which we entered the war had made this unavoidable. We were compelled either to use hastily trained and inexperienced officers and men, or else to defer the offensive until we had trained them. In this latter case we should have failed our allies. That these troops should have accomplished so much under such conditions, and against an army and a nation whose chief concern for so many years has been preparation for war, constitutes a feat of which the history of our nation records no equal. The difficulties and hardships cheerfully overcome, and the endurance, determination, and invincible courage shown in meeting them, can hardly be imagined by those who have not had personal experience of the battle, even though they have themselves seen something of war.

The events which I have described in this dispatch form but a bare outline of the more important occurrences. To deal in any detail even with these without touching on the smaller fights and the ceaseless work in the trenches continuing day and night for five

months is not possible here. Nor have I deemed it permissible in this dispatch, much as I desired to do so, to particularize the units, brigades, or divisions especially connected with the different events described. It would not be possible to do so without giving useful information to the enemy. Recommendations for individual rewards have been forwarded separately, and in due course full details will be made known. Meanwhile, it must suffice to say that troops from every part of the British Isles, and from every dominion and quarter of the empire, whether regulars, territorials, or men of the new armies, have borne a share in the battle of the Somme. While some have been more fortunate than others in opportunities for distinction, all have done their duty nobly.

Among all the long roll of victories borne on the colors of our regiments there has never been a higher test of the endurance and resolution of our infantry. They have shown themselves worthy of the highest traditions of our race and of the proud records of former wars.

Against such defenses as we had to assault —far more formidable in many respects than those of the most famous fortresses in history—infantry would have been powerless without thoroughly efficient artillery preparation and support. The work of our artillery was wholly admirable, though the strain on the personnel was enormous. The excellence of the results attained was the more remarkable in view of the shortness of the training of most of the junior officers and of the N. C. O.'s and men. Despite this, they rose to a very high level of technical and tactical skill, and the combination between artillery and infantry, on which, above everything, victory depends, was an outstanding feature of the battle. Good even in July, it improved with experience, until in the latter assaults it approached perfection.

The Royal Flying Corps

In this combination between infantry and artillery the Royal Flying Corps played a highly important part. The admirable work of this corps has been a very satisfactory feature of the battle. Under the conditions of modern war the duties of the Air Service are many and varied. They include the regulation and control of artillery fire by indicating targets and observing and reporting the results of rounds; the taking of photographs of enemy trenches, strong points, battery positions, and of the effect of bombardments; and the observation of the movements of the enemy behind his lines.

The greatest skill and daring has been shown in the performance of all these duties, as well as in bombing expeditions. Our Air Service has also co-operated with our infantry in their assaults, signaling the position of our attacking troops and turning machine guns on to the enemy infantry and even on to his batteries in action.

Not only has the work of the Royal Flying Corps to be carried out in all weathers and under constant fire from the ground, but fighting in the air has now become a normal procedure, in order to maintain the mastery over the enemy's Air Service. In these fights the greatest skill and determination have been shown, and great success has attended the efforts of the Royal Flying Corps. I desire to point out, however, that the maintenance of mastery in the air, which is essential, entails a constant and liberal supply of the most up-to-date machines, without which even the most skillfull pilots cannot succeed.

The style of warfare in which we have been engaged offered no scope for cavalry action with the exception of the one instance already mentioned, in which a small body of cavalry gave useful assistance in the advance on High Wood.

Work of Other Services

Intimately associated with the artillery and infantry in attack and defense the work of various special services contributed much toward the successes gained.

Trench mortars, both heavy and light, have become an important adjunct to artillery in trench warfare, and valuable work has been done by the personnel in charge of these weapons. Considerable experience has been gained in their use, and they are likely to be employed even more frequently in the struggle in future.

Machine guns play a great part—almost a decisive part under some conditions—in modern war, and our Machine Gun Corps has attained to considerable proficiency in their use, handling them with great boldness and skill. The highest value of these weapons is displayed on the defensive rather than in the offensive, and we were attacking. Nevertheless, in attack also machine guns can exercise very great influence in the hands of men with a quick eye for opportunity and capable of a bold initiative. The Machine Gun Corps, though comparatively recently formed, has done very valuable work and will increase in importance.

The part played by the new amored cars —known as "tanks"—in some of the later fights has been brought to notice by me already in my daily reports. These cars proved of great value on various occasions, and the personnel in charge of them performed many deeds of remarkable valor.

The employment by the enemy of gas and of liquid flame as weapons of offense compelled us not only to discover ways to protect our troops from their effects but also to devise means to make use of the same instruments of destruction. Great fertility of invention has been shown, and very great credit is due to the special personnel employed for the rapidity and success with which these new arms have been developed and perfected, and for the very great devotion to duty they have displayed in a difficult and dangerous service. The army owes its thanks to the chemists, physiologists, and

physicists of the highest rank who devoted their energies to enabling us to surpass the enemy in the use of a means of warfare which took the civilized world by surprise. Our own experience of the numerous experiments and trials necessary before gas and flame could be used, of the great preparations which had to be made for their manufacture, and of the special training required for the personnel employed, shows that the employment of such methods by the Germans was not the result of a desperate decision, but had been prepared for deliberately.

Since we have been compelled, in self-defense, to use similar methods, it is satisfactory to be able to record, on the evidence of prisoners, of documents captured, and of our own observation, that the enemy has suffered heavy casualties from our gas atacks, while the means of protection adopted by us have proved thoroughly effective.

Praise of the Engineers

Throughout the operations engineer troops, both from home and overseas, have played an important rôle, and in every engagement the field companies, assisted by pioneers, have co-operated with the other arms with the greatest gallantry and devotion to duty.

In addition to the demands made on the services of the Royal Engineers in the firing line, the duties of the corps during the preparation and development of the offensive embraced the execution of a vast variety of important works, to which attention has already been drawn in this dispatch. Whether in or behind the firing line, or on the lines of communication, these skilled troops have continued to show the power of resource and the devotion to duty by which they have ever been characterized.

The tunneling companies still maintain their superiority over the enemy underground, thus safeguarding their comrades in the trenches. Their skill, enterprise, and courage have been remarkable, and, thanks to their efforts, the enemy has nowhere been able to achieve a success of any importance by mining.

During the battle of the Somme the work of the tunneling companies contributed in no small degree to the successful issue of several operations.

The field survey companies have worked throughout with ability and devotion, and have not only maintained a constant supply of the various maps required as the battle progressed, but have in various other ways been of great assistance to the artillery.

The Signal Service, created a short time before the war began on a very small scale, has expanded in proportion with the rest of the army, and is now a very large organization.

It provides the means of intercommunication between all the armies and all parts of them, and in modern war requirements in this respect are on an immense and elaborate scale. The calls on this service have been very heavy, entailing a most severe strain, often under most trying and dangerous conditions. Those calls have invariably been met with conspicuous success, and no service has shown a more whole-hearted and untiring energy in the fulfillment of its duty.

Supply System Never Failed

The great strain of the five months' battle was met with equal success by the Army Service Corps and the Ordnance Corps, as well as by all the other administrative services and departments, both on the lines of communication and in front of them. The maintenance of large armies in a great battle under modern conditions is a colossal task. Though bad weather often added very considerably to the difficulties of transport, the troops never wanted for food, ammunition, or any of the other many and varied requirements for the supply of which these services and departments are responsible. This fact in itself is the highest testimony that can be given to the energy and efficiency with which the work was conducted.

In connection with the maintenance and supply of our troops, I desire to express the obligation of the army to the navy for the unfailing success with which, in the face of every difficulty, the large numbers of men and the vast quantities of material required by us have been transported across the seas.

I also desire to record the obligation of the army in the field to the various authorities at home, and to the workers under them—women as well as men—by whose efforts and self-sacrifice all our requirements were met. Without the vast quantities of munitions and stores of all sorts provided, and without the drafts of men sent to replace wastage, the efforts of our troops could not have been maintained.

Heroic Medical Service

The losses entailed by the constant fighting threw a specially heavy strain on the medical services. This has been met with the greatest zeal and efficiency. The gallantry and devotion with which officers and men of the regimental medical service and field ambulances have discharged their duties is shown by the large number of the R. A. M. C. and Medical Corps of the dominions who have fallen in the field. The work of the medical services behind the front has been no less arduous. The untiring professional zeal and marked ability of the surgical specialists and consulting surgeons, combined with the skill and devotion of the medical and nursing staffs, both at the casualty clearing stations in the field and the stationary and general hospitals at the base, have been beyond praise. In this respect also the Director General has on many occasions expressed to me the immense help the British Red Cross Society has been to him in assisting the R. A. M. C. in its work.

The health of the troops has been most satisfactory, and, during the period to which this dispatch refers, there has been an almost complete absence of wastage due to disease of a preventable nature.

With such large forces as we now have in the field, the control exercised by a Com-

mander in Chief is necessarily restricted to a general guidance, and great responsibilities devolve on the army commanders.

In the Somme battle these responsibilities were intrusted to Generals Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Hubert Gough, commanding respectively the Fourth and Fifth Armies, who for five months controlled the operations of very large forces in one of the greatest if not absolutely the greatest struggle that has ever taken place.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the great qualities displayed by these commanders throughout the battle. Their thorough knowledge of the profession and their cool and sound judgment, tact, and determination proved fully equal to every call on them. They entirely justified their selection for such responsible commands.

The preparations for the battle, with the exception of those at Gommecourt, were carried out under Sir Henry Rawlinson's orders. It was not until after the assault of July 1 that Sir Hubert Gough was placed in charge of a portion of the front of attack, in order to enable Sir Henry Rawlinson to devote his whole attention to the area in which I then decided to concentrate the main effort.

The army commanders have brought to my notice the excellent work done by their staff officers and technical advisers, as well as by the various commanders and staffs serving under them, and I have already submitted the names of the various officers and others recommended by them.

I desire also to record my obligation to my own staff at General Headquarters and on the lines of communication, and to the various technical advisers attached thereto for their loyal and untiring assistance.

Throughout the operations the whole army has worked with a remarkable absence of friction and with a self-sacrifice and whole-hearted devotion to the common cause which is beyond praise. This has insured and will continue to insure the utmost concentration of effort. It is indeed a privilege to work with such officers and with such men.

I cannot close this dispatch without alluding to the happy relations which continue to exist between the allied armies and between our troops and the civil population in France and Belgium. The unfailing co-operation of our allies, their splendid fighting qualities, and the kindness and good-will universally displayed toward us have won the gratitude as well as the respect and admiration of all ranks of the British armies.

Future Prospects

In conclusion, I desire to add a few words as to future prospects.

The enemy's power has not yet been broken, nor is it yet possible to form an estimate of the time the war may last before the objects for which the Allies are fighting have been attained. But the Somme battle has placed beyond doubt the ability of the Allies to gain those objects. The German Army is the mainstay of the Central Powers, and a full half of that army, despite all the advantages of the defensive, supported by the strongest fortifications, suffered defeat on the Somme this year. Neither victors nor the vanquished will forget this; and, though bad weather has given the enemy a respite, there will undoubtedly be many thousands in his ranks who will begin the new campaign with little confidence in their ability to resist our assaults or to overcome our defense.

Our new armies entered the battle with the determination to win and with confidence in their power to do so. They have proved to themselves, to the enemy, and to the world that this confidence was justified, and in the fierce struggle they have been through they have learned many valuable lessons which will help them in the future.

I have the honor to be, your Lordship's obedient servant,

D. HAIG,
General, Commanding in Chief, British Armies in France.

How France Breaks the News to Bereaved Families

A correspondent of a London paper, criticising the British official method of announcing the sad news of the fallen, thus describes the more humane procedure used in France:

I think we could not do better than to copy the method used by the French Ministry of War in communicating the news of the death of each heroic soldier to his family. Instead of sending the cold, bare fact by telegraph or post, the news is sent to that important official in French public life, the local Mayor. The document requests him to convey the sad news to the bereaved with all possible sympathy and delicacy and to report to the Ministry of War the date upon which the visit was made. The Mayor, in his turn, has willing helpers in the matter, who personally visit the relatives and offer them the thanks of the French Nation for their sacrifice and express to them those words of comfort which are so precious at such a time. I have just returned from Paris, where I was enabled to judge personally of the excellent results of this system and to see its effects upon the spirit of the people—a spirit which is the admiration of the whole world.

THE EUROPEAN WAR AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS

[Italian Cartoon]

Germany's Last Resort

—From Il 420, Florence.

The chained eagle spells "Peace" with its chains.

The Allies' Answer

To the end!

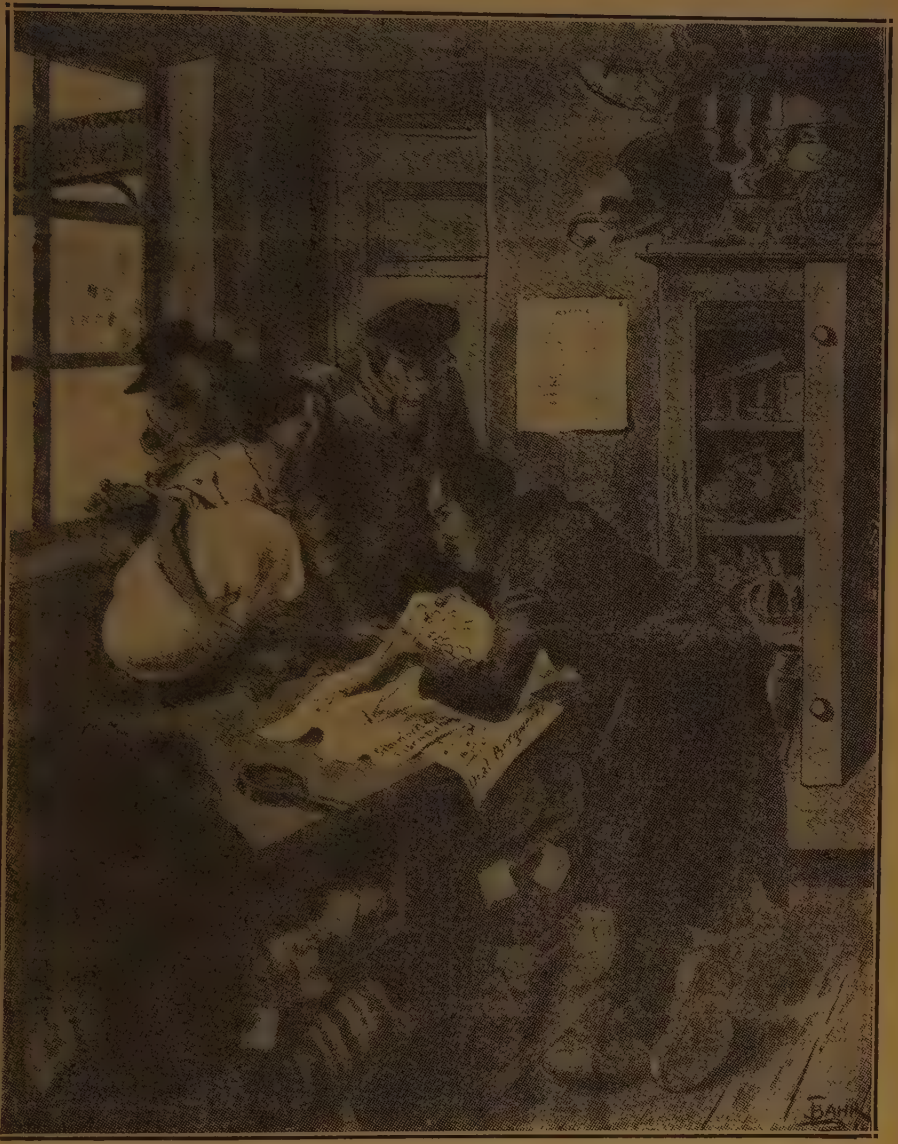
Futile Regrets

—*From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.*

THE LEARNER (to the sea of blood): "Back, I say, back!"
THE MASTER: "Ha ha!!!"

[German Cartoon]

The American Pawnshop



—© *Der Brummer, Berlin.*

Times are pinching, times are pinching
For you Entente nations;
In the distance looms grim hunger,
For you're short of rations!

Run to Morgan, run to Morgan,
Run like frightened orphans!
All your crowns and lands and rubbish
You must pawn for war funds!

[German Cartoon]

The First Peace Call

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

"Come over here!..... Nobody answers."

[Polish Cartoon]

The Peace Proposal Trap

—From Mucha of Moscow, late of Warsaw.

WILHELM: "Well?"

BETHMANN: "It was no go! Not one of the mice showed any sign of entering!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

The Trial of Strength

—From De Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

LLOYD GEORGE
BETHMANN HOLLWEG } Kneel!!!

[French Cartoon]

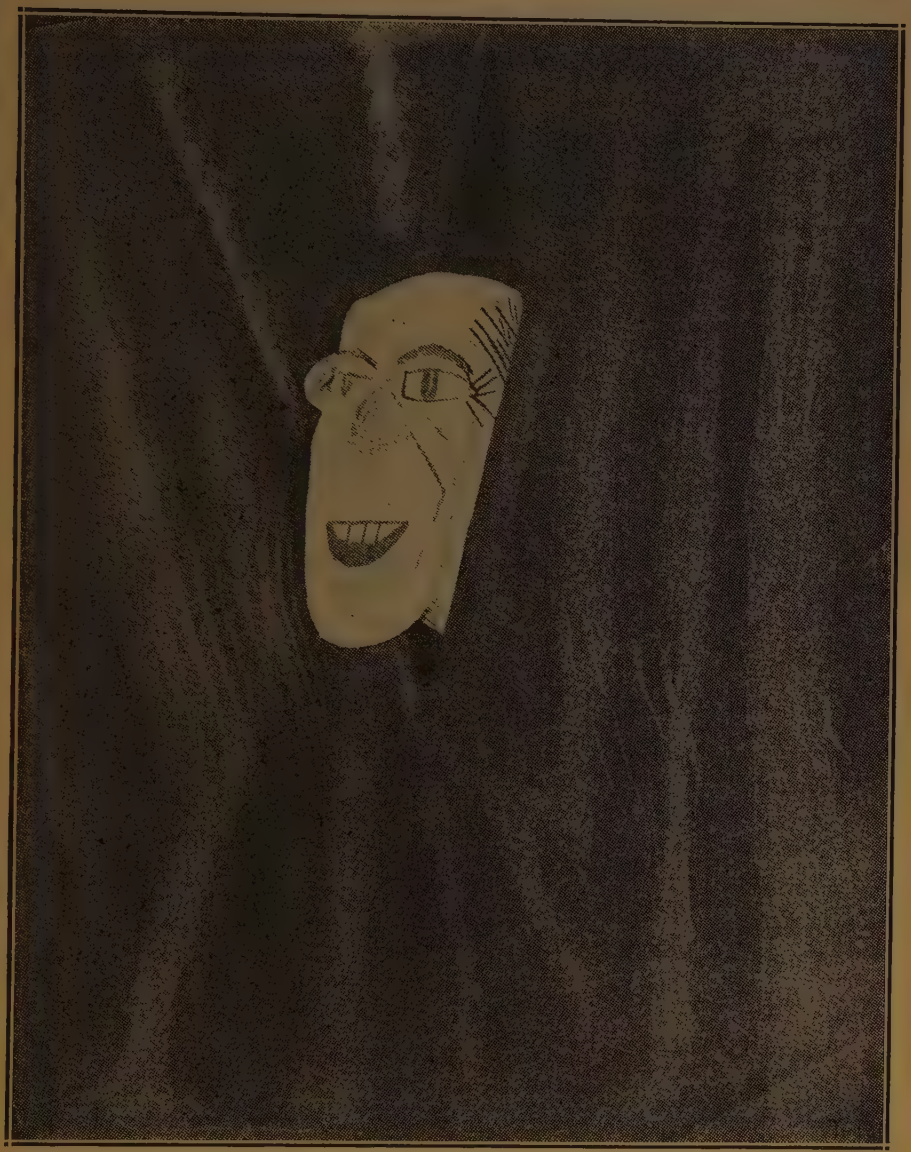
Answering Our Peace Note

—Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.

FRANCE TO PRESIDENT WILSON: "What would you say if that were New York?"

[German Cartoon]

Our Neutral Friend



—© *Lustige Blaetter, Berlin.*

"Peek-a-boo! Here I am again!"

[Published in Berlin at the time of President Wilson's peace efforts.]

[American Cartoon]

The Only Answer

—From The New York Herald.

KAISER: "One day in the week you may go to Falmouth."
UNITED STATES: "Seven days in the week you may go to ——!"

[Italian Cartoon]

The American Peace Note

—From Il 420, Florence.

The instrument is American, but the music is undoubtedly Wagnerian.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Peace

—From De Notenkraker, Amsterdam.

The word that was blotted out.

NOTE.—"Vrede" is the Dutch word for peace.

[Dutch Cartoon]

Chanticleer

—From De Nieuwe Amsterdammer, Amsterdam.

CHANTICLEER (the Kaiser): "At my song the Sun of Peace arises."

[The words coming from his mouth mean "Anti-war conference"]

[Dutch Cartoon]

A Serenade in Vain

—From De Amsterdammer.

PEACE (at the window): "It's useless, Fritz! I don't trust you."

[French Cartoon]

Fine Promises

—From Le Journal, Paris.

"On our German honor, we will never pass through Switzerland. We swear it by Belgium!"

[Dutch Cartoon]

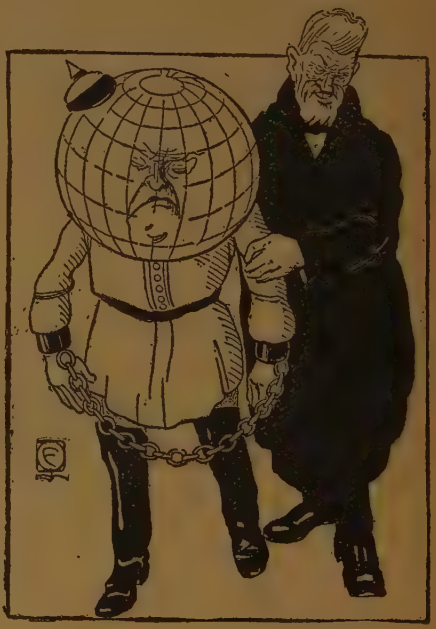
The German Hero of Verdun

—From De Amsterdammer.

Getting ready for the next job.

[Italian Cartoon]

Germany's Program



—From Il 420, Florence.

BETHMANN HOLLWEG: "You wish to see our peace conditions? Here you are!"

[Spanish Cartoon]

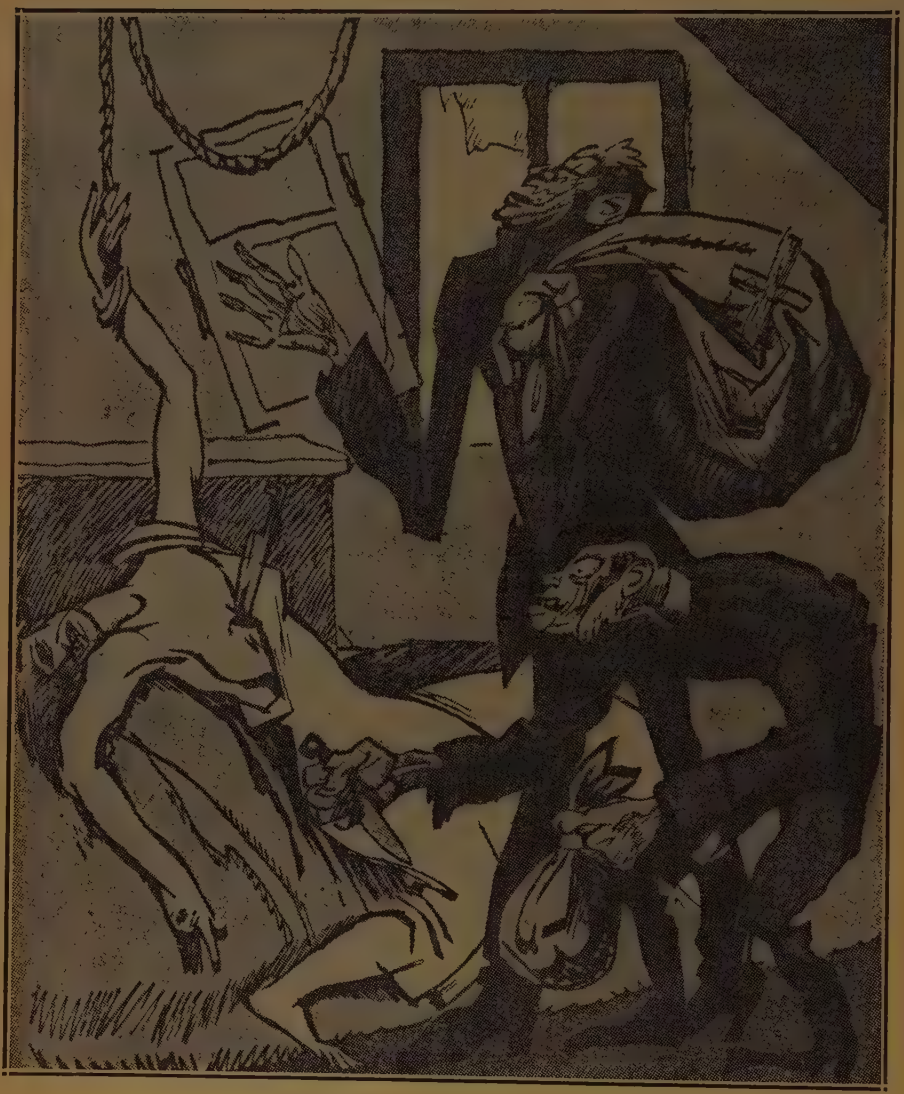
Herod the Second

—From Esquella, Barcelona.

With apologies to Herod the First.

[Russian Cartoon]

In the Name of Progress

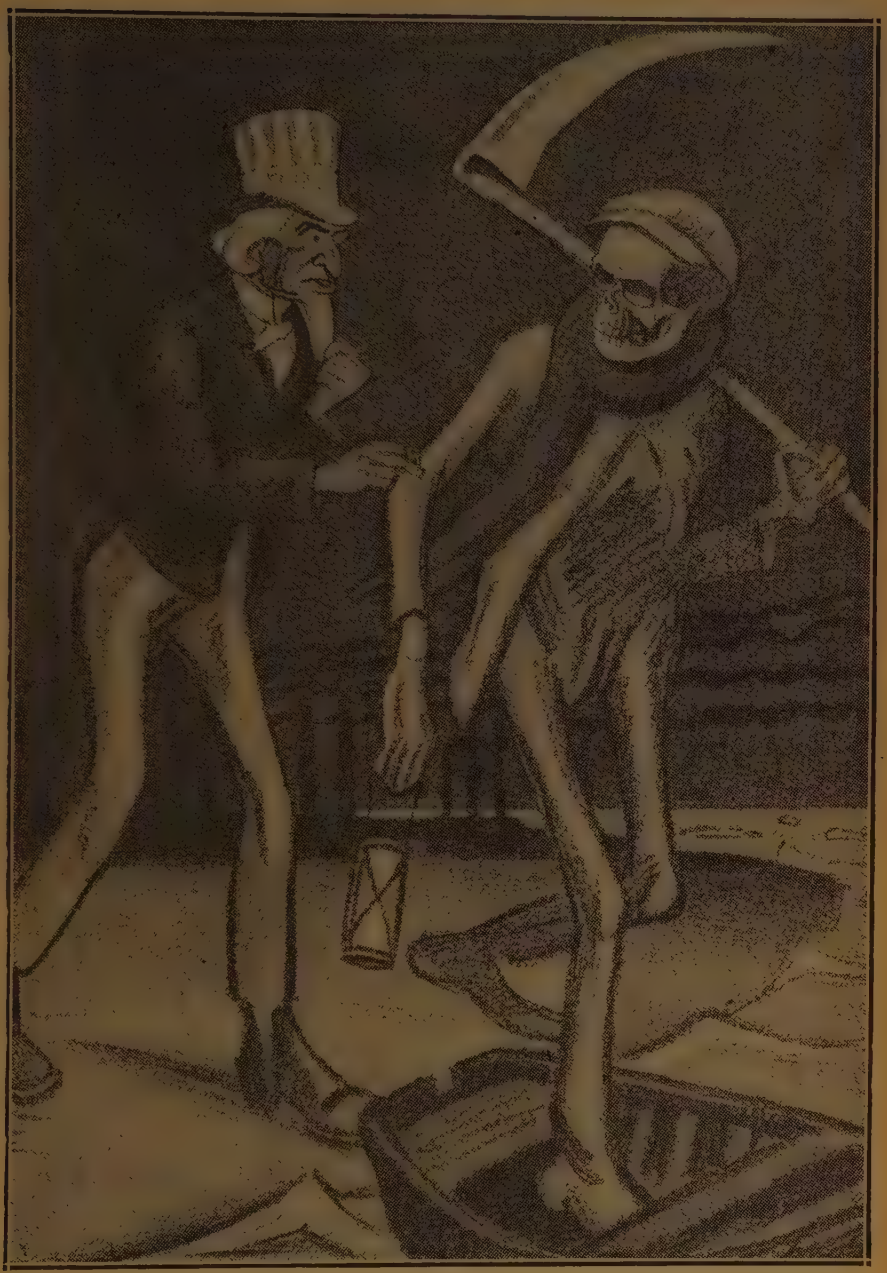


—From Novi Satirikon, Petrograd.

KAISER: "My dear Poland, you must be an independent kingdom—I have said it!"

[German Cartoon]

Panic in the Munition Business

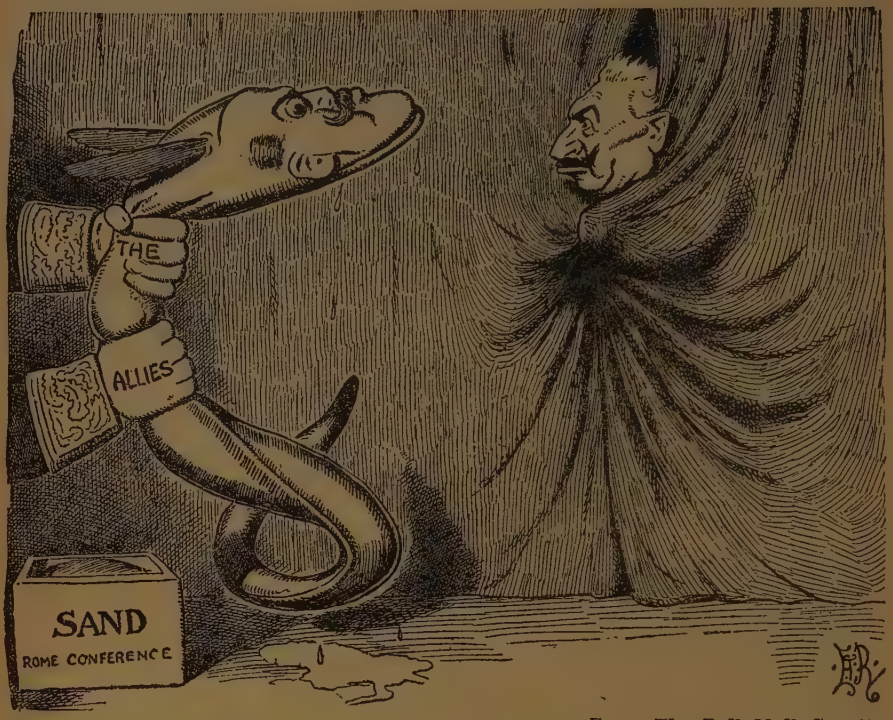


—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

UNCLE SAM TO DEATH: "Why do you wish so suddenly to sever our important business relations?" [Apropos of America's peace efforts.]

[English Cartoon]

The Sanded Eel



—From The Pall Mall Gazette.

THE CONCEALED BROTHER-IN-LAW: "Wriggle, Tino! Wriggle! Wriggle like the deuce!"

CONSTANTINE THE SLIPPERY: "Oh, it's all very fine! I think I've done my bit at wriggling; but they've got some *sand* or something now, and it's not so easy, I can tell you!"

[French Cartoon]

Greece Accepts the Ultimatum

—Forain in Le Figaro, Paris.

CONSTANTINE, TELEPHONING TO THE KAISER: "I don't see what is troubling you. I have given them nothing but my word."

[German Cartoon]

Sympathy

—© *Jugend.*

"The more I see of men the happier I am to be an ape."

[German Cartoon]

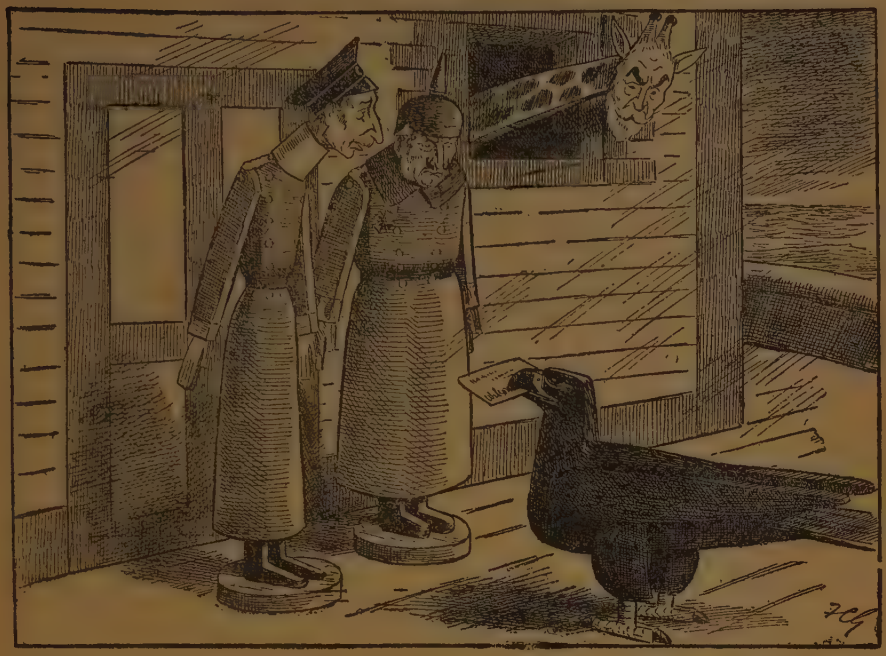
Lloyd George

—© *Simplicissimus, Munich.*

Sensational attraction! England's strongest man appears in his unequaled Entente juggling act!

[English Cartoons]

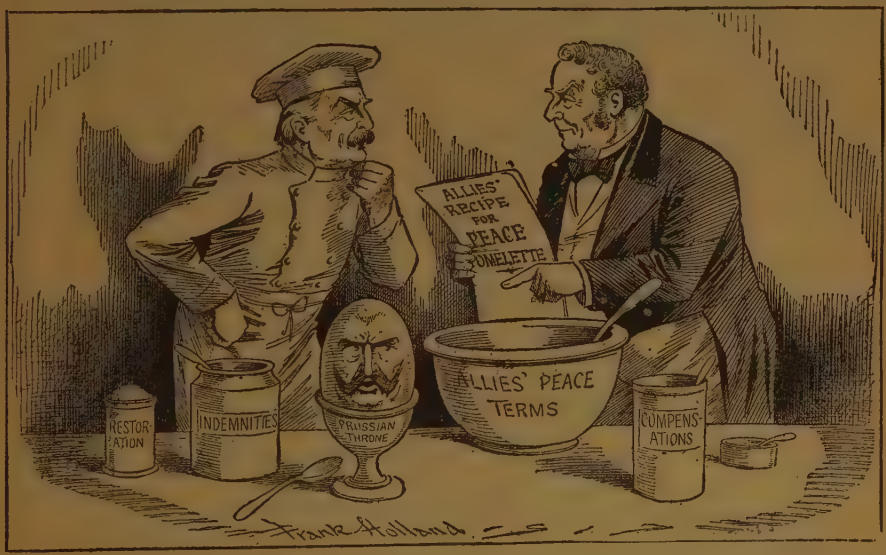
A Note of Interrogation



—From The Westminster Gazette.

KAISER NOAH: "What has he brought back? An olive branch?"
CROWN PRINCE SHEM: "No, father; it looks like a note from Wilson."

Sparing the Egg and Spoiling the Omelette

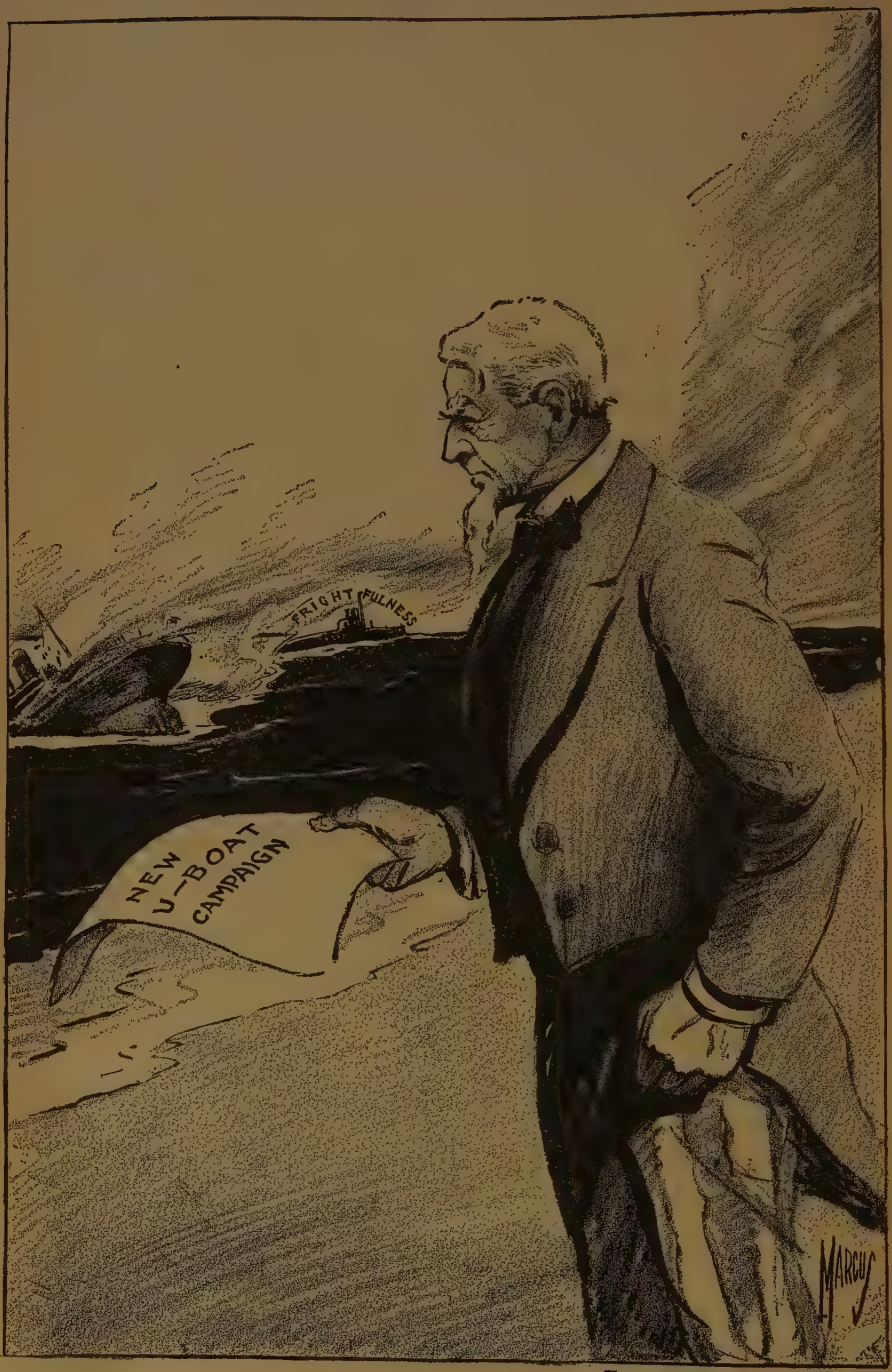


—From John Bull, London.

JOHN BULL: "Yes, the recipe's good, George, as far as it goes, but I don't think the omelette will be a success unless you break the egg."

[American Cartoon]

Uncle Sam's Problem



—*From The New York Times.*

"One cannot keep peace longer than his neighbor will let him."

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